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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

VOL. XXXIV.

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The History of Milan.

Containing an Account and Description of Milan. Rise and History of the Visconti Family.

Matthew succeeded by Galeazzo.

MATTHEW was succeeded in the government of Milan by his eldest son Galeazzo, who had spent all his life in arms, or in combating the intrigues of his own, or his father's enemies. He had for some time acted as potesta of Novara, from whence he had been driven by the Guelphs; but assembling an army with incredible expedition, he drove his enemies to Mortara, which he besieged, took, and razed to the ground, though esteemed one of the strongest fortifications in Italy. This exploit raised his reputation in arms beyond even that of his father, whom in his exile from Milan he most faithfully attended through all his fortunes, till all prospect of relieving him being at an end, he entered into the French service, in which he highly distinguished himself in her wars with the English. Returning to Italy, he exhibited proofs of his courage, when Azzo, duke of Ferrara, was at war with the pope. In one battle he had three horses killed under him; through dan-

geroufly wounded, he mounted one of his enemies horſes, and, ſnatching his ſtandard, broke though the ranks, and rejoined his own troops. This, and many other acts of valour, endeared him to Azzo, who was then one of the moſt conſiderable princes in Italy, and he gave him his ſiſter Beatrice in marriage. This lady was handſome, but nine years older than Galeazzo, and had been left very rich by a former huſband. The nuptials were magnificent beyond all expreſſion, and ſuch as had not for ſome ages been ſeen in Italy, and celebrated by the poet Dante, who lived at this period. The great ſervices performed by Galeazzo to Azzo raiſed him to the government of Treviſo; and his deportment, in every reſpect, was ſo noble and majeſtic, that it recommended him to the particular notice of the emperor Henry VII. upon the arrival of that prince in Italy. His father's fortune, at that time, taking a favourable turn, he commanded the Milaneſe troops, and was highly inſtrumental in reducing the greateſt part of Lombardy to the Viſconti family; for he drove out of Placentia, Alberti Scotti, his father's ancient enemy, and made himſelf maſter of that city. He afterwards defeated Cavaloabove of Cremona at the battle of Bardi, and beſieging that city both by ſea and land, took it partly by force, and partly by famine. His other brothers, at the ſame time, made a great figure in Italy. Luchino defeated and killed Baccio, general to the king of Naples, near the Tanaro; and the renown of the Viſconti family was now ſo great, as to unite againſt them the pope, the king of Naples and the Florentines. It was on this occaſion that the Swiſſers were invited by the Guelphs into Italy; and Henry, duke of Auſtria, with Philip of Valois, afterwards king of France, were tempted with a promiſe of ſharing the ſpoils of Milan, if they would enter into the ſame cauſe. This formidable conſpiracy was fruſtrated by the addreſs and courage of the Viſconti family. Matthew gave a large ſubſidy to the Germans, by which they were prevented from entering into Italy. Philip was a young prince, full of fire and courage, and paſſed the Alps at the head of a very noble army, in which moſt of the nobility of France ſerved. As his preſumption far exceded his conduct, it expoſed him to the ſuperior abilities of Galeazzo and his brother Marc, who was joined with him in the command of the Longobardic army, and who, by the diſpoſitions they made, might, without danger to themſelves, have deſtroyed the whole French army. Marc was for improving of their advantage; but Galeazzo, more conſiderate, was averſe to making ſo powerful a nation the irreconcileable enemy of Milan. He therefore prevailed with his brother to propoſe a conference with Philip,

His ſucceſſes.

Philip, which being agreed to, Galeazzo repreſented to him, and the other French generals, the folly of expoſing themſelves in a foreign quarrel; and drawing out his army, ſhewed them, by its poſition, that their deſtruction was inevitable if they ſhould come to blows. He, at the ſame time, produced the badges of knighthood with which he had been honoured by the French king, and expatiated upon the violence that would be done to his own inclination, if he ſhould be forced to come to extremities with his ancient friends and allies.

This artful ſpeech had all the effect that Galeazzo could deſire. The Milaneſe army was ſuperior to that of France in infantry, and contained five thouſand excellent cavalry. This appearance ſtruck the French princes and noblemen with aſtoniſhment, which was heightened by the graceful preſence of Marc, whom Galeazzo had left at the head of the army. In ſhort, the French choſe to make peace, and returned, with no great credit to their own country. *He baffles the French.*

At the time of Matthew's death a body of German mercenaries, the ſucceſſors of thoſe who had been ſent to the archbiſhop Otho by the emperor, ſtill ſerved in the Milaneſe, but without much reputation, on account of their infidelity and rapacioufneſs. With them, the agents of the pope and the king of Naples entered into a conſpiracy for expelling the Viſconti family out of Milan, and reſtoring the popular government. They were backed by Leodriſio, Garbagnati, and Cribelli, and large ſums were divided amongſt the Germans, who were commanded by one Roger and Anchini. Thoſe practices had ſuch an effect, that all Milan revolted againſt Galeazzo, who, with his brother Marc, fled to Lodi. Upon their departure a popular form of government took place; but it was ſcarcely eſtabliſhed when the Guelphs and Ghibelins in the city fell at variance; and their diſſenſions communicating themſelves to the neighbouring country, the Guelphs ſeized Mouſa. This diviſion plainly evinced that the new conſtituted form of government would be of ſhort duration. The heads of the republic, who were moſtly Ghibelins, ſent Leodriſio with an army to beſiege Mouſa, which was defended by Tignaca. Inſtead of waiting to be beſieged, Tignaca threw down the walls of the place, and attacked Leodriſio, by whom he was defeated, and made priſoner. *Revolt of Milan.*

In the mean time, the cardinal legate had appointed one of the Torriano family to ſucceed Galeazzo in his government, in the capacity of poteſta. This ſtep was by no means agreeable to the Milaneſe Ghibelins; and, upon farther inquiry, it was diſcovered that they had been made *The Viſconti reſtored.*

tools to the papal ambition; nor did the legate any longer continue to pay the German mercenaries, who hated the very mention of a Guelph. In a general aſſembly of the Germans, Henry Gruniſtein, one of their chief officers, propoſed to recall Galeazzo to the government; and deputies of the greateſt quality in the city were ſent to invite him back, without any other conditions than that he ſhould forget what was paſt; ſo great was Gruniſtein's opinion of Galeazzo's honour, that he offered to become hoſtage for the performance of all he ſhould promiſe. While the deputies were treating with Galeazzo, Marc returned by night, and Leodriſio applied to him in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms to be reconciled to Galeazzo. Next day Galeazzo entered Milan; and upon his arrival, the poteſta Torriano, Garbagnati, and Cribelli, fled to the legate.

Their danger.

Soon after this tranſaction, the papal, the Neapolitan, and the Florentine forces being joined by the patriarch of Aquileia, who likewiſe was of the Torriano family, and all his friends, marched to the Adda, in order to attack Milan. Their army conſiſted of forty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, and was commanded by Gaſto, the legate's nephew, having under him Raymond Cardona, a Spaniard, Henry of Flanders, and Simon Torriano, all of them leaders of great reputation. The van attempted to paſs the Adda, near Trezzo, with Garbagnati and Cribelli at its head; but they were oppoſed by Marc, who killed Garbagnati and Cribelli; but their party being ſupported by all the ſtrength of the Florentines, made good their paſſage, and Marc being ſatisfied with having killed the two moſt inveterate enemies of his family, retired to Milan.

Galeazzo was in no condition to withſtand this invaſion by himſelf. His two brothers Marc and Luchino, however, bravely attacked the confederates, who were double their number, and would have totally defeated them, had not Luchino been wounded, and obliged to retire from the field. After that action the confederates extended their quarters to Como, and even laid ſiege to Milan. Galeazzo, who knew they were unable to take the city, applied for aſſiſtance to Lewis V. of Bavaria, who ſent him fifteen hundred horſe, under the command of Bertaldi, one of his beſt generals, who threw himſelf into Milan, and did great execution upon the confederates, by the frequent ſallies he made. Perceiving that the war was like to be ſpun out to a great length, the confederates bribed a Swiſs regiment that ſerved under Bertaldi to aſſaſſinate Galeazzo; and the plot was upon the point of taking effect, when it was diſcovered by John Viſconti, the younger, brother of Gale-

They recover, and defeat their enemies.

azzo.

azzo, who, though in orders, took arms and defeated the conſpirators. This diſcovery, together with the death of Gaſto, diſcouraged the other generals of the confederacy ſo much, that they retired to Mouſa, which had been betrayed to them by Landi, and from which Azzo, Galeazzo's eldeſt ſon, had been driven. Here they remained for ſome time, in hopes of receiving ſupplies from the legate; and for that purpoſe they threw a bridge over the Adda. Galleazzo knew the conſequence, and reſolved either to cut off this communication, or force his enemies to a battle. The latter chooſing to fight, drew their garriſon out of Mouſa, marched to Vapri, where the bridge was built, and put their army in order of battle. Henry of Flanders commanded the right wing, as Simon and Paſſarini did the left, which was chiefly compoſed of Florentines. The center, which conſiſted of French and Neapolitans, was commanded by Raymond, and the whole was ſo artfully diſpoſed, that the heavy and light armed troops were of mutual aſſiſtance to each other. The Milaneſe were commanded by Galeazzo and Marc, and the enemy evacuated Vapri, where they left all their baggage. Galeazzo ordered it to be ſet on fire, and, under the cover of the ſmoke, charged the confederates amidſt their conſternation at the loſs of their baggage. Marc led on the attack, and totally defeated the diviſion under Henry of Flanders. Galeazzo, in the mean time, was victorious over the left wing; and the center being chiefly buſied in endeavouring to extinguiſh the flames, the defeat became general. Raymond was taken, as were the principal officers amongſt the Florentines; Simon Torriano was killed, and very few of the confederates eſcaped being either drowned in the Adda, put to the ſword, or made priſoners. The ſtandards of king Robert, the pope, the Florentines, and the Torriani, fell into the hands of the Milaneſe; and it was with the greateſt difficulty that Henry of Flanders, after having wandered all night, reached Mouſa, to which the remains of the confederate army eſcaped.

Siege of Mouſa.

This place was defended by Verguſio Landi; who fearing he ſhould receive no quarter, becauſe he had been the means of expelling Azzo, prepared to defend it to the laſt extremity; but Galeazzo beſieged it with ſo much vigour, that Landi was at laſt obliged to agree to give it up, if he ſhould not be relieved in a certain time by the legate. Mean while Henry of Flanders left Mouſa in deſpair, and Paſſarini Torriano advancing to relieve the place, ſurpriſed and defeated a body of Savoyards, but was himſelf intercepted and defeated by Marc Viſconti; upon which Mouſa was ſurrendered according to articles.

Negociation for a peace. Notwithstanding the advantages Galeazzo had gained, he found that he should be obliged, in the end, to submit to the confederacy which had been formed against him; and resolved, if possible, to make a peace, but in such a manner as that he should not seem to beg it. Raymond Cardona was still his prisoner, and being looked on by all parties as a man of honour, as well as address, Galeazzo privately set him at liberty, but suffered Landriano and Conti, the two noblemen who had the charge of him, to be prosecuted and banished, as if they had been accessary to his escape. Raymond performed his engagements with Galeazzo with the utmost punctuality. He first repaired to Piacenza, where he had an interview with the legate, and then went to Avignon, where the pope resided; in the presence of Landriano and Conti, the two innocent exiles, he pressed his holiness so warmly in favour of peace, that he could no longer resist his arguments, but would do nothing without consulting his ally the king of Naples. The latter strenuously opposed all pacific motions, unless Galeazzo could be brought not only to abandon the cause of the emperor, but to become a party in the war against him; both which terms Galeazzo rejected with disdain. The peace, however, was concluded, and the war of Italy was contracted to the quarrel between Castruccio and the Florentines, who employed Raymond as their general. As Galeazzo, in the late treaty, had reserved a liberty to assist the emperor's allies, he sent his son Azzo with eight hundred chosen horse to Castruccio's assistance, and Raymond was again defeated and taken prisoner, chiefly by the valour of the Milanese auxiliaries. It must not, however, be forgot, that Galeazzo had by this time restored Landriano and Conti to their estates and honours, but without explaining the particulars of his own management.

Galeazzo, in consequence of the late victory obtained by Castruccio and Azzo, seemed now to be at the summit of his good fortune, when he found himself on the precipice of danger. His brother Marc, who had performed so many signal services to him, thought they were ill requited, and entered into a conspiracy with Leodrisio to ruin him. The Florentines had now given up the government of their city to Charles, prince of Tarentum, which obliged Galeazzo to form a party of the Ghibelins all over Italy, for inviting the emperor Lewis V. of Bavaria to come to their assistance, which invitation was accordingly accepted of; and Lewis passing the Alps, arrived at Verona, the prince of which had joined in the conspiracy with

with Marc and Leodrisio. While the emperor was at Verona, the conspirators applied to him, and accused Galeazzo of having betrayed his cause. The emperor was so poor, that at that time he took little notice of the charge, because of the magnificent presents made him by Galeazzo when he came to Como. It was not long before Galeazzo discovered the conspiracy, and that Rusco, the lord of Como, had entered into it. The charge against him was his having negociated a peace with the pope and the king of Naples, by means of Raymond, the most dangerous enemy to the Ghibelin interest of any in Italy. When Galeazzo heard of this accusation, all he said was, "While my brother accuses me, he does not consider that he is wounding himself." These words being carried to Marc, his answer was, "I will stand to all the consequences; but, by Heaven! Galeazzo has no brother, because he engrosses all power to himself." The emperor took little or no concern in this dispute, farther than to endeavour to reconcile all parties, and proceeded to Milan, where he was crowned king of Lombardy by the bishop of Arezzo, and most nobly entertained by Galeazzo. He was, however, staggered by the vast offers of men and money made him by Scaliger, whose ambition led him to aspire to the principality of Milan, on pretence that Galeazzo had been guilty of treason. At last, Lewis agreed to the proposal of Scaliger, who, under pretence of doing honour to the emperor, had brought with him to Milan one thousand horse, and a large body of foot, all of them choice troops. To make the resolution more practicable, Lewis required the troops in Galeazzo's pay to take an oath of fidelity to himself, which they did, and to attend him to Rome. A high court of justice being summoned, Galeazzo, his brothers, and his son Azzo, were required to appear before the emperor. Their chief accuser was Marc, who complained in the most bitter terms against Galeazzo; and offered, in the name of the people of Milan, to supply him with money to the extent of his wishes, if he would pronounce sentence against the tyrant.

A.D. 1327.

Galeazzo accused and imprisoned.

It happened unfortunately at this time for the latter, that his finances were quite exhausted in supplying the emperor's continual wants, which he had done for three months. This inability made all the Germans his enemies; so that the defence he made to his charge was little regarded. After he had finished it, the captain of the imperial guards decoyed him, his son Azzo, with his brother Luchino and John, into a separate room, under pretence of having a private audience of the emperor, where they

were put under a ſtrict guard, and given to underſtand that they were to expect death, if, in three days, the citadel of Mouſa was not delivered up to his imperial majeſty; which demand was accordingly complied with, though Galeazzo's wife had retired thither, as believing it to be the only place where ſhe could be ſafe. A few days after this ceſſion, all the illuſtrious priſoners being carried to Mouſa, were impriſoned in a dungeon, which Galeazzo had juſt finiſhed for confining malefactors. Their keeper was one Rizacci, deputy for the biſhop of Arezzo, appointed governor of the caſtle, who behaved towards them with the utmoſt brutality.

Diſtreſſes of the Viſconti. It is amazing that this revolution ſhould have been effected without the leaſt commotion; and none but thoſe concerned knew what had happened The whole was owing to the poverty and inſatiable avarice of the emperor, and to the vaſt promiſes made him by Marc, and Galeazzo's other enemies. Next day, after the princes were impriſoned, Lewis appointed four-and-twenty governors, choſen out of the different wards of the city, to be a regency for Milan, but gave the command of the whole to William Montfort; he then marched towards the Breſciano, where at Orzi he ſummoned a meeting of all his vaſſals, and produced to them the proofs of Galeazzo's pretended correſpondence with the pope, which contained evident marks of forgery. The Ghibelin princes were ſtruck with the fate of Galeazzo, and each made the caſe of that unfortunate prince his own. Neither he nor his ſon, nor his brothers, however, received any immediate relief, and Lewis proceeded to Rome, where he was crowned emperor. The fate of the Milaneſe princes determined the Piſans to refuſe Lewis admittance into their city; and had it not been for Caſtruccio, all the Ghibelin intereſt in Italy would have declared againſt him. The ſervices performed on this occaſion by Caſtruccio, who was now the emperor's general, and firſt miniſter, gave him an opportunity of interpoſing in favour of his friend Galeazzo. He was joined by the other Ghibelin ſtates, and by Marc, who now began to feel remorſe for what he had done. The emperor for ſome time continued inexorable; but the Florentines obtaining poſſeſſion of Piſtoia, Caſtruccio threatened to abandon the imperial intereſt, unleſs the Viſconti were ſet at liberty; and he actually retired to Lucca. Upon this retreat, the emperor found it dangerous to continue their impriſonment longer; and gave orders for their being ſet at liberty, after they had remained in captivity nine months. No condition was annexed to their deliverance;

deliverance; but the captives were given to underſtand, that they ſhould pay their reſpects to the emperor upon his return from Rome. Thus ended an affair that reflects infinite diſhonour upon Lewis, who, according to all accounts, never had convicted Galeazzo, or his relations, of the leaſt crime to deſerve ſuch puniſhment. His artful conduct, and the reputation he had for cunning, were the foundations of the charge againſt him; and perhaps the greater difficulty there was in diſcovering proofs of his guilt, the emperor concluded him to be the more criminal. Galeazzo had no ſooner recovered his health, which had ſuffered by his long impriſonment, and reſettled his family-affairs, than he reſolved to pay a debt of gratitude to Caſtruccio, who was then intent upon retaking Piſtoia from the Florentines. We have already mentioned that famous ſiege. Galeazzo brought to the aſſiſtance of his friend a large body, both of horſe and foot; and while he himſelf was beſieged in his works, being obliged to go to Lucca, he left the conduct of the ſiege to Galeazzo. Upon his return, he found the works ſo far advanced, that he divided the command with him, by committing to his care the operations againſt the city, while he himſelf acted againſt the Florentines. The town at laſt was taken; but the exceſſive heat of the weather, and the fatigue of the ſiege, had thrown Galeazzo into a lingering diſtemper, ſo that he was obliged to be removed in a litter to Peſcia, where in three days he died, at the age of fifty-one. He was a prince of great reſolution and addreſs, was ever fruitful in finding expedients for making the government of Milan independent in his family, by balancing the papal and imperial powers, ſo as that neither of them ſhould too much preponderate in Italy. He was buried at Lucca, and attended to his grave by his friend Caſtruccio, who ſurvived him but a few days.

Death of Galeazzo.

Galeazzo was ſucceeded in the government of Milan, by his ſon Actio, or, as he is commonly called, Azzo; who united in his own perſon the patience, perſeverance, and civil virtues of his father, and reſembled his grandfather, Mathew the Great, in prudence and foreſight. When he came to the government, the Viſconti family made but a ſecond figure in the affairs of Italy, by being obliged to follow the fate of the imperialiſts, and loſing the aſſiſtance of the famous Caſtruccio. Azzo entered into life under great diſadvantages; for he was born and educated in exile. He had been left governor of Piacenza, under his father, when the latter marched to the aſſiſtance of Mathew the Great; but that city was ſurpriſed by the cardinal-

Succeeded by Azzo.

dinal-legate's troops; and we are told, that Azzo himſelf muſt have been taken priſoner, had he not eſcaped by his mother's ſcattering ſome bags of gold about the doors of her houſe, which amuſed his purſuers until he was gone [g]. Azzo thus eſcaping, put himſelf at the head of an army compoſed of Milaneſe, Ferrareſe, and Mantuans, and reduced and fortified the town of San Domino. He then commanded the auxiliaries which his father ſent to the aſſiſtance of Caſtruccio, and performed many celebrated ſervices under that great captain, who owed to him ſome of his chief ſucceſſes. When Florence was beſieged, or rather inſulted, by Caſtruccio, Azzo, in return for the bravadoes of the Florentines, when they beſieged Milan [h], celebrated horſe-races under the walls of the city, and returned to Milan covered with glory. The death of his father and Caſtruccio, before his family had recovered its luſtre, gave him great concern; but upon the retraction of his uncle Marc, he wiſely made that a handle for recommending himſelf and his family-intereſts to the protection of the emperor. He went to Piſa, where his imperial majeſty then was, attended by his uncle John; and being ſeconded by his other uncle Marc, obtained of the emperor the inveſtiture of Milan, upon the promiſe of advancing a vaſt ſum of money, which Lewis then ſtood greatly in need of, his affairs being in diſorder all over Italy. Amongſt the difficulties he laboured under, was the danger of a revolt among his own troops, eight hundred of whom had already left his ſervice. The emperor employed Azzo to bring them to their duty; and the reader will find in the hiſtory of Florence [i] the ſequel of this affair. It appears, however, that Marc Viſconti was a man of much greater abilities and conſequence than he is repreſented to be by the Milaneſe hiſtorian, and did both the emperor and his family very important ſervices upon this occaſion; not only by appeaſing the mutineers, but by procuring ſeveral additional privileges and immunities to the Milaneſe. The emperor, at this time, had raiſed to the papacy Peter de Corvaria, who took the name of Nicholas V. after having not only depoſed, but condemned to death the true pope, John XXII. This pſeudo pontiff, by the emperor's recommendation, created John Viſconti, Azzo's youngeſt uncle, a cardinal; but Viſconti, though he did not abſolutely refuſe the honour, for fear of diſobliging the emperor, declined to wear either the hat, or any of the outward badges of that office; which moderation recommended him ſo

His management with the emperor.

[g] Jovius, p. 110. [h] Ibid. p. 80. [i] Ibid. p. 92.

much

much to the true pope, that he was firſt made biſhop of Novara, and then archbiſhop of Milan.

Azzo having thus, with great prudence, put his family-affairs on a proper footing, returned towards Milan; where he and his uncle, the archbiſhop, were denied admittance by William Montfort, who ſtill continued imperial governor of that city, though they were welcomed, with great acclamations of joy, through all the Milaneſe. Azzo, however, by the help of a little money, ſurmounted this difficulty; and Montford reſigning his command, returned to Germany. When Azzo re-entered Milan, he was attended by Conrade Porcari, the imperial procurator, who had been ſent by Lewis to receive the money which had been promiſed, and which Azzo immediately borrowed out of the cheſts of the city. This Porcari, having received the fourth part of the ſum, inſtead of returning to Piſa, went off with it to Germany. His infidelity was a great diſappointment to the emperor, as well as to the troops who were to receive the money; and Lewis was obliged to impoſe immenſe taxations upon the Piſans. He likewiſe ſold to Raymond, and his other Florentine priſoners, their liberties; and not only ſeized upon the jewels of Caſtruccio's widow, but ſtripped his ſons of the government of Lucca, which he ſold to Franceſco Interminelli. *He refuſes the emperor admittance into Milan.*

Thoſe acts of rapaciouſneſs, injuſtice, and ingratitude, but above all his miſerable poverty, and the contempt in which he was held by his troops, rendered the perſon and dignity of the emperor very deſpicable all over Italy. Azzo was no ſtranger to this circumſtance; and when his imperial majeſty, in his return to Italy, took Milan in his way, he was refuſed admittance, both there and at Mouſa. He attempted, however, to force his way into the laſt mentioned city; but by the ſwelling of the Lambro he was diſappointed in his deſign, and thus he wandered about, a laughing-ſtock, through all Lombardy, till he came to Pavia, where he was obliged to put up with all the indignities that had been offered him, upon Azzo's paying the reſidue of the money. During all the reſt of his journey through Italy, he met with the moſt groſs affronts, equally from Ghibelins as Guelphs. In the mean time, Marc Viſconti, who had been ſent by Lewis to his German troops as hoſtage for the payment of their arrears, became their general; recovered Lucca for the ſons of Caſtruccio, and drove Franceſco Interminelli, the imperial governor, out of that city. After that exploit, he marched againſt Piſa, from whence he drove Tarlati of Arezzo. Finally, he repaired to Florence, and having gloriouſly finiſhed his campaign, *Miſerable condition of the emperor.*

campaign, left Tuſcany; but full of wrath againſt his nephew Azzo, for not having ſent him money for redeeming himſelf out of the hands of the Germans.

Marc's reputation, at this time, was very high in Italy, where he was conſidered as the head of the German army. He had, before he left Florence, entered into connections with that people, and the heads of the Guelphs in Italy, for extirpating the Ghibelin party, and making himſelf lord of Milan; for which ſtation he was qualified by his courage, his liberality, his majeſtic appearance, and many other noble perfections. The vaſt ſums of money he had ſpent at Florence had, probably, given Azzo, and his uncles, ſome intimation of his deſigns; ſo that, when he returned to Milan, being narrowly watched, it was found that he was tampering with his friends, and the dependents of his family, to form a party. His nephew and his relations diſſembled for the preſent; and their forbearance encouraged Marc to bring his complaints before the public, of his having been ſuffered ſo long to remain a hoſtage and priſoner amongſt barbarians. His reſentment is ſaid to have been kindled into a kind of a madneſs by a love-affair. He had, it ſeems, carried off a noble lady from her huſband; and finding that ſhe wanted to impoſe upon him, he had, in the firſt tranſports of his rage, drowned her in a ditch; but, being ſtill diſtractedly in love, her death drove him almoſt to madneſs. All theſe concurrent circumſtances are ſaid to have convinced Azzo, and his uncles, that they were upon the eve of a civil war, unleſs Marc could be taken out of the way. He was accordingly ſurpriſed in his bed-chamber, after dinner, by ſome of his nephew's body-guards, and ſtrangled, without any noiſe or diſturbance, and his dead body caſt out of the window, as if he had thrown himſelf from thence in one of his fits of deſpair. His body was honourably interred, in the burial-place of his anceſtors; and the Florentines and other Italians, who had attended him to Milan, were civilly diſmiſſed.

Death of Marc Viſconti.

A.D. 1331.

Soon after this event, John, king of Bohemia, entered Italy, as the imperial vicar; but without being attached ſtrongly either to the Guelphs or Ghibelins. He reduced Breſcia and Bergamo, and afterwards became maſter of Parma, Cremona, Pavia, Modena, and ſeveral other places. While he was on the other ſide of the Adda, Azzo waited upon him with ſome magnificent preſents, and it was not long before he had reaſon to apprehend, that Italy was on the eve of a mighty revolution. The pope and John, from being inveterate enemies to each other, became now intimate

The king of Bohemia enters Italy.

mate friends. It was publicly talked, that Philip, the French king, was a party in the league; and that their real plan was, to divide amongſt them all Italy. This apprehenſion produced an univerſal league amongſt the Italian ſtates, Guelphs as well as Ghibelins, at the head of which laſt was Azzo; and each party was bound to furniſh a certain proportion of troops for the defence of the whole. Scaliger of Verona, Paſſarini of Mantua, Obizi of Ferrara, and the Florentines, were the other parties. According to the partition of power they laid down, Azzo was to have poſſeſſion of Cremona and Pavia, Scaliger of Parma, Paſſarini of Reggio, Obizi of Modena, and the Florentines of Lucca. At this time, the Germans, in beſieging Ferrara, were defeated by the allies; Aliprandi Pinalla being at the head of Azzo's troops. The conſequence of this victory was, that Pavia fell into the hands of Azzo; he likewiſe recovered Piacenza from Franceſco Scotti, and obliged Ruſco, lord of Como, to reſign his dominion over that city, in exchange for Bellizone.

Azzo, though yet a young man, was ſo ſubject to the gout, that being rendered for ſome time incapable of managing his own affairs, his old enemy Leodriſio renewed his intrigues againſt him. He found means to debauch the German mercenaries from his ſervice, and to engage in his practices Ruſco and Scaliger; the latter of whom furniſhed him with money for paying the mercenaries.

Activity of Azzo.

The reader can be no ſtranger to the practices of Leodriſio againſt the Viſconti family; and he purſued them, on this occaſion, more vigorouſly than ever. Having added a great body of Milaneſe exiles to the mercenaries he had debauched from Azzo, he paſſed the Adda, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition made to him by Aliprandi Pinalla, Azzo's general. This irruption being made in winter, filled all the Milaneſe with conſternation. The ſnow lay then deep on the ground, and the inhabitants found it impracticable to ſecure their effects or cattle in places of ſafety for ſubſiſtence, ſo that moſt of them fell into the enemies hands. Azzo was not wanting to himſelf on this occaſion. Notwithſtanding his lameneſs, he acted with aſtoniſhing vigour and activity; he reinforced his garriſons, and choſe his poſts with the utmoſt judgment and propriety. In this conduct he was aſſiſted by the ſpies, which he entertained about Leodriſio's perſon while he was at Verona, and who informed him of all the particulars of his marches, and the routes he was to take; by which intelligence he was enabled to make head againſt his enemies, till his reinforcements came up from Ferrara, Placentia,

centia, and other places. As he was incapable to take the field in perſon, he gave the command of his army to his uncle Luchino, who at this time had acquired great reputation in war. Leodriſio was, with his army, at Nervi, within twelve miles of Milan, when he was met by Luchino at the head of the flower of his nephew's troops and auxiliaries. Both ſides being equally ardent to fight, the ſignal of battle was given, and Leodriſio's diviſion was entirely defeated. The Germans and Swiſs threw themſelves into a hollow ſquare, and ſoon ſtopped the purſuit of Luchino's troops, which being incautious and irregular, the moſt forward of his cavalry were checked, a great number of his men cut in pieces, and at laſt the fortune of the day ſeemed to go againſt him. Luchino did all that a brave general could do, to rally his men and reduce them to order; but his horſe being killed, he was beaten to the ground by the battle-axes, and heavy maces of the Germans, and made priſoner. The Germans and Swiſs then attacked the Placentines with ſo much fury, that they killed Diodati Malvicino, and Lancelot Anguiſola, their leaders, and put their troops to flight. While Leodriſio thus thought himſelf ſecure of victory, Hector Panici unexpectedly arrived, with a freſh body of horſe, ſent to Azzo's aſſiſtance by the duke of Savoy. The fortune of the day was now again changed, and the Savoyards charged Leodriſio's men with ſo much vigour and judgment, while they were intent only upon the ſpoil, that they defeated them entirely. Leodriſio himſelf was taken priſoner in his flight, and ſhut up in the caſtle of St. Columbo; where he remained priſoner during the remainder of Azzo's life, and that of his uncle.

His victory.

Loſs of the enemy.

This unexpected, and indeed wonderful, victory, ſtruck the Milaneſe with a kind of enthuſiaſtic tranſport. Paul Jovius himſelf makes no kind of ſcruple to ſay, that when Azzo's army was defeated, the good St. Ambroſe, the tutelar ſaint of Milan, was ſeen in the air by many, encouraging the Savoyards and the Milaneſe to renew the battle. Notwithſtanding this ridiculous ſtory, Luchino obtained a complete victory. His men, after having defeated their enemies, found him bound to a tree, and under a guard of Germans, whom they defeated. His victory, however, was dearly bought: above nine thouſand men, on both ſides, were killed on the field of battle; and Luchino was inexpreſſibly affected by the loſs of his brother-in-law Fliſco, who was amongſt the ſlain. But the Leodriſians ſuffered far more from the conſequences of the battle than they did during the action. Being entirely ſtrangers in the Milaneſe,

Milaneſe, they were knocked on the head by the country people, or periſhed of their wounds, or through hunger and cold; ſo that few or none of them repaſſed the Adda. Upon the place of battle, which was fought between the villages of Parabici and Nervi, Luchino and his brother John built a church, in commemoration of the victory, and dedicated it to St. Ambroſe.

Azzo wars with Scaliger.

After this deciſive advantage, Azzo turned his arms entirely againſt Scaliger, whom he conſidered as the ſource of all his difficulties; and having defeated him in repeated actions, ſtripped him of Breſcia. He afterwards turned his thoughts towards improving and fortifying his capital, by raiſing the walls to a great height, and adorning them with marble dragons, the enſigns of his family. He likewiſe introduced into the city the ſtreams of two ſmall rivulets, which greatly contributed to its cleanlineſs and ſalubrity. He alſo built many ſacred edifices, which are to this day the admiration of Italy and all Europe, and endowed them with great munificence. He died in the month of Auguſt, when he was no more than thirty-eight years of age, ſo worn out with the gout, that he could not, without extreme torture, bear the weight even of his bed-cloaths. He married Catharine, daughter to the duke of Savoy, a lady of the ſtricteſt virtue and chaſtity; but by her he left no iſſue. He was a prince of great accompliſhments; handſome in his perſon, liberal, and affable.

His death.

Succeeded by Luchino.

Azzo was ſucceeded by his uncle Luchino to the univerſal ſatisfaction of all the Milaneſe. Luchino, though a great captain, was both prudent and religious; and his firſt care was to procure from Benedict XII. an abſolution from the eccleſiaſtical cenſures that the Milaneſe then lay under. He likewiſe recovered the immenſe treaſures that, during the late diſtraction at Milan, had been carried from Mouſa to Avignon. His life having been a continued ſeries of warlike achievements, he had received ſo many wounds in actions, that, when he came to the government of Milan, he was unable to head his armies in perſon. Notwithſtanding the many noble ſervices he had performed for his country, he no ſooner took upon him the government of it, than conſpiracies were formed againſt him by his moſt intimate friends and relations: amongſt thoſe were Franceſco Puſterla, a nobleman of great family and fortune, and the two brothers Martin and Pinalla Aliprandi. The two laſt had been general officers under Azzo, and thinking themſelves neglected by Luchino, caſt their eyes upon Galeazzo and Barnabo, two young noblemen of the Viſconti family, of graceful perſons, and warlike diſpoſitions, but

A conſpiracy againſt him defeated.

but immeaſurably ambitious. Martin and Pinalla having deliberated upon meaſures for carrying into execution their conſpiracy, met with ſo many difficulties, that, before they could bring them to bear, they were betrayed by Ramengo Caſſati, whom they had endeavoured to engage in their deſign. Upon this diſcovery, Martin and Pinalla were impriſoned, and put to the torture, and at laſt died of pain and hunger. The other conſpirators were executed on gibbets. Puſterla, who was the moſt criminal of them all, endeavoured to eſcape to Tuſcany, but was retaken, and publicly executed in the great ſquare, with the cruel mortification of ſeeing two youths, his ſons, executed for the ſame crime before his face. His wife Margaret, who was acceſſory to the conſpiracy, and had been very active in carrying it on, was condemned to perpetual impriſonment; a favour ſhe obtained by her being of the Viſconti family, and nearly related to Luchino. Upon farther enquiry it was found, that the two young noblemen, Galeazzo and Barnabo, had been privy to the conſpiracy, and embarked deeply in meaſures for rendering it ſucceſsful. Luchino would have put them to death; but his brother, the archbiſhop, repreſented to him how obnoxious the family muſt become if they embrued themſelves farther in the blood of their kinſmen; the public being by no means ſatisfied with the juſtice of Marc's death. Theſe conſiderations prevailed with Luchino to baniſh their kinſmen to Holland; or, in the terms of Paul Jovius, to the extremity of the ocean, amongſt the Belgians and Batavians, to puniſh them for their diſloyalty and perfidy.

After this event, Luchino grew reſerved, diſtruſtful, and moroſe. He ſeldom or never was ſeen to laugh. His look expreſſed ſuſpicion and jealouſy, and the temper of his mind was farther rankled by the excruciating pains of the gout. The character and behaviour of his wife Fuſca did not a little contribute to his chagrin. She was of the family of the Fieſques of Genoa, one of the nobleſt in Italy, which had furniſhed two popes to the Holy See. In her perſon ſhe was graceful, witty, and gallant, beyond any of the Lombard ladies; but ſhe was laſcivious, gay, diſſolute, and expenſive, beyond any woman in Italy. Luchino was in his perſon by no means amiable; but young Galeazzo was looked upon to be the handſomeſt man of his age, though ſo looſe in his amours, that he had an intrigue with Luchino's wife, who made him the nominal father of a ſpurious but promiſing iſſue, viz. Luchino, Orſino, Borſio, and Foreſtini. The world muſt have concluded Luchino to be the happieſt man alive in his family, had not

Luchino's wife unfaithful to him.

not the abandoned behaviour of his wife given too much reaſon for the public to ſuſpect that the children were baſtards. Luchino could refuſe her nothing. She prevailed upon him to fit out a ſquadron of yachts, or pleaſure-boats, magnificently equipped, and furniſhed for all the purpoſes of luxury, with which ſhe propoſed to pay a viſit to Venice in the carnival time, or ſome ſuch feſtal occaſion. Her companions, who attended her in this expedition, were ladies of the ſame character with herſelf, though not quite publicly ſo abandoned; for the reader is to obſerve, that the noblemen and gentlemen of Milan were at this time ſo much employed in the field, that they had little leiſure to attend to the morals or conduct of their wives. Luchino was then confined to his bed by his gout, wounds, and other infirmities, ſo that his lady had her full ſwing of pleaſure. This tranſaction happened after her lover Galeazzo had been baniſhed. The voyage was performed with the utmoſt magnificence and ſplendor; but the exceſſes of the company broke through all the bounds of modeſty. Fuſca proſtituted herſelf to two Venetian noblemen, in the moſt ſhameleſs manner, as did the reſt of her companions; and and their ſecrets were ſo ill kept, that, upon their return, the whole reached the ears of her huſband. It was eaſy for Fuſca, from the manner of his behaviour, to perceive that he was not only informed of all the particulars, but that he was meditating a ſevere revenge; in which ſhe was reſolved to anticipate him. She therefore adminiſtered to him a ſlow poiſon, which deprived him of the remainder of his ſtrength, ſo that his death was imputed to his gout and other ailments. He lived ſixty-two years, of which he governed nine, and had a moſt magnificent burial, in the church of St. Godard, near his nephew Azzo. Notwithſtanding the ſeverity of his government, he was moſt ſincerely lamented by the Milaneſe of all ranks and degrees. He was a moſt excellent juſticiary. He was ſucceſsful in baniſhing faction. He protected the weak againſt the powerful. He took great care to have his capital and his country well ſupplied with all kind of proviſions; and it was a maxim with him, always to carry the wars he waged into his enemy's country; by which means he preſerved his own in peace and plenty. He added to Milan the principality of Parma, which he bought from Obizi Ateſtini, who had wreſted it from the Gonzagæ and the Scaligers, for ſixty thouſand crowns. He obliged the Piſans to pay him an honorary tribute of two horſes; one of them equipped for the field, and the other a palfrey, for the uſe of a lady: and likewiſe two foreign falcons or hawks. Before

His death and character.

his death he was preparing for an expedition againſt Genoa, and had raiſed a numerous army for that purpoſe. In his private life he was modeſt, and left no monument of magnificence behind him, excepting a pa'ace at Pavia; but he was contented after his acceſſion, to live in the houſe that had been inhabited by his nephew Azzo. He built, however, a ſtrong citadel at Bergamo, on the place where a chapel ſtood before. He was fond of living in the country, and choſe for the place of his retirement a ſpot remarkable for the ſalubrity of its air, but for little elſe, about ſeven miles from Como. His favourite ſon was Brutio, whom he had by a concubine, and whom he intended to have made the general of his expedition againſt the Genoeſe.

Puniſhment of his wife.

Before we take leave of his memory, it is proper to inform the reader, that his infamous wife was ſo much ſtruck with remorſe for what ſhe had done, that ſhe retired to a life of mortification and auſterity. As ſhe confeſſed her crimes, Borſio finiſhed his life in priſon, as Foreſtini did in exile, while the third brother Morello, took ſervice under the enemies of his country. Brutio, upon his father's death, invaded the government of Lodi; but he proved ſo intolerable a tyrant, that the inhabitants drove him out, and he died in exile and poverty in an obſcure village.

Luchino ſucceeded by John.

John, the archbiſhop, and prince of Milan is repreſented as a finiſhed pattern of all civil and perſonal virtues. His acceſſion to the government was conſidered by the Milaneſe as a public benefit. In prudence and piety, juſtice and moderation, he reſembled the firſt Otho; in conſtancy and magnanimity, his father Matthew; in generoſity, openneſs of manners, affability, addreſs, and perſonal beauty, his brother Galeazzo; and his nephew Azzo, in his winning deportment, and inſinuating converſation; while he poſſeſſed all the virtues of Luchino, without his ſeverity.

Upon his acceſſion to the government, his firſt care was to recall from baniſhment his two nephews, the ſons of his brother Stephen. They had during their exile, ſerved with great reputation in the wars of the Low Countries, and ſometimes in the Engliſh armies. To render their family more ſtable, ſoon after their return they matched into two powerful families; Galeazzo married Bianca, the daughter of Amadeo of Savoy; and Barnabo eſpouſed Beatrix, the daughter of Scaliger of Verona, a lady of ſo lofty a deportment, that ſhe generally went by the name of the Queen. The firſt warlike adventure, after their return, was to reſume the expedition againſt Genoa; which they proſecuted with ſo much ſpirit, that they obliged the Genoeſe

A.D. 1353.

Acquires Genoa.

noeſe to ſubmit to the authority of the archbiſhop. Paul Jovius, on this occaſion, calls the Genoeſe general Murtha. It is certain that Murtha was obliged to reſign his authority, whatever it was; and the Genoeſe were forced to accept of Pallavicini, who acted as deputy for the archbiſhop of Milan. Murtha had been very inſtrumental in bringing about this revolution; but upon his death, which happened ſoon after, they made one Valente, or Valens, their general, in oppoſition to Pallavicini. The reader, in the hiſtory of Genoa, will ſee the ſtate of the Genoeſe affairs at that time, which was as fluctuating as the tempers of the inhabitants. The archbiſhop, who had done every thing to ſoothe them, exaſperated at their inconſtancy, raiſed an army, and again declared war againſt them. Upon this, and ſome untowardly events which happened at ſea, Valente was obliged to reſign his command, and the Genoeſe, once more, received Pallavicini as their governor under the archbiſhop. This new ſubmiſſion entirely changed the face of affairs in Genoa. Pallavicini carried with him to Genoa a ſtrong reinforcement of troops, which not only ſerved to garriſon the city, but to man their fleet. He made them a preſent likewiſe of thirty gallies, armed, manned, and victualled, at his own expence. Pagano Doria was appointed admiral of the whole, and they ſailed under the flag of the Viſconti family; the archbiſhop, at the ſame time, taking care to provide for the expences of the expedition. The voyage was ſucceſsful beyond expectation: Doria ſcoured the coaſt of Catalonia, entered the Venetian gulf, and defeated or plundered the enemy's ſhips wherever he came. At laſt he attacked their general Nicholas Piſano, whom he defeated, and returned in triumph to Genoa, carrying with him thirty-five gallies, and thirty-four ſmaller veſſels, with above five thouſand priſoners.

This ſeaſonable relief filled the minds of the Genoeſe with ſuch tranſports of affection and gratitude, that, by a public decree, they continued their government in the perſons of Galeazzo and Barnabo, if they ſhould ſurvive their uncle the archbiſhop; and thus the Viſconti family became ſovereigns of all Liguria. About the ſame time Pepoli, a noble Bologneſe, having ſeized the governor of Bologna, was preſſed ſo hard by the papal arms, that he was obliged to have recourſe for aſſiſtance to the archbiſhop of Milan. The archbiſhop, however, does not ſeem to have acted quite diſintereſtedly on this occaſion. He obliged Pepoli to reſign to him the government of Bologna, in lieu of Crepacori and Nouantola. This acquiſition of ſo conſiderable a city as Bologna, rendered the Viſconti family

Bologna ſubmits to be governed by the Viſconti.

mily formidable all over Italy, and at laſt excited a confederacy againſt the archbiſhop, between the pope, the Florentines, and Venetians. The particulars and progreſs of this confederacy have been touched upon in other parts of this work. It is ſufficient here to ſay, that the confederates prevailed with the pope to excommunicate the archbiſhop, and to put his dominions under an interdict. This gave the archbiſhop very little trouble, and he appointed Oligiano to be his governor of Bologna, who acted with ſo much courage and ſucceſs, that he eaſily baffled all the attempts of the pope againſt that city. At laſt the pope's legate Griſante, who afterwards became pope, under the title of Urban V. paid a viſit to Milan, and entered into a negociation, by which the archbiſhop was to pay every year ſixty pounds of gold, by way of tribute, for Bologna; others ſay, that he engaged to pay twelve thouſand florins a-year for twelve years, and a hundred thouſand florins for the expences of the war.

A confederacy againſt him.

The archbiſhop of Milan was now become ſo great as to draw upon himſelf the jealouſy of the emperor, notwithſtanding his being the profeſſed head of the Ghibelin faction in Italy. The Florentines and he never had been in good correſpondence together; and he now put himſelf at the head of the Ubaldini, the Uberti, and the Pazzi; all of them Florentine exiles, aſſiſted by the governors or tyrants of Arezzo and Cortona. The whole confederacy was commanded by Oligiano, who was in fact the archbiſhop's natural ſon, born at the village of Oligio, from which he took his name. Oligiano, drawing together his army, marched from Bologna towards Sambucco, a village belonging to Piſtoia, which he took. He then appeared before Scarperia, within twelve miles of Florence. His army was compoſed of about ten thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot, beſides a great number of irregulars, who proceeded with great devaſtation. It does not appear, however, that Oligiano's progreſs was ſo great as the Milaneſe hiſtorians have given out; for the archbiſhop very readily entered into a propoſal for an accommodation, and a truce was accordingly agreed to at the little town of Sarzana, belonging to the Genoeſe. The manager for the archbiſhop was William Pallavicini, and Charles Strozzi treated for the Florentines. It is ſaid, that in this congreſs the deputies from above ſixty cities and princes appeared, and the archbiſhop proceeded with ſo much moderation and juſtice that he ſatisfied all their demands; ſo that none had reaſon to complain. He found means even to elude with a joke the pontifical thunders: for when his holineſs perceived that the peace would certainly be con-

concluded without his intervention, he cited the archbishop to appear before him at Avignon, under pain of excommunication. Visconti received the summons with great appearances of respect; and professing himself to be the humble son of the church, said that he would appear before his holiness as soon as he could be attended with a proper equipage answerable to his pontifical dignity. He then gave orders for magazines to be erected all over Lombardy, and for assembling troops on the frontiers of his dominions. He bought up all the provisions, and hired all the inns that lay on the road to Avignon; so that his holiness soon saw himself deprived of the most beneficial part of his revenue, as the recourse of churchmen, and other strangers, to his court was thus effectually stopt: sending, therefore, for the Milanese agents, he asked what their master's meaning was by making such immense preparations, to make up a difference that might be otherwise accommodated? The agents answered, as they had been instructed, that their master was under a necessity to make such preparations, that he might do the more honour to his holiness, by appearing before him at the head of seven thousand horse, and as many infantry. The pontiff understood the meaning of this answer, and replied with a smile, that the archbishop had no occasion to put himself to so much trouble and expence, and that he willingly dispensed with his appearance. Upon this answer, the archbishop ordered all the magazines, and the provisions he had amassed, to be gratuitously divided amongst the most reputable inhabitants of the country, or those whose circumstances were but indifferent; and thus all the religious houses and the poor were amply provided for some months. This conduct, at once generous, charitable, and wise, rendered the archbishop extremely popular in Lombardy, and procured him a number of real friends, to the great terror of his enemies.

Towards the end of his life, however, the perpetual stream of success which had attended his government, excited the jealousy of the neighbouring princes so greatly, that a new confederacy was formed against him by the families of Este, Gonzaga, and Scaliger. They attacked him with a numerous army, and besieged him in his camp, near Modena, where, being bravely repulsed, they fell into the Cremonese, which they filled with devastations. The archbishop had taken his measures so well, and had fortified his camp so strongly, that he threatened to make himself master of Reggio and Modena; by which acquisitions he must have extended his dominions from Bologna to Placentia, all upon his own territory: but he was in the

Fresh confederacies against him.

His death. mean time ſeized with a ſlow fever, which, after various attacks, put an end to his life in the month of September, when he was ſixty-three years of age. He was buried near his predeceſſor, the archbiſhop Otho; and it muſt be acknowleged that his reign, which laſted but ſeven years, was an almoſt uninterrupted courſe of felicity.

Notwithſtanding the great abilities of archbiſhop John, he made a very unequal diſtribution of his dominions at the time of his death. By his brother Stephen he had three nephews: the eldeſt was Matthew, commonly called Matthew the Second; the next was Galeazzo; and the youngeſt, Barnabo. The two laſt we have ſeveral times mentioned, but the former was a prince entirely given to his pleaſures, and made little or no figure in life. By the laſt will of archbiſhop John, all his territories were to be divided amongſt thoſe three brothers. Milan and Genoa were to be governed by two of them, and the reſt of the dominions was to fall by lot to the third. Matthew obtained for his portion, Bologna, Lodi, Placentia, Parma, and Bobbio, together with many other rich towns and provinces. Oligiano, at that time, was in poſſeſſion of Bologna, and the Bologneſe underſtanding that archbiſhop John was paſt recovery, ran to arms, in order to aſſert their independency; but Oligiano took his meaſures ſo well, that they were defeated and puniſhed. He then repaired and fortified the citadel of Bologna, which had been begun by archbiſhop John; then finding himſelf, as he thought, ſecure againſt all oppoſition, he ſeized the reins of government in his own right, and expelled Matthew's poteſta out of the city. Matthew himſelf was ſo much immerſed in ſenſuality and luxury, that he made no attempts to recover his right, but ſpent his days in hawking, and his nights with women, in the moſt infamous courſe of debauchery, if we are to believe ſome hiſtorians of his family; and this courſe of debauchery threw him into a conſumption, which put an end to his life in the ſecond year of his government.

Death of Matthew II.

Valentina, his mother, was firmly perſuaded that he had been taken off by poiſon at Sarona, one of his country ſeats, half-way between Milan and Como; for which reaſon ſhe never ceaſed to curſe the two brothers to her dying day. It is ſaid, that, in converſation, Matthew dropt ſome words reflecting upon archbiſhop John for the diviſion he had made of his dominions, and hinted that there could be no enjoyment of power with a partner. His words were conſtrued ſo much to his diſadvantage, that the two brothers thought proper to ſhorten his days by poiſon. He left two daughters, but no ſon. His wife was Liliola Gonzaga, daughter of the duke of Mantua. His

daughters

daughters were Catherine and Urſina. The former was married to Balthazar Puſterla, a nobleman of great rank and riches, and the latter to Ugolino Gonzaga, a famous warrior. This Matthew II. lies buried at Milan without a ſtone or inſcription.

Galeazzo II. was, as we have ſeen, remarkable for the beauty of his perſon, which he adorned with the utmoſt art and elegance. When young, he had paid a viſit to the Holy Land, where he obtained the honour of knighthood; and, while he ſerved in Germany, he killed in ſingle combat a nobleman, whoſe device he afterwards always made uſe of, conſiſting of two torches of fire, and two buckets of water hanging by a ragged branch, which device continued in his family even in the time of the Sforzas. When the emperor Charles IV. came to Milan to be crowned, he was conſtituted the imperial vicar over all Lombardy, in conjunction with his brother Barnabo; and, during the ceremony of the inauguration, the emperor beſtowed the honour of knighthood on the ſons of both, though then very young. One was John Galeazzo, afterwards the firſt duke of Milan, and the other was Marc, the ſon of Barnabo, who made no great figure. The emperor having received great ſums at Milan, in return for the new honours he had beſtowed on the two brothers, returned to Germany. It is ſurpriſing that thoſe two brothers, though men of great ambition and intrigue, had not the ſmalleſt difference with each other during the whole courſe of their lives; but upon the death of their brother Matthew they made an exact diviſion of the whole heritage. Bologna fell to the ſhare of Barnabo, which was ſtill held by Oligiano under the protection of the pope, and this circumſtance gave riſe to a bloody war. The Viſconti family was ſo formidable at this time, that the Italian princes, laying aſide all their domeſtic quarrels, united againſt them, as did Conrad Landi, and Marcoald, two German generals, who had been left in Italy by the emperor, and who entered into the pay of the confederates. At this juncture all Italy was full of foreign mercenaries, and the two Germans had no difficulty of bringing an army into the field, with which they invaded Lombardy, and carried their ravages to the gates of Milan. Galeazzo and Barnabo were obliged for ſome time to put up with thoſe inſults; but at laſt, drawing together their troops, they gave the Germans battle, and defeated them at Caſa. Marcoald was taken, and Landi eſcaped, after a bloody engagement, in which ſix thouſand horſe, and four thouſand foot, were either killed or made priſoners.

Account of Galeazzo II. and his brother Barnabo.

Seſiege Bologna.

Barnabo then led his victorious troops againſt Bologna, where he found a much greater reſiſtance than he expected. The Florentines, the Piſans, the Ferrareſe, the Mantuans, and the Veroneſe, alarmed at the event of the late battle, ranged themſelves under the banners of the pope's legate Egido, in defence of Bologna; and the marquis of Montferrat, to give Galeazzo's troops a diverſion, invaded the Milaneſe with great fury. He took Alba by ſurprize, and made himſelf maſter of Pavia, from whence he expelled the Guelphs. We have, in the Hiſtory of Florence, given an account of the arrival of the Engliſh in Italy. Beſides thoſe who ſerved under Hawkwood, a large body was employed by Galeazzo, and by their means he recovered Alba and Pavia, and took a monk, one Buſſelario, who had incited the Pavians to revolt. This fellow made a deſperate reſiſtance, and had become maſter of the city which was with ſome difficulty recovered. Galeazzo had then leiſure to march to the aſſiſtance of his brother, who had been defeated in ſeveral battles by the troops under the legate; ſo that Oligiano, perceiving Bologna to be no longer tenable, gave it up to the legate in exchange for Fermo. All this while Barnabo continued to carry on the war with great vigour, equally againſt the legate and Oligiano; hoſtilities which induced the confederate ſtates to ſend, by way of diverſion, an army into the Milaneſe, in hopes of drawing Barnabo out of the Bologneſe, and obliging him to paſs the Po.

But Ugolino having paſſed that river, and taken Novara, was encountered in his turn by a war of diverſion. Galeazzo fell into the Mantuan, and having taken Seralio, a fortification on the banks of the Po, all the Mantuan lay open to his invaſion, a circumſtance which ſo terrified the inhabitants of that city, of which Ugolino was prince, that while he thought himſelf in the high career of victory, he was obliged to fly to the relief of his own ſubjects, and to conclude a new treaty with Galeazzo and his brother.

Marriage between the princeſs of Milan and the duke of Clarence.

This accommodation was far from diverting Barnabo from his deſign of recovering Bologna, which he conſidered as having been taken from him by treachery. While the fate of this war was depending, Galeazzo, whoſe ſpirit aſpired beyond that of almoſt any prince of his time, reſolved to raiſe his family by two royal matches. The firſt was by marrying his ſon with the daughter of the king of France, which match accordingly took place; and the next, by matching his daughter Violante to prince Lionel, duke of Clarence, the ſecond ſon of Edward III. of England. This match had been propoſed about the year 1366; and

and Humphry Bohun, earl of Northampton, was appointed, on the part of Edward, to negociate the marriage. The affair continued in dependence for almoſt two years; but at laſt it was concluded chiefly by the intervention of ſir John Hawkwood, who was afterwards married to a natural daughter of Barnabo. Galeazzo gave two hundred thouſand crowns of gold, and the cities of Mondovi and Alba in dowry with his daughter. The marriage was concluded at Windſor, and Galeazzo advanced ten thouſand florins as part of his expences for the treaty. The Engliſh hiſtorians pretend, that Edward agreed to this match upon poſitive aſſurance given him, that the Italian ſtates, particularly the two princes of Milan, the republic of Florence, and that of Venice, would unite in chooſing prince Lionel emperor. There is nothing improbable in this, when we conſider the diſpoſitions of the Italian ſtates, and the great averſion they had to the German emperors, and the little danger they had to apprehend from Edward, whoſe power and reputation was, at this time, beyond that of any prince in Europe. The marriage was celebrated on the 29th of May, in the great church of Milan. The magnificence and ſplendor of the nuptials were inexpreſſible. Above two hundred Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen attended on the bridegroom, and at every courſe magnificent preſents were ſent to the attendants of the Engliſh prince, and ſuch as few crowned heads in Europe, at that time, could have equalled. Amongſt other preſents, were no fewer than ſeventy beautiful horſes, with rich trappings of ſilver and ſilk, maſſy pieces of plate, curious falcons and dogs, javelins, ſwords, coats of mail, breaſt-plates, helmets ſplendidly adorned and finely worked, ſcarfs embroidered with pearl, military belts, and a profuſion of wearing apparel of all kinds, adorned with jewels of immenſe value. As to the entertainment itſelf, it was ſo extravagant, that when the diſhes were carried off the table, there were more than ſufficient for ten thouſand men. We muſt not forget that Francis Petrarch, the famous poet of Italy, was one of the gueſts on this occaſion. We have thought proper to mention thoſe particulars, to give our readers ſome idea of the immenſe riches and magnificence of the Milaneſe court at that time. A.D.1368.

The Engliſh prince did not long ſurvive his nuptials. The change of climate, and manner of living, threw him into a fever; and, after he had put his wordly affairs in order, he died at the city of Alba, not without great ſuſpicion of poiſon, on the 17th of October. This ſuſpicion was increaſed by many circumſtances, particularly the total alte- *Death of the latter.*

ration

ration which his elevation to the imperial dignity must have introduced into the affairs of Italy, as he could have had no other dominion there but the kingdom of Naples. The lord Edward Spencer was convinced that the duke had foul play for his life: and his suspicion fell at first upon the Visconti family; but they cleared themselves to his satisfaction, and the princess was a second time married to the marquis of Montferrat, who was assassinated by a boor upon the mountains of Parma.

Character, magnificence, and death of Galeazzo.

Galeazzo had now a son grown up with the most promising appearances of genius and capacity; and the rest of his life was one continued course of prosperity. After he had happily finished all his wars, the particulars of which the reader will see in other parts of this work, he retired to taste the fruits of leisure with a few studious companions, amongst whom was Francis Petrarch. By this poet's advice, he built a noble library, and founded the famous university of Pavia, under the patronage of the emperor Charles. Though he was naturally mild and averse to punish, yet when it became necessary, he was inexorable, as in the case of Picardoni Vasalli. This person, who was of a mean original, had attended him during his exile; and when he was restored to Italy, he, in recompence of his fidelity, had made him his chief financier, and entrusted him with his treasures. Vasalli was not proof against corruption, and oppressed the people so cruelly, that all the subjects of the Milanese joined in accusing him of peculation. Galeazzo gave him up to justice; and, after a regular trial, being found guilty, he was hanged on a gibbet. Galeazzo refused to suffer any of his ill-gotten wealth to come into the treasury; and observed, that his crime was aggravated by the criminal's ingratitude and insensibility of the low station from which he had been raised. He discovered another instance of justice in the punishment he inflicted upon the potesta of Vico, whom he ordered to execute the law immediately upon certain banditti and murderers, who had been condemned to death. The potesta, by the interposition of the friends of the malefactors, delayed their punishment till Galeazzo returned to Pavia. While he was there, the friends of the condemned applied to him for their pardon, which he readily granted, as thinking they had been for some time dead. Finding his mistake, he ordered the potesta's head to be struck off, before the prison-door, for having disobeyed his orders.

In his buildings Galeazzo was excessively magnificent, and affected both to imitate and to rival the Roman magnificence in architecture, as may be seen by the citadel which he

he raiſed at Milan, and the vaſt porticoes and ſquares which he erected for public ſpectacles. His bridge over the Teſin was looked upon to be a maſter-piece; and even Petrarch himſelf, who was very ſparing of his compliments to great men, admired the palace he built on the north ſide of Pavia, ſo greatly, that he ſaid, "Galeazzo in his former works had outdone the greateſt potentates in Europe; but in that palace he had outdone himſelf." The whole was filled with noble pictures, and encloſed by a wall fifty miles in circumference. The great number of families that were turned out of their poſſeſſions, to make this immenſe work, had almoſt created a rebellion againſt Galeazzo, who, it ſeems, was not very generous in indemnifying the poſſeſſors for what they had loſt; and one Bartholo Siſta, being turned out of his paternal eſtate, was ſo exaſperated at Galeazzo, that he wounded him in the belly with a knife, which muſt have killed him, had it not ſtruck on part of his armour. The ruins of this park, and ſome parts of the magnificent buildings remained in the time of the emperor Charles V. the battle of Pavia, where Francis I. was taken priſoner, having been fought within its walls. At laſt, upon retaking Aſti, and raiſing the ſiege of Vercelli, the worldly happineſs of Galeazzo ſeemed to be complete; and he died in the year 1378, in the fifty-ninth year of his life, and the twenty-ſecond of his reign. A.D. 1378.

Hiſtory of Barnabo.

We are now to attend the fortunes of his brother Barnabo, ſo called from his grandfather by his mother's ſide, who being of the family of Doria, famous for their exploits at ſea, was thought to inherit ſomewhat of the boiſterous unſteady temper of that element. Barnabo was in his perſon brave, and endowed with ſingular firmneſs, both of mind and body. He ſpent his time in action, and ſcarce ever had a minute of reſpite from war; for no ſooner did he finiſh one quarrel than another inſtantly broke out. He was, however, ſo liberal, that he was ſerved with chearfulneſs by his ſoldiers. His obſtinacy, in endeavouring to retake Bologna from Oligiano produced a formidable conſpiracy againſt him, at the head of which was the pope. The real deſign of the confederates, was to exterminate the Viſconti family. For this purpoſe they had hired Engliſh, Spaniards, French, and all kinds of foreign auxiliaries; and at laſt the emperor Charles IV. was called into Italy. In this conteſt Bernabo was twice defeated; once near Bologna, and again at Guaſtalla; but he repaired his loſſes with wonderful addreſs. He had a naval engagement upon the Po, in which he defeated his enemies. He built a ſtrong fortreſs at Borgo, which he defended againſt the emperor; and

and laid great part of the Mantuan under water, by piercing the mounds and dykes of the Po. At last, all parties being weary of war, the duke of Bavaria undertook to mediate a peace, which ended in Barnabo's being obliged to abandon his enterprize upon Bologna, and the emperor's renewing his ancient engagements with the Visconti, after which he returned home with a large sum of money, advanced him by Barnabo.

Though the latter was thus obliged to give up Bologna, which he had so long and so earnestly struggled for; yet it was some indemnification to him that he acquired Reggio, by paying Feltrino Gonzaga a sum of money for the purchase.

Expences of the Visconti family.

Paul Jovius says, that during the nine years in which the contest about Bologna lasted, the two brothers of the Visconti family expended upon it no less than three hundred millions of gold; but this account seems incredible, as America was not then discovered. The same author remarks, that this vast expence was the more extraordinary, as both brothers were extravagantly fond of building. We are told, that Barnabo erected a bridge over the Adda, built of three stories, one above another. The lower was for chariots and heavy carriages, the middle for horses, and the uppermost for infantry and foot passengers. He likewise erected a bridge of so amazing a construction, that it was carried over houses and lands, and the buildings left entire [a]. He built the castle of Brescia, and that of Monia; but perhaps the noblest works he erected were the prisons of Milan, where civil debtors were confined in spacious, but secure apartments, and provided with all the necessaries of life.

Their marriages.

He married one of his daughters, Viris, to Leopold duke of Austria; another, Thadea, to Stephen; a third, Magdalena, to Frederick, dukes of Bavaria; a fourth to Frederic king of Cyprus; a fifth, to Francesco Gonzaga; a sixth Catharine, to his nephew John Galeazzo. Two more, called Antonia and Anglesia, to Conrade and Frederic of Wirtemberg, dukes of Suabia; and he gave Lucia to Edmund, son of Edward III. of England.

Those daughters were all legitimate; but he had a numerous progeny of natural children. He gave his daughter Donina in marriage to sir John Hawkwood, and Lucia to Landi, a German nobleman; and each of them had in apparel and fortune a million of crowns of gold. In all other relations of life, he was equally splendid and magnificent. He had five sons that were legitimate, Marc, Lodovic, Rodolph, Charles, and Mastino: all those were provided for

[a] Paul Jovius, p. 158.

separately

ſeparately and independently, with appointments befitting ſovereign princes. Of natural ſons he had Ambroſe, Uſtorgius, Palamede, Lancelot, and Sacramore, who all took the name of Viſconti; and upon the death of Philip, the laſt male branch of the family, they were acknowleged as legitimate. Of thoſe, Ambroſe made a great figure in war. By the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, whom he headed upon the death of Hawkwood, he made war upon the pope, the queen of Naples, the Florentines, and the Genoeſe, with various ſucceſs. At laſt, while he was keenly engaged in war in the Bergameſe, he fell into an ambuſh of mountaineers, in proſecuting ſome advantages he had obtained, and was cut off, to the great affliction of his father, who, in revenge, put all who had a hand in his death, to the ſword.

This diviſion of government proved fatal to his family. He and his brother had till then lived in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with each other. But after his children grew up, their deſires were enlarged; and, by the inſtigation of their mother, they began to conſider their uncle Galeazzo as an obſtacle in the way of their preferment. They formed ſchemes for poſſeſſing themſelves of the undivided ſucceſſion; and their mother dying in the mean time, Barnabo gave himſelf entirely up to the madneſs and ambition of his ſons. The vaſt expences of his government had, in ſome degrees, rendered this conduct neceſſary for his affairs; but he little knew the character of his nephew John Galeazzo, ſon to his brother Galeazzo II. *Diviſion of their territories.*

This prince, one of the moſt artful of any in his time, had hitherto affected only the title of count of Virtu. He affected a ſolitary unambitious life, and even to have a turn for devotion; but in the mean time he had filled his uncle's court with ſpies, who informed him of the moſt minute particulars relating to the government; and diſcovered at length, that nothing but diſſimulation could prevent his being deprived of life or fortune, or of both. To take away all ſuſpicion of his deſigns, he reduced his table and manner of living to a narrow compaſs, and entertained none about his perſon whom he could not thoroughly truſt, both in point of courage and honour. To give the greater colour to his caution, he pretended that he took all theſe meaſures to guard himſelf againſt certain ambitious courtiers, who wanted to take advantage of the inclination he had for devotion, and that it was neceſſary for him to keep for ſome time upon the defenſive, at leaſt till he ſhould pay a religious vow; after which he intimated, that he was determined to retire from the world. *Art of John Galeazzo.*

In

In a word, he acted his part so well, that even his cautious uncle had no suspicion of his secret sentiments. He seemed to be afraid, even to a degree of religious timidity, of appearing abroad; and when he did, it was with such caution and diffidence as rendered him ridiculous and contemptible. These arts concealed his designs so well, that he several times applied to his uncle for his interest to procure him a quiet retreat, as soon as his religious vows should be performed. One of these was to pay a visit to the church of the Blessed Virgin upon Monte Varezzio, and this was to be done so secretly, that all kinds of eye-witnesses were to be excluded. It was with difficulty that Barnabo himself, and two of his sons, were permitted to wait upon him at the gate of Vercelli, to pay him their compliments. But no sooner were they arrived there, than, upon a concerted signal, all three were suddenly made prisoners, and the private orders that had been given to the troops, who were advancing from all quarters, were immediately put into execution. The gate and castle of Jove, as had been before agreed on, served to confine the illustrious prisoners; the principal passes of the city were immediately seized; and to secure the troops in the interest of John Galeazzo, they no sooner were admitted into the city, than the houses of the chief friends of Barnabo were given up to be plundered. This outrage and many other incidents, increased the public disorders; nor did any unanimity appear, but in the execrations that were poured out on all sides against Barnabo. The booty in plate, money, hangings, and all kinds of rich furniture, was immense. The ministers of the late government were dragged from dunghills, where they had concealed themselves, and put to various deaths; and at last the citadel itself fell into the hands of Galeazzo, who found in it a vast sum in ready money.

Tyranny of Barnabo.

Few revolutions were ever known to be so sudden, so unexpected, so effectual, and so bloodless, as this was. It cannot be accounted for, otherwise than by reflecting on the acts of tyranny, which Barnabo's dotage for his family had induced him to commit. He had for some years been a scourge to his people, and every day had produced fresh instances of his rapacity and cruelty. At last his avarice exceeded all credibility: he instituted a chamber of enquiry, for punishing all who had been, for five years before, guilty of killing boars, or of eating them at another's table. They who could not redeem themselves by money were hanged, and above one hundred wretches perished in that manner; while others, who had any thing to lose, were stripped of all their substance, and obliged to labour at the fortifications,

and

and other public works. Amongſt other ingenious arts of oppreſſion, he obliged his ſubjects to maintain a great many hunting dogs, and each diſtrict was taxed at a certain number. The overſeers of his dogs were, at the ſame time, the inſtruments of his rapacity. When the dogs appeared thin and meagre, their owners were always obliged to pay a fine; when they were fat, a penalty was incurred, for their being ſuffered to live without exerciſe. Perhaps a great part of Barnabo's cruelty and oppreſſions, was owing to his family; but ſome cruelties he was guilty of, admitted of no alleviation.

He is depoſed, made priſoner, and poiſoned.

Barnabo, however, in his extreme miſery, being carried priſoner from Milan to Tritici, a caſtle of his own building, found one perſon faithful to him, and that was his miſtreſs Doninia Porra, who, when he was abandoned by all the world, ſhut herſelf up a voluntary priſoner in his chamber, and watched over him to the laſt day of his life, which laſted ſeven months after his degradation. It is reported, that he was poiſoned in a diſh of lentils, of which he was fond, and died in the arms of his beloved Doninia, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his government. His body was buried at Milan, and his tomb was adorned with an equeſtrian ſtatue of white marble, repreſenting him to the life, but without any inſcription.

The reader, after what is ſaid, can be at no loſs to form a character of Barnabo, who certainly eclipſed all the princes of his age in magnificence and liberality. He was a man of undaunted ſpirit, and proof againſt both reverſes of fortune.

Character of John Galeazzo, firſt duke of Milan.

John Galeazzo, the firſt duke of Milan, gave early in life ſo many proofs of ſtrong judgment and genius, that it was a common report that they were too pregnant to be laſting. If we are, however, to form our ideas by the writer of Petrarch's life, no great dependence is to be laid on ſuch appearances. We are told, that this poet, while at Galeazzo's court, when John was no more than ſeven years of age, was, by a kind of divine inſtinct, choſen by the boy to fill his father's ſeat, as being the wiſeſt perſonage in the company. This accident might have been unobſerved, had it happened to be a perſon of leſs conſequence than Galeazzo proved afterwards to be, or had it been delivered by any other than a fanciful Italian author, who magnifies every thing into miracles. It is certain, however, that Galeazzo, through the care of his father, had a moſt excellent education. He was early initiated in all kinds of arts and ſciences; and his own application and genius, kept pace with the cares of his tutors. His education was digeſted into

into a regular ſyſtem, under the beſt maſters that age afforded; and every part of it gave ſtrength and ſolidity to another. His father had ſeen a great deal of life, but was ſenſible that his genius had not been cultivated by ſtudy to the beſt advantage, a reflection which made him the more careful of his ſon's education. Being taken out of the hands of nurſes, he was put into thoſe of the moſt learned men, A.D. 1350. and the greateſt philoſophers of that age. The reader is to obſerve, that the liberal arts were at this time but in their infancy, and the troubles of Greece had driven into Italy the learned Byzantines, to whom literature owed its revival. We have already mentioned that Florence had the honour of reviving the Greek erudition; but Milan gave it the greateſt encouragement; and it was there that one of the moſt noble academies, or rather univerſities in Europe, broke forth all at once.

It happened fortunately for young Galeazzo, that this early initiation in the ſtudy of the liberal arts, rendered them at laſt habitual to him. He went through his exerciſes in common with the meaneſt ſtudent; and being kept ignorant of all the luxuries and avocations of life, but thoſe which his health abſolutely required, he had no emulation but to excel in learning, and in thoſe ſtudies that could contribute to render him a great prince. His intervals of leiſure from ſtudy were not ſpent in gaming, hunting, or any of thoſe diverſions that enervate the mind; and he abſtained from the company even of thoſe buffoons which formed the chiefeſt delight of the Italian courts in thoſe days. All his recreations tended to health alone, without exceſs of any kind.

Galeazzo's œconomy. Galeazzo's education was in every reſpect ſo complete, that it comprehended matters that ſeemed to be remote from literature. Having in his father's life-time an independent fortune of his own, he accuſtomed himſelf to keep exact and regular accounts of all his receipts and diſburſements, which he ordered regularly to be entered in a fair legible manner. He was equally careful in examining into the private characters of his officers, and had ſecret cenſors appointed, who rewarded or puniſhed them according to their merits. His great maxim was, that one of the chief ſecrets in life was to connect military and civil knowlege, ſo as to make them depend on each other. He was ſo exact an œconomiſt, that he could, at one glance examine all his public and private expences, and he never failed to know, even to a farthing, the real ſtate of his finances. In like manner, he every day reviewed his growing as well as his actual expences, and he kept regular journals of all events that

that aroſe in his government. But though Galeazzo was exact, yet he was not mean. He ſeemed to be an œconomiſt, only with a view of knowing how much he could ſpend; nor did he ſuffer the minuteſt incidents to paſs unobſerved. His generoſity was unbounded to thoſe who ſerved him well, either in war or peace; and he was, in ſhort, an eminent inſtance of the force of education and method, without reſtricting himſelf in the moſt liberal expences that munificence itſelf could deſire.

Such is the character and deſcription, that Paul Jovius has left us of this extraordinary prince; nor is it eaſy to perceive, that it has been in any degree exaggerated. If Galeazzo was not ſo great a conqueror as ſome of his cotemporaries, that circumſtance is to be attributed to his philoſophy and conſtitution. He laid the foundation of his military knowlege amongſt the Engliſh, while they ſerved in the Milaneſe, under his father and his uncle Barnabo. When he was twenty-three years of age, he was by his father, put under the name of count of Virtu, in poſſeſſion of Novara, Vercelli, Aſti, and Aleſſandria, ſo that his territories became expoſed to the marquis of Montferrat, who always was the enemy of his father's family, and a reſtleſs ambitious prince. As his father had ſome reaſons not to appear openly againſt that marquis, Galeazzo and he had a war together, without the father's ſeeming to concern himſelf in it; but he was betrayed by the Guelph faction; for the cauſe of the marquis of Montferrat was eſpouſed by the Savoyards, though that prince, then the count de Maurienne, was uncle to Galeazzo; and the Fieſques of Genoa taking part with the marquis, invited to their aſſiſtance the pope's troops, who beſieged Galeazzo in the caſtle of Vercelli, and reduced him to ſuch ſtraits, that he was unable to reſiſt the united force of his enemies, and obliged to give it up. His difficulties were increaſed by the defection of ſir John Hawkwood, who took part with the Florentines and the pope; ſo that Galeazzo was conquered; and all his troops being cut in pieces or taken priſoners, it was with the utmoſt hazard that he eſcaped out of the hands of his enemies.

His misfortunes.

All thoſe misfortunes happened during the life-time of his father; but his conduct was ſo unexceptionable, that he rather gained than loſt reputation by them. When his father died, he entirely altered his conduct; and pretending that his ill ſucceſs in war diſcouraged him from attempting any thing farther in perſon, he reſigned the command of his armies to his generals. To give the more countenance to this retirement from the labours of the field, which was, in

fact, occasioned by the practices and visible ambition of his uncle Barnabo and his family, he pretended that his horoscope being cast, predicted that he should make no kind of figure in a war, and that a private inoffensive life was his only sphere of action. He gave out at the same time, that he was resolved to retire from all kinds of public business; and it was in this interval, that he effected the wonderful revolution which rendered him master of Milan. But all his affectation did not prevent his employing the ablest generals, and the best troops he could find in Italy, as the reader may see in the History of Florence; so that at last he made himself master of Pavia,

His successes.

In a few years the course of Galeazzo's victories, seemed to threaten the utter subjection of all Italy to his power. At last, the emperor Ladislaus, formally created him, by patent, duke of Milan; an honour to which none of his predecessors had till then attained, though virtually they were so before. According to Paul Jovius, the ceremony was performed by sending him a ducal cap and sceptre. This dignity rendered him the most potent prince at that time in Italy. His troops were incomparably the best disciplined, armed, and paid, of any upon the continent; and his character, in point of prudence and politics, drew to his service all the generals of the greatest reputation in Europe; so that even princes served under his banners. He dispossessed the Scaligers of Verona and Vicenza, and the family of Carrara, of Pavia, by taking the elder, Francesco, prisoner, and carrying him captive to Mousa. He likewise reduced Trevisо, Feltri, Bellano, Trent, and all that mountainous district, under his power. The people of Perugia and Assisi revolted to him from the pope. The Siennese having been long fluctuating between the Florentines, the papal power, the imperialists, and the Neapolitans, submitted to him, as did the Pisans, and at last the Lucquese themselves.

His wars with the Florentines.

The Florentines were the most concerned of any people in Italy, to prevent the growth of this enormous power. They were then in high reputation, and the only state capable to make head against Galeazzo; but unable to do any thing of themselves, they were obliged to have recourse to their neighbours. They endeavoured to stir up a kind of a crusade against Galeazzo, and for that purpose sent their ambassadors all over Europe, to excite not only the Italian, but other states, to a sense of their danger, which they said was too threatening to be longer confined within the bounds of Italy. This confederacy rendered that country the seat of a most terrible war, in which the French and the imperialists were equally involved. The Florentines

times would willingly have kept fair with Galeazzo, and had actually celebrated feſtivities upon his receiving the ducal honours; but perceiving that he aſſiſted their enemies the Piſans, both parties continued for ſome time in a ſtate of neutrality, though each underhand ſupported the party that ſeemed to be the moſt favourable to its intereſts. According to the Florentine hiſtorians, Galeazzo had formed a dangerous conſpiracy, by which he intended to effect a total revolution in Florence, by letting looſe a gang of banditti, to make themſelves maſters of that city; but this conſpiracy was timely diſcovered and prevented by the puniſhment of the conſpirators. There are however, grounds for believing the parties accuſed were innocent of the charge, and that the whole was the contrivance of one faction againſt another. Galeazzo, at that time, was carrying on a war in Lombardy, where he was defeated, and forced to raiſe the ſiege of Mantua; upon which he was obliged to recall his general, count Alberigo from Lombardy; but by that general's addreſs, all the diſadvantages they had ſuſtained were ſoon repaired; though, on the other hand, Paul Savelli, the head of the Milaneſe troops, who had taken poſſeſſion of Piſa, was intirely defeated; and had it not been for the vaſt addreſs of Galeazzo, who prevented a ſincere recociliation between the Florentines and the Piſans, by condemning the conduct of his own troops, an entire union muſt have taken place between Piſa and Florence. In a ſhort time Galeazzo recovered his affairs, ſo as to become more formidable than ever, and the league againſt him was once more renewed, with the addition of the Venetians. Galeazzo was too great a politician to be alarmed at this confederacy. He knew that the Venetians were inſincere in their profeſſions, and that they hated the Florentines. The proſperous condition of his affairs, however, now that he was in a fair way of making himſelf maſter of Mantua, prevailed upon him to liſten to the terms of accommodation; and conferences were held at Pavia for that purpoſe; but in the mean time, by a ſudden mutiny at Perugia, he became maſter of that city, and threatened Arezzo itſelf. It was eaſy for Galeazzo to perceive, that, while he kept within the bounds of moderation, he could ſtop the progreſs of the Venetians in Tuſcany; and to give a fairer pretext to his cauſe, he offered to conclude a ten years truce, as it was impoſſible to bring matters in a ſhorter time to a definitive treaty between him and the Florentines. The propoſal was accepted, but with no very ſincere intentions on either ſide. On the concluſion of this truce, the Florentines diſmiſſed their army, and Galeazzo made a

shew of doing the same; but his troops being entirely devoted to him, pretended that they served for pay, and that they could not starve; they therefore, by his connivance, took up their quarters in the Siennese, and instigated the Ubertini, and the other lords of petty fiefs, to take up arms.

He becomes master of Pisa.

This, and other incidents which happened about the same time, renewed the war in Tuscany; and Galeazzo, who was faithfully served by his allies as well as soldiers, became at last master of Pisa itself, by which conquest he opened a door for the subjection of Sienna; so that in a short time he became, in fact, more powerful in Tuscany than ever, Bologna having now submitted to his dominion.

A.D. 1400.

His great policy.

This great revolution was effected by the single expedient of the ten years truce, and is one of the most masterly pieces of policy that we have upon record, as Galeazzo brought it about without incurring the smallest blemish upon his character. In the beginning of the year 1400, he prevailed with Uguccio, then master of Cortona, to prohibit provisions of any kind to be carried through his dominions to Florence; and at the same time he fostered a war between Astorgi of Faenza and the Bolognese, and prevailed upon Guinigi to refuse to enter into a league with the Florentines. Towards the end of this year, Bentivoglio made himself master of Bologna, an event which changed the face of affairs in Italy. As the friendship of that city was equally of use to the Florentines as to Galeazzo, both parties endeavoured to conceal their disappointment, by courting the friendship of Bentivoglio. Both likewise sent him auxiliaries; but in 1401, Galeazzo joined with count Alberigo against Bentivoglio. This defection left Bentivoglio no dependence but upon the Florentines, who saw themselves in such imminent danger, that they were ill enough advised to invite the emperor to their assistance, upon the promise of a large sum of money, part to be paid in hand, and part in a certain time after he had entered Galeazzo's dominions in a hostile manner. The golden bait caught the emperor, who was miserably poor; and he made great dispositions for carrying the war into the Milanese. The balance of power in Italy, in all appearance, was on the point of being ruined at this time, and nothing would have saved it but the profound policy and moderation of Galeazzo.

A.D. 1401.

Boundaries of his dominions.

His plan was to make himself master of Lombardy, so as to be able to cut off all hopes of invading it either from France or Germany. He had driven the Scaligers out of Verona and Vicenza, and had confined Francesco Carrara of Pavia in the castle of Mousa. He still kept possession

of

of the Tridentine, and all that mountainous diſtrict; ſo that when the emperor and his generals attacked him at Aleſſandria, they were entirely defeated by Vermi the Milaneſe general; and the remainder of their broken army was obliged to retire to the Tridentine.

This victory opened the way to Galeazzo's conqueſt of Mantua and Caſal. At laſt he defeated a vaſt army of Florentines and Bologneſe near Bologna; and the papal and Florentine general, Bernard of Aquitain, being made priſoner, Bologna itſelf ſubmitted to the conqueror, after having been a bone of contention for fifty years between the Milaneſe and the ſee of Rome. Galeazzo now exhibited an unuſual proof of virtue and moderation. The Florentines, his principal enemies in Italy, were ſo far from being in a condition to expect ſupport from the Germans, that they mutually accuſed one another before the Venetians; ſo that Florence itſelf was beſieged, and muſt have fallen into the hands of Galeazzo, had he really been bent upon its reduction. Some authors are of opinion, that he intended to make himſelf king of Italy; and they pretend that he actually had prepared a crown for that purpoſe; but there ſeems to be little foundation for theſe aſſertions; for, Galeazzo having ſecured the peace of his patrimonial dominions, and made himſelf maſter of all Lombardy, to the amazement of Italy and Europe, ſet bounds to his ambition, juſt at the time when Florence itſelf was on the point of ſubmitting to his arms. This moderation was at firſt diſbelieved by the Florentines; but when they ſaw a ſtop put to the march of thirty-two thouſand of the beſt troops in Europe, who were advancing againſt their city; and when they learned that Galeazzo had named ambaſſadors to treat for a general peace, in which the Florentines were to be principally conſidered, they began to give ear to the poſſibility of ſuch an event; but ſtill with great caution, for they treated at once with the Venetians and Galeazzo. The precaution, though wiſe, was uſeleſs, for Galeazzo was firmly reſolved upon a ſincere, and if poſſible, a laſting peace; which accordingly, was at laſt concluded. It is true, the time between opening this negociation and that of his death, was too ſhort for us to pronounce with certainty, concerning his motives; but the probability lies for his ſincerity, as there is no indication that when the negociation was begun, he had reaſon to believe he was ſo near his end, which happened but a few weeks after his taking Bologna.

Galeazzo was certainly one of the wiſeſt as well as the moſt moderate princes that then lived in Italy; but though A.D. 1402.

we have, agreeable to the sense of all historians, bestowed due encomiums upon his policy, his wisdom, courage, and magnanimity; yet we find no room for enlarging upon his virtue: that was a quality which seems to have been disused amongst the princes of this age. In other parts of his character we have been sufficiently copious. He died in the castle of Meliano, on the Lambro, of a pestilential fever, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his government. His last wife was Catharine, daughter of his uncle Barnabo, by whom he left a daughter and two sons, who, at the time of his death, were still minors. By his first wife Isabella, daughter to the French king, he had no issue; but that he might keep up his connexions with the court of France, he bestowed Valentina, his daughter by Catherine, upon Lewis duke of Orleans; by which alliance, her progeny, upon the failure of Galeazzo's sons without issue, became powerful competitors for the duchy of Milan. Asti was given in dowry to Valentina.

His death.

As to the person of Galeazzo, it was like the other princes of his family, noble and majestic. The greatest fault of his reign was his behaviour towards his uncle Barnabo and his family; nor indeed is it certain, that Barnabo was such a monster of cruelty as he is represented to have been. It is on all hands allowed, that Galeazzo acted perfidiously towards his uncle; and, notwithstanding the many apologies that have been offered in his favour, it is certain, that soon after his death the Milanese fell into the most violent distractions; nor could the government there be kept up without an army of twenty thousand horse, and as many foot, even in time of peace. He is charged with some unnatural vices; but no proof of his guilt is upon record. He was, like his ancestors, magnificent in his public buildings.

Succeeded by his two sons.

John Maria, the eldest son of Galeazzo, succeeded to the greatest part of the Milanese; but it seems to have been an infatuation prevalent in the wisest of the Visconti family to divide their estates. Besides his lawful issue he left two natural sons, Gabriel and Antony; and all of them, excepting the last, took the designation of Maria. Upon opening the codicils of his will, it was found that he had left a regency, at the head of which was Charles Malatesta, lord of Rimini, and James Vermi; but Peter, archbishop of Milan, was at the head of the commission. John, the eldest son, was declared by his will to be duke of Milan; to which was annexed the possession of Bergamo, Cremona, Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, Feltri, Civitella, Lodi, Bologna, and a vast number of other estates; the entire barrier

Division of the Milanese government.

of

of the Alps, towards Germany and France, together with Sienna in Tuſcany and Perugia. To his ſecond ſon, Philip, he left Pavia, with the title of count, Novara, Vercelli, Tortona, Aleſſandria, and all that neighbourhood. He bequeathed to Gabriel, his eldeſt natural ſon, whoſe mother was a lady of quality, Piſa, Luna, Sarzana, with many caſtles in that neighbourhood. His laſt natural ſon was ſo young, that he made no proviſion for him, but left him to the care of his brothers, and his family, his mother being a perſon of no conſideration. Beſides theſe proviſions for his family, he left very noble legacies to his other friends, particularly to the Venetians, the Mantuans, and ſeveral of his private favourites. His legitimate children, the eldeſt of whom was not above thirteen years of age, were brought up under the eye of their tutors; but it is ſurpriſing to reflect, that ſo provident and ſo wiſe a man as Galeazzo was, had been ſo much, during the latter part of his life, employed in war [a], that he had taken no precaution for the education of his ſons; and there was ſuch a penury of learned men in all his wide extended dominions, that ſcarce a perſon was to be found equal to the common taſk of their education. A perſon of low extraction, one Francis Barbavaria, was the only man found capable to give them any inſtruction. The archbiſhop of Milan, was the only perſon of high quality who remained about the court; but even he was obliged to ſhut himſelf up within his palace; ſo miſerably was the government divided between contending parties. At laſt, the old remains of the Viſconti family got the aſcendency; and Francis Viſconti was introduced into Milan, from which he had lived for ſome time in exile. He had a brother, Antony, whom he aſſociated with himſelf in all his ſchemes. The intrigues of ſo diſtracted a court are not to be regarded. Murders, robberies, and rapines multiplied every day; and at laſt a kind of compromiſe was made between Antony Viſconti and the party of Barbavaria. The Florentines took advantage of theſe confuſions, and were unwearied in their endeavours to excite the ſtates of Italy to throw off the yoke of the Milaneſe. At length, the duke of Milan and his brother were taken out of the hands of their mother, who had very ſeldom acceſs to ſee her ſons; and every day produced ſome new alteration. One Pandolph was named to the government of the Sienneſe; but had neither ſpirit nor courage to oppoſe the attempts of the Florentines. John Colonna had the charge of Piſa, with a ſufficient body of troops to defend it; but the Florentines,

[a] Billii Hiſt. apud Murat. tom. xix. p. 12.

kaving perſuaded pope Boniface to join them, invaded the Milaneſe under Nicholas Ferrara. The firſt attempt was upon the ſide of the Parmeſan, where ſeveral tumultuary actions paſſed, but without any conſequence; and at laſt a treaty was propoſed for accommodating all differences. Charles Malateſta appeared on the ſide of the young duke of Milan. Gianelli, the pope's brother managed for his holineſs. The Florentines demanded Perugia and Bologna; and their claims comprehended the property of almoſt all Tuſcany. This arrogance gave a handle for Malateſta to throw a difference between the Florentines and Gianelli, on account of the ambition of the former. He propoſed to exclude the Florentines from the negociation; and this propoſal was ſo much for the benefit of the church, that it was adopted. The agreement was ſtruck; and Bologna, with Perugia, were immediately given up to the Holy See; upon which the Florentines were obliged to return to Tuſcany.

Which is ſplit into factions.

This compromiſe proved a precedent for all the reſt of the ſtates of Lombardy, which had been ſubjected to the Milaneſe, to endeavour to aſſert their own independency; and the old factions of the Ghibelins and Guelphs were now revived with more animoſity than ever. Not only ſtates and principalities were torn in pieces by thoſe diſtractions, but every village had its ſeparate factions; and though the whole went under the name of Guelphs and Ghibelins, yet theſe were no other than ſounds to cloak private faction and perſonal reſentments. In a ſhort time all the Milaneſe was one promiſcuous ſcene of carnage; and the rage of parties that had been quieted under the mild government of the Viſconti, ſeemed to have been gathering ſtrength, that it might break out with redoubled fury. Every petty governor of a town or ſtate, declared himſelf independent; while thoſe of greater conſideration were ſo much intereſted in their own ſchemes of ambition, that they neither durſt nor cared to check their inferiors. The misfortune was, that that though the Milaneſe was ſuppoſed to be an imperial fief, yet the whole empire was in a condition equally diſtracted; ſo that it could not be ſaid that there was any center authority, not only in Milan, but in Italy, and indeed in Germany itſelf. While matters were in this confuſion, each ſeized the portion of territory that lay moſt practicable or convenient for himſelf, without the ſmalleſt regard to their former oaths and engagements. Pandolfo Malateſta made himſelf maſter of Breſcia and Bergamo; Gabrini Fundulio ſeized upon Cremona; Scaliger took poſſeſſion of Pavia and Aleſſandria; Vineati became maſter of Lodi; the Benzoni, of Crema; the Archelli, of Piacenza;

cenza; Ottoboni, of Parma; Franchino Ruſca, of Como; and the Bruſſati and Tormelli, returning from baniſhment, poſſeſſed themſelves of Vercelli and Novara. The young duke of Milan continued ſtill in the power of his kinſmen Viſconti, while his mother was a helpleſs exile amongſt the friends and exiles of her huſband's family, without even the means of ſupporting herſelf. Pandolfo Malateſta, being introduced at Como by the faction of the Ruſcani, gave up that rich city to be plundered. The ducheſs was, at that time, at Como, and a ſcheme was laid for driving her from thence. For this purpoſe factions were encouraged; and that lady plainly perceiving, by the progreſs of the tumult, that her enemies intended to become maſters of the city, thought proper to retire to Mouſa. During this ceſſation of government, the young duke was, by his mother, adviſed to create a governor, who ſhould, during his minority, have the care of his dominions; and to name Charles Malateſta to that office. Charles was a worthy man, and a brave ſoldier; but though the young duke's name and authority introduced Malateſta into Milan, yet he found things there in a moſt deſperate ſituation. The greateſt part of the generals and counſellors employed by the great duke, had been either put to death, or obliged to fly for their lives. There was only one circumſtance in his favour, namely, the diſſenſion and diſagreement that prevailed amongſt the oppoſite faction, which Malateſta took care to improve, ſo as to procure to himſelf an eaſy acceſs to his government. His firſt care was to introduce a force into Milan, ſufficient to over-awe the diſaffected of every kind; and taking from the factious all hopes of profiting by the public commotions, he treated of a marriage been his niece and the young duke. The public factions, at this time were carried to ſuch a pitch of iniquity, that when any perſon was devoted to death, the common ſaying of the judge was, "You have given me a ſubject, and it muſt be my buſineſs to make him a criminal."

Charles Malateſta made regent.

Such was the ſtate of the Milaneſe affairs when Charles Malateſta entered upon his regency. Having with great difficulty aſſembled a ſufficient army, his firſt undertaking was to puniſh one Stranguline, who had been guilty of murdering his colleague, and had fled to Scaliger, who was then in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Milan, which Charles beſieged with ſo much vigour, that it was ſoon ſurrendered. He next took a ſignal revenge upon thoſe who had been the moſt active againſt the ducheſs dowager; and to ſhew how high party was carried at that time, the common executioners of priſoners were maſtiff dogs trained up to blood. This method

thod of execution was very agreeable to the young duke; and Malateſta, for that reaſon, haſtened the marriage between his niece, who was daughter to Pandolfo, and the young duke. This expedient had ſome effect in ſoftening the young prince's manners; but a new faction at this time ſtarted up. Chriſtopher Caſſati and Antony Vercelli inliſted themſelves under the banners of the young count of Pavia; and they had entered into a conſpiracy for inviting the French under Bouccicault to take part in the war. Both Charles and Pandolfo Malateſta oppoſed this conſpiracy; and it is ſaid, that young Philip narrowly eſcaped being murdered. It happened, unfortunately for the Milaneſe, that Charles Malateſta was the profeſſed patrizan of the Guelphs, while the Milaneſe in general inclined to the Ghibelins. This diverſity of ſentiments, occaſioned another revolution; and Charles Malateſta was driven out of Milan by Facino Scaliger, who permitted his followers, the Ghibelins, to indulge themſelves in all kinds of licentiouſneſs. Theſe outrages produced another conſpiracy againſt Scaliger, who was ſurpriſed and made priſoner by John Luitprand, who ſoon repented of his undertaking, and pleaded youth and want of conſideration for his excuſe. Philip count of Pavia was thought to be at the bottom of his conſpiracy; and Scaliger, diſſembling his reſentment, took little notice of Philip; but, pretending to be indiſpoſed, confined himſelf to his bed, and meditated to make himſelf maſter of Pavia.

Adventure of Bouccicault.

After this tranſaction, the faction of the Guelphs, which was headed by Antony Torriano, prevailed upon John Maria, notwithſtanding the ancient enmity between their families, to invite Bouccicault, the French general, to become the guardian of the Milaneſe, in place of Scaliger. Bouccicault, who was remarkable at once for the greatneſs of his courage and the magnitude of his perſon, was governor, under the French king, of Genoa, which had revolted to him amongſt the other ſtates of Italy that had thrown off the yoke of the Milaneſe upon the death of John Galeazzo. Bouccicault, according to Paul Jovius, came to Milan, attended by a great retinue of French cavalry: but began his government by an attempt to make himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Milan. In this, finding ſome difficulty, he endeavoured to effect his aim by corruption. This too failing, he employed rougher meaſures; for he erected a court of juſtice, and iſſued edicts, as if he had been the abſolute lord of Milan; and even went ſo far as to coin money. It was believed, that the hatred which the Italians naturally entertained of the French, puſhed Bouccicault

cicault upon thoſe unpopular meaſures; for in a ſhort time he became obnoxious, and hated not only by John Maria, but by the Milaneſe of all ranks and denominations; and though he was one of the moſt worthy men of his time, he was repreſented as endeavouring to uſurp the power of the ducal family. Mean while, a great revolution happened at Genoa, from whence, by the intrigues of Scaliger, the French troops were driven out, and the marquis of Montferat was ſubſtituted in Bouccicault's room, and acknowleged to be the prince, or rather guardian, of Genoa. This revolution was no ſooner known at Milan than Bouccicault, pretending to lead an expedition againſt Pavia, evacuated that city before the news became public. In his march towards Novi, he was attacked by Scaliger, and ſo totally defeated, that he loſt in one day the government both of Genoa and Milan; ſo that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he eſcaped back to France by the Alps.

The Italian hiſtorian [b] has, on this occaſion, charged Bouccicault with a piece of barbarity little agreeable to the general tenor of his character; for we are told, that he put to death Gabriel, the ſame who had been driven from Piſa by the Florentines, and had taken refuge at Genoa, on account of the riches he had carried from Piſa. About this time John loſt his mother, who was quite exhauſted by vexation, and a long ſeries of ill uſage. She is blamed by Paul Jovius for the pernicious counſels ſhe gave to throw her ſon's dominions into the hands of the pope, from whence they never reverted to the dukedom. He mentions, particularly the alienation of Bologna, which had coſt ſo much blood and treaſure to the dukes of Milan, as well as Aſſiſi and Perugia; all which now went to the popedom, for the empty phantom of the ſuppoſed friendſhip of his holineſs, which, in the end, proved rather a detriment than an advantage. Sienna, at the ſame time, recovered her liberty, after long and bloody conteſts. All thoſe calamities were far from putting a ſtop to the civil diſſenſions of Milan, which grew every day more and more inveterate. They who were defeated, being ſpirited up by revenge, refuſed to agree to any truce with their enemies; and the victors rejected all accommodation.

Compromiſe with Facino.

In ſuch ſcenes of diſtreſs, the duke found no other expedient for preſerving or retrieving his authority, than making matters up with Facino, or, as we have called him on other occaſions, Scaliger, a prince of unbounded ambition as well as abilities, both in peace and war. John

[b] Paul Jovius, p. 178.

Maria,

Maria, therefore, having received hoſtages for the fidelity of Facino, inveſted him with the government of all his eſtates and armies; but he had ſcarce ratified this meaſure, when he repented it; though he plainly perceived that it was to no purpoſe. Facino was obliged to ſupport himſelf in his new-acquired power, by other freebooters of government, whom he ſuffered to pillage the ſubjects of their private properties, but reſerved to himſelf the whole of the public money. He attributed all the danger he had eſcaped to the count of Pavia, and endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of that city. Being in a confederacy with the Beccarii, Pavia was betrayed to him, and the eſtates of all the contrary faction were given up to the plunder of his confederates. Facino perceiving that nothing would be left to him, iſſued an order for plundering both factions, which accordingly was punctually obeyed. The count of Pavia, by this time, had retired to the citadel, where he had very little authority, and leſs aſſurance of ſafety. Facino promiſed to take him under his protection, if he would admit him into the citadel; a propoſal which, at laſt, the count was obliged to embrace; ſo that Facino had, in fact, the full power and authority over Pavia, as well as Milan, and nothing was wanting but the title, to render him ſovereign maſter of both. The duke, and his brother the count of Pavia, had ſcarcely the common neceſſaries of life allowed them; and the former was perſuaded to renounce cohabitation with his wife. Taxes and oppreſſions were multiplied. Facino took ſuch a liking to the caſtle of Pavia, one of the ſtrongeſt, as well as moſt delightful, in the world, that he ſhut himſelf up in it, and there he was ſeized with his laſt illneſs; while the two brothers were reduced to ſuch difficulties, that Philip is ſaid to have been deſtitute of bed-cloaths.

Conſpiracy againſt the duke, who is murdered.

During Facino's illneſs, which now appeared to be mortal, the Ghibelin faction, being afraid that, upon his death, John Maria would recover his authority, and being no ſtranger to his innate fierceneſs and cruelty, formed a conſpiracy to put an end to his life. At this time the Milaneſe was entirely in peace, and Facino, though confined to his bed, carried his arms into the Bergameſe, where they did infinite damage. Some authors, particularly Paul Jovius, ſay, that he was making war in the Bergamaſco, when he was taken ill[c], and that he was carried to Pavia[d]. While he was upon his death-bed, the conſpiracy againſt

[c] Billius apud Murat. tom. xix. p. 35. [d] Paul Jovius, p. 180.

John

John Maria came to a head. The Guelphs, as well as the Ghibelins, entered into it through deteſtation of his brutal diſpoſition, which, in ſome meaſure, juſtified Facino's ſeverity; for the little power he ſtill retained, was daily employed in throwing the unhappy victims of his tyranny to be devoured by dogs.

The chief of the conſpirators were of the Viſconti family. Their ſcheme was, to make Heſtor, Barnabo's ſon, duke of Milan; and if Facino ſhould die, to give Pavia to the Beccarii. The other conſpirators were Bagio, and his brother Paul Puſterlano, whoſe father John Maria had put to death, by throwing him to the dogs; and ſome noblemen of the houſe of Maine, the two brothers of which had been butchered by John. The ſcene of the tragedy was the church, where they ſtabbed him at the great altar, as he was aſſiſting at maſs (D). John Maria, notwithſtanding the troubles and diſtreſſes of his government, never abated in the ferocity of his diſpoſition. His favourite was Squarcia Giramo, of a noble family, who acted as the purveyor of his inhumanities, by procuring for him the largeſt and fierceſt maſtiffs, who were maintained on nothing but human fleſh. When he was dead, there was not a living creature who took the leaſt concern about his body, which would have lain unburied, had it not been for the care of a common proſtitute, who kept it for ſome time amongſt roſes; a mark of regard that deſervedly procured for her a handſome proviſion from Philip, his brother and ſucceſſor, by which ſhe was enabled to marry with credit. The ſame day Giramo, the infamous minion of John Maria, was diſcovered in a lurking hole by the people, and dragged by a hook in his noſe to the ſtreet before his own palace, which was levelled to the ground, and there put to death with the moſt exquiſite tortures.

Facino was all this time confined to his bed at Pavia; but his officers and creatures kept poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Milan. Heſtor no ſooner heard of John's aſſaſſination than he repaired to Milan with no more than twelve attendants; and he was admitted into the city without oppoſition: but Vicenzo, the commandant of the caſtle, refuſed to deliver it up, though neither threats nor rewards were wanting to ſhake his fortitude. Facino no ſooner heard of the murder of John Maria, than he fell into a violent paſſion at the conſpirators; and his laſt breath was ſpent in recommending the perſon of Philip, and the pu-

(D) According to Paul Jovius, he was aſſaſſinated by the two brothers Borſi, on the 16th of May, as he was proceeding to St, Godard's church.

niſhment

nishment of his brother's murder, to his attendants, particularly to Bartholomew, archbishop of Milan, in the most pathetic manner. According to Billius[e], he likewise recommended to their care his wife Beatrix. He also ordered, that Philip should not, for some time, be suffered to stir abroad, for fear of farther treachery. He died without issue, and without relations, who could succeed to the power he left in the Milanese. He made some amends upon his death-bed for the treachery and inhumanities he had been guilty of in his life-time. His death gave the conspirators additional hopes of success, and they all swore fealty to Hector.

Death of Facino, whose widow, Philip, the new duke of Milan, marries.

It happened fortunately for Philip, that Facino was, at the time of his death, at the head of an excellent army, and that his officers had all joined, in the most solemn engagements, to revenge the murder of John Maria. Philip remained at the castle of Pavia, closely guarded; so that he was uncertain, for some time, whether he was a prince or a prisoner. Bozero, or Baucio, of Cremona, commanded in that fortress; and his first care was to shut up the gates, and to suffer none to enter or depart, without his knowlege. This precaution was taken on account of the Beccarii, whose allegiance was a little doubtful; but the Pavians, who were devoted to Philip, being suspicious that he was doomed to his brother's fate, took arms, and demanded that he might be produced. He accordingly appeared on the walls, and expressed his sense of their affection and loyalty; assuring them that he should think himself perfectly safe, provided he was secure of their allegiance. But, though safe in his person, he was destitute of every thing, particularly money, that was befitting so great a prince. Facino was excessively rich, especially in ready money, and had left all the fortune he could dispose of to his wife Beatrix, with a view, as some suppose not improbably, of her marrying Philip. The archbishop and Baucio consulted together, and proposed the match to Philip, who readily agreed to it; they likewise obtained the consent of the Beccarii, who hoped they should have the chief management under their former mistress Beatrix; but she knew them too well to trust them. Philip, at this time, was scarce twenty years of age, and she was about thirty-eight, but possessed of all the remains of her husband's authority, and Facino's officers and soldiers were entirely devoted to her, as were the inhabitants of Vercelli, Novara, and Alessandria, and the garrisons of almost all the neighbouring castles; so that

[e] Billius, ubi supra, p. 36.

all

all parties in Pavia being agreed, the marriage was celebrated with general approbation.

The next care of Philip, and his party in Pavia, was to relieve Vicenzo, who ſtill held out the caſtle of Milan, by aſſuring him of a ſpeedy aſſiſtance from Philip in perſon. Heſtor, and the Viſconti faction, had been far from foreſeeing or ſuſpecting this ſudden alteration in favour of Philip, and it diſconcerted all their meaſures. The reputation of Philip gained ſuch ground, that each vied with another to be the foremoſt in eſpouſing his intereſts. All the diffidence of the Viſconti and their friends was now with regard to the mercenaries who had ſerved under Facino, and who having been indebted to him, ſought to better their circumſtances by going over to the Viſconti. This defection, however, was ſoon remedied, by the repreſentations of Sicco of Padua, who put them in mind, that they had ſworn to be faithful not only to Facino, but to Beatrix likewiſe. He, therefore, perſuaded them to wait the reſult of a letter from Beatrix, or her huſband. A letter accordingly arrived from Pavia, remitting all the debts that had been due to Facino and his wife; and it was explained to them, that Philip was now the ſole lord and maſter of the Milaneſe. Thoſe repreſentations had the intended effect, and the revolters were brought back to their duty, though not without receiving large gratuities, in earneſt of their future fidelity.

Nothing was now wanting to Philip's ſucceſs. His wife had brought him, in ready money, a dowry of about four hundred thouſand pounds, an immenſe ſum at that time: his army was in excellent order, and commanded by Carmagnola, and one of the Beccarii, while Vicenzo continued gallantly to defend the caſtle of Milan On the other hand, Heſtor and his friends had been obliged to have recourſe to oppreſſive methods for raiſing money to carry on the ſiege; but they were unſucceſsful. Philip advanced to the Comeſe gate, where an encounter happened between him and Heſtor, in which the latter was defeated, and obliged to fly to Mouſa. The victor entered the caſtle without farther reſiſtance, and the firſt thing he did, was to proclaim pardon to all but thoſe who had been concerned in his brother's death. Andrew Bagio, and Francis Maine, were accordingly judicially ſentenced, and put to death for that aſſaſſination. This well-timed moderation won the hearts of the Milaneſe, and Philip was joyfully acclaimed duke of Milan.

Having ſettled every thing in that city, he inveſted Mouſa, which was poſſeſſed by Heſtor. The ſiege was furiouſly preſſed, and the place was bravely defended, till Philip,

Philip, bringing up his machines, drove Heſtor into the caſtle, where, being mortally wounded in the leg by a ſtone, he died in three days. He was a young man of great ſpirit and courage, and, in his noble appearance, reſembled his father Barnabo. After Mouſa and its caſtle were reduced, Philip proceeded to Canturi, from whence John Viſconti removed to Naples, and the place was immediately ſurrendered. Ruſca, a young nobleman of great accompliſhments, was then maſter of Como, which he yielded to Philip, without making any terms for himſelf; for which conduct, he was rewarded with ſeveral noble poſſeſſions. Mean while, the people of Lodi, and the neighbouring ſtates, entered into treaty with Philip; but John, who was in poſſeſſion of Lodi, refuſed to give it up, and ordered his ſon to defend it to the laſt extremity. Philip carried John priſoner from Milan to Lodi, where he ſhewed him in chains to his ſon, to whom he offered not only pardon, but a reward, if he would give up the place. The young man heſitated upon this propoſal, and expoſtulated upon the iniquity of his father's impriſonment. But Philip's ſoldiers, in the mean time, ſtormed the place, and carried both father and ſon priſoners to Milan, where they were executed.

His great ſucceſſes againſt the ſtates of Italy, and Genoa.

Philip was equally fortunate againſt the other petty tyrants, who had diſmembered the eſtates of his family. He took Bergamo and Breſcia from Pandolfo Malateſta, and made Gabrino Funduli, the cruel tyrant of Cremona, his priſoner. There was ſomething ſhocking in the manner of this man's death. Being carried to the ſcaffold where he was to ſuffer, he was exhorted to lay his head upon the block, and to undergo death with reſignation; but inſtead of ſubmitting quietly, he eyed the friars who aſſiſted at his execution with a furious air, bidding them trouble him no more with impertinent exhortations. He declared he had been villainouſly betrayed by Philip, and that he repented of nothing ſo much, as that he had not thrown both the emperor and the pope, who came to viſit him at the ſame time, from the top of his lofty tower at Cremona.

It would be too tedious to particularize all the ſucceſſes of Philip in the Milaneſe. Suffice it to ſay, that having ſubdued all oppoſition there, he applied himſelf to regulate his court and army. He had of houſhold troops eight thouſand horſe and foot, and of his other ſubjects, drawn from different parts of his dominions, above twelve thouſand, all of them the beſt ſoldiers in Italy. Beſides Carmagnola, he had engaged in his ſervice the famous Nicholas Picinino, and ſeveral others of the moſt famous generals

nerals then in Italy, by whom his army was excellently well disciplined. The troops I have mentioned were all quartered about Milan, and he had above twenty thousand more in other parts of his dominions. Their commander in chief was Carmagnola, who was, at the same time, Philip's first minister, and married to one of his kinswomen; and all his inferior posts, both civil and military, were well supplied with able officers and ministers.

At this time the Venetians held Verona, the Florentines Pisa, and the pope Bologna, all which cities and states had once belonged to Philip's father, and he resolved to retake them. Placentia had been surprised by Philip Arsellani for Philip, by which means, the emperor Sigismund, who had designed to give it to the marquis of Montferrat, was disappointed. Arsellani, for that service, acquired great favour with Philip; but perceiving, in a short time, that Carmagnola had the sole ascendency both in the court and the army, he was so stung with emulation and jealousy, that he threw off his dependence, and governed in his own name. Philip, upon this revolt, ordered Carmagnola to march with an army against Placentia. In the mean time Arsellani, and Pandolfo Malatesta, entered into a confederacy together, in which they were joined by Fulgoso, the doge of Genoa, and his five brethren, who had driven all the opposite party out of that city. The exiles were befriended by Philip, who assisted them with part of his horse. About the same time the Beccarii again rebelled, and Castellino Beccari falling into Philip's hands, was put to death. His brother Lancelot engaged in a league with one of the Facino family; the former attacked Tortona, and the other Aleffandria; while Carmagnola drove Arsellani out of Placentia, but was unable to take the citadel. Lancelot Beccari was besieged and taken in Seravalla; and being carried prisoner to Pavia, was there executed on a gibbet. Thus, all who had an actual concern in the death of Philip's mother or brother, received condign punishment. Philip afterwards, by the reduction of Gavi, opened a road for himself into the Genoese dominions. Carmagnola, upon this event, left the siege of the castle of Placentia, and went to put himself at the head of the Genoese exiles; so that Pandolfo Malatesta was at liberty to join Arsellani in the citadel of Placentia. Philip, understanding that the city was likely to fall into the hands of Malatesta, sent a squadron of ships to carry off the inhabitants under George Valsperg, who transported them to Pavia, Lodi, and other places; and Pla-

centia fell into Pandolfo's hands, but without any inhabitants.

A.D.1421. Carmagnola was all this time preſſing the Genoeſe, and had even driven them within the walls of their city, by attacking them in the weſtern Riviera, while Guido Torelli kept them blocked up in another quarter. The Arſellani, and their confederates, endeavoured to relieve the Genoeſe, and advanced through the gorges of the mountains; but being ignorant of the ways, they were ſhut up by the Genoeſe mountaineers, and moſt of them were either killed or made priſoners; but afterwards the ſurvivors were diſmiſſed, excepting a few of the Arſellani and the Malateſta family, who were detained as pledges for the rendition of Placentia. Fulgoſo hearing of this diſaſter, offered to capitulate with Philip, who agreed to a negociation. The Arſellani, however, and the other priſoners, ſtill refuſed to deliver up Placentia, a refuſal which coſt the unhappy youths their lives, for they were executed on gibbets, in ſight of their relations. This barbarity was imputed to the perſonal reſentment of Carmagnola againſt the Arſellani and the Malateſti, and gave Philip great diſquiet, though he concealed his chagrin. One of the youths was much regretted by all Italy, on account of his excellent endowments and fine perſon. His mother beheld his execution from a window of the caſtle of Placentia, and was almoſt frantic with grief, pouring out the moſt bitter execrations againſt her huſband for his obſtinacy and rebellion. The father, ſtung with remorſe, and finding the caſtle untenable, abandoned it next day, and fled to Treviſo, in the Venetian territories, where he died a miſerable exile. He is allowed to have been a man of great parts and courage, but was ruined by ambition. It was thought that Philip intended, if he had ſurrendered Placentia, to have ſubſtituted him in the place of Carmagnola, who was now declining in his favour.

He reduces Placentia.

The ſurrender of the caſtle of Placentia, was followed by the ſubmiſſion of Borgo di San Domino, held by Orlando Pallavicini; and moſt of the noble families in the Parmeſan declared themſelves Ghibelins, and choſe Philip either for their maſter or protector; ſo that it was with difficulty that Nicholas of Ferrara prevented the city of Parma itſelf from following their example. This revolution was brought about by a moſt ſingular mixture of juſtice, treachery, and barbarity, and requires to be particularly related. Facino had driven Otho, who is called Otho III. and who pretended to be duke of Parma, out of Milan; upon which he returned to Parma, where he fell, in the moſt inhuman manner,

manner, upon the Ghibelins, all whom he looked upon to be his enemies. His vengeance was more particularly levelled againſt the family of Rubeis; for he ordered all of them that could be found to be maſſacred, not excepting children in the cradle, whoſe brains he daſhed out with his own hands againſt the wall. He then intended to butcher the Pallavicini in the ſame manner, and had laid ſiege to Borgo di San Domino; but the inhabitants ſtanding to their defence, he beſieged and took Reggio, then in poſſeſſion of the houſe of Eſte. As Otho had no money by which he could ſubſiſt his army, he was obliged to maintain it by plunder, an expedient which made him formidable almoſt equally to friends and foes. The famous Sforza the elder was, at the ſame time a ſoldier of fortune in Italy; and the marquis of Eſte applied to him for aſſiſtance, which he readily granted, with the conſent of the Florentines, his maſters.

The death of Otho of Parma.

Otho was very powerful in cavalry, having been joined by above four thouſand horſe, who choſe to live upon plunder rather than pay, and, therefore, he endeavoured to intercept Sforza in his march from Tuſcany. For that purpoſe he attempted to ſurpriſe Modena; but was repulſed, after a ſharp conflict, and Sforza effected his junction with the marquis of Eſte's army. Sforza then marched to Rubiera, every day producing new ſkirmiſhes between him and Otho[e]. At laſt, Sforza, endeavouring to ſurpriſe a convoy, defeated Otho, and took him priſoner; but Otho eſcaped out of his hands, and in his turn took ſome of Sforza's principal officers, amongſt whom was Attendula, a near relation to Sforza, all of whom he treated with the greateſt inhumanity; but they alſo eſcaped in the ſequel. Otho having ſuſtained the war for ſome time, perceiving that the marquis and Sforza, in conjunction, over-matched him, pretended a great deſire to enter into a negociation. His view was to detach the marquis from Sforza, in which caſe, he hoped that both of them would become a prey. His deſign was diſcovered to the marquis by the officer ſent to appoint the interview; and, the marquis diſſembling, agreed that it ſhould be at a little cell near Modena. In the mean time, Sforza concealed himſelf in the neighbourhood with a choſen body of friends, and the marquis refuſing to appear, Otho was attacked, and killed by the hand of Attendula, without almoſt any reſiſtance; he being ſo much hated, that a woman,

[e] Leonardus Cribellius de Vita Sforiiæ, apud Murat. tom. xix. p. 644.

whoſe huſband he had put to death, plucked the heart out of his body, and eat it in revenge.

The death of Otho was a fortunate event for Philip. His army immediately ſeparated, ſome of them enliſting in the ſervice of this prince, and ſome of them under the marquis of Ferrara. Though Otho left a young ſon, whoſe title was for ſome time recognized by the Parmeſans, his party was quickly expelled; and the marquis was received as lord of Parma, where he governed for ſeveral years; till he, in his turn, was expelled by Philip, who maintained himſelf in the government to the day of his death. He would likewiſe have reduced Reggio, had not the Venetians interpoſed, He then marched to the Bergamaſco againſt Pandolfo Malateſta, who was but ill provided for a defence, becauſe his communication was cut off from Milan. Moſt of the forts, therefore, in that country, fell into his hands one by one; and Malateſta was obliged to call in to his aſſiſtance Nicholas of Faenza, the Venetian general, who could do no more than guard the ſtrong paſſes, and garriſon the forts.

The war ſtill continuing between Philip and Pandolfo Malateſta, a compromiſe was now entered into on both ſides, chiefly with a view of facilitating Philip's conqueſt of Florence. This accommodation is ſaid to have been effected by the mediation of pope Martin V. which made him no welcome gueſt at Florence, to which city he repaired after he left Milan. Philip agreed to take Malateſta's troops into his pay, and to give him an annual ſubſidy, on condition, that upon Malateſta's death, the poſſeſſion of Breſcia ſhould revert to Philip.

We are now come to an incident in Philip's life, that repreſents him in a very different light from that in which he has been hitherto exhibited. The death of a mother and a brother, and the diſmemberment of ſo many cities and ſtates, juſtified ſome ſeverity againſt the authors; but his behaviour to his wife was barbarous, ungrateful, and wicked, to the laſt degree. We have already taken notice of the diſproportion between their ages, which had diſguſted Philip ſo much, that he had abſtained from her bed. It does not appear that the lady reſented this provocation in any indecent, or, indeed, paſſionate manner: and ſhe had even ſubmitted to ſerve him in the moſt menial offices. Unfortunately for her, ſhe entertained, as an attendant, one Orombelli, a young man accompliſhed in the arts of muſic, dancing, and the other embelliſhments that are moſt acceptable at a court. Philip, conſidering her life as an obſtacle to his pleaſure, accuſed her of criminal converſation

converſation with this youth; and though nothing could be worſe founded than the charge, certain enchanted utenſils were pretended to be found under her bed. Upon this abſurd pretext the ducheſs was ſeized, and confined priſoner in the caſtle of Binaſco. The youth was impriſoned at the ſame time; and, according to common report, both of them were put to the torture. Certain it is, he was tortured; and unable to endure the force of the pain, confeſſed the criminality, for which both of them were condemned to death, after having been confronted with each other. On this occaſion the ducheſs diſplayed an invincible conſtancy: ſhe reproached Orombelli with his weakneſs, in yielding by tortures to confeſs a falſhood, and, in the moſt ſolem and affecting manner, called God to witneſs for her innocency; only ſhe implored his pardon for having yielded to the archbiſhop of Milan, in perſuading her to ſo unequal a match. Orombelli was put to death before her eyes, and ſhe followed him with the moſt heroic reſolution. By the accounts of all hiſtorians, ſhe was a woman of a very exalted character, and no reproach remains upon her memory. Soon after the execution of the ducheſs, the duke brought to his court a young Milaneſe lady, whom he had raviſhed ſome time before. As to the ducheſs, her unjuſt death was thought to be partly owing to the vindictive temper of Philip, who reſented her having been the wife of Facino, and the partner of his victories.

Tragical death of the ducheſs of Milan.

Philip, by this time, had become maſter of Genoa, and now his great aim was to ſubdue Florence, which he endeavoured to do in the manner deſcribed in the hiſtory of that city; after having reduced Imola, and a number of other places in the Romagna. But though it muſt be acknowleged, that all his ſchemes and operations, both in peace and war, were conducted with the utmoſt judgment, yet it is certain that he was apt to carry his refinements too far. He had too deep a diſtruſt of mankind, to render his generals and ſtateſmen ſo uſeful as they might have been in his ſervice. But that was not the only misfortune he lay under. Though he had the beſt generals at that time in Italy in his ſervice, yet they were all of them mercenaries or foreigners, and it was their intereſt to protract the war; ſo that he could never ſtrike a deciſive ſtroke; and the undetermined ſtate of his affairs often involved him in unforeſeen difficulties. Though he had again and again defeated the Florentines, and even reduced them to the loweſt ebb; and though he had been proſperous in almoſt all his undertakings, yet freſh wars ſtarted up againſt him

Philip becomes maſter of Genoa.

on all hands; and at laſt, when the Florentines ſeemed to be upon the brink of perdition by a new league, they found means to counter-ballance it by another confederacy with the Venetians, which was favoured by the pope, and ſaved Florence. Philip's ſuſpicious temper was, in other reſpects, of infinite prejudice to his affairs. The particulars of the wars he carried on by Sforza, Braccio, Piccinino, and his other generals, are to be found in the Hiſtory of Florence, and other parts of this work. As his years increaſed, ſo did his diſtruſt of mankind, which ſometimes ſtimulated him to commit the moſt ſhocking cruelties. His love of ſenſual pleaſure led him at laſt to ſequeſter himſelf, in a great meaſure, from the world, and to ſhut himſelf up with the inſtruments of his lewdneſs, which ſome hiſtorians ſay, was of an infamous nature. By this time, he abandoned the care of his affairs to thoſe who had neither honeſty nor capacity to manage them. Beſides all the above conſiderations, Philip was now become ſordidly covetous.

He is deſerted by Carmagnola.

The main inſtrument of his greatneſs hitherto had been Carmagnola, who was the only man of virtue about his court. He had lately conducted a war againſt the pope and the Neapolitans (upon whoſe crown Philip had an eye) with great abilities; but his command being given to Torelli by Philip, he came, in a paſſion, to Milan, where he loudly complained of this indignity. Philip being beſet with flatterers, conceived a deep prepoſſeſſion againſt Carmagnola, who was not of a temper to remove it by patience and obſequiouſneſs. He was ſtill governor of Genoa under Philip, who directed him to retrench the expence of his government; upon which Carmagnola applied for a diſmiſſion from his ſervice. The duke was, at this time, at one of his country-ſeats; and Carmagnola, who had received no expreſs anſwer, repaired to it with a few attendants; but was denied admittance to Philip's perſon, being deſired to apply for audience to Henrico, Philip's great minion, and Carmagnola's principal enemy. Carmagnola inſiſted upon ſeeing the duke; but was at laſt flatly refuſed admittance. Upon this affront, perceiving Philip in a window at a diſtance, he loudly upbraided him with his ſervices, and the ingratitude with which he was repaid. He rode off, but was purſued by Lampugnani, another of Philip's favourites, who endeavoured to intercept his retreat; but failed, through cowardice, in his attempt. Carmagnola continued his journey, and reached the dominions of the duke of Savoy, who received him in perſon with all the diſtinction due to his great name and merits.

merits. Having related the injuries he had received at the court of Philip, whom he repreſented as a man entirely immerſed in pleaſures, and equally weak and vicious, the duke propoſed to Carmagnola, that he ſhould be general of the confederacy which had been lately formed between the Venetians and the Florentines, in which himſelf was a party. Carmagnola agreed to the propoſal, and being invited to Venice, was there inveſted with the command of the ſea and land forces of both republics.

Carmagnola enters into the Venetian ſervice.

Notwithſtanding Philip's voluptuous retirement, he had employed ſpies, who traced every ſtep of Carmagnola, though he travelled incognito, for fear of the Swiſs, from the duke of Savoy's territories to thoſe of Venice, and was informed of every deſign he had formed. Perceiving that he had irretrievably loſt his ſervice, he confiſcated all his eſtate, effects, and money, beſides his annual revenues, which amounted to above forty thouſand crowns of gold. This defection of Carmagnola turned the ſcale of Philip's fortunes, which ever after declined. At this juncture, Gabrinio Funduli was living very peaceably at Caſtiglione, near Cremona. Philip ſuſpected that he was a friend to the Venetians, and that he would betray Cremona to them; at the ſame time he knew his verſatility, and that he was one of the moſt artful men of that age. Oldrati, brother-in-law to Gabrinio, undertook to keep a watchful eye over him, and went with a few attendants to Cremona, pretending that his horſe was wounded with a nail in his foot, and ſent to Caſtello for a farrier. Gabrinio invited him to his houſe; but Oldrati, declaring he could not proceed farther, Gabrinio went out to meet him, and was ſeized by Oldrati, who, at the ſame time, found means to enter Caſtello. Gabrinio being thus made priſoner, together with his two ſons, was ſent to Pavia, where all of them were executed; and thus an immenſe booty, which was found in Caſtello, fell to Philip.

Treaty between Philip and Sforza.

Oldrati was afterwards ſent with a magnificent equipage to Venice, in order to negociate a peace with that republic. Foſcari was then doge of Venice, and entirely in the intereſt of the Florentines, whoſe affairs were managed by Rodolfo, an able miniſter, who defeated Oldrati in all his applications. By this time Philip had loſt Breſcia and Bergamo; but having engaged the younger Picinino into his ſervice, ſoon recovered his affairs; though he was afterwards himſelf defeated at Anghjera. In conſequence of this defeat, Philip was obliged to retreat to Cremona; and his affairs, by this time, had fallen into ſuch diſorder, that he had no reſource but that of applying to Sforza, who,

next to Carmagnola, was then the moſt ſucceſsful general in Italy. For this purpoſe he employed Nicholas de Eſte, who remonſtrated to Sforza the danger which both he and the inferior ſtates of Italy muſt be expoſed to if the Florentines and Venetians ſhould prevail. Philip had, ſome time before, tempted him with an offer of his natural daughter in marriage, and of leaving him all the Milaneſe. Sforza, in anſwer to de Eſte's repreſentations, ſaid, he had been ſo long amuſed by Philip with that propoſal of marriage, that he could not truſt to his honour. He adviſed Philip, however, before he gave any definitive anſwer, to endeavour to make up matters with the Venetians and the Florentines. Sforza was certainly inclined to cloſe with the propoſal, provided he could do it conſiſtently with his honour to the Venetians and the Florentines, in whoſe ſervice he then was.

Offer of the people of Milan to Philip rejected.

Mean while, Carmagnola continued ſtill at the head of the Venetian army; and Philip was ſo jealous of his abilities, that he had found inſtruments to adminiſter poiſon to him; of which, however, he recovered, and carried on the war ſo vigorouſly, that the duke, being now broken both in mind and fortune, declared that he was reſolved, at all events, to conclude a peace. Notwithſtanding all his misfortunes, he had ſtill on foot a noble army; and his ſubjects, ſeeing he was now wholly immerſed in pleaſure and indolence, requeſted him to lay aſide all thoughts of war and buſineſs, and truſt to them for ſucceſs, they being reſolved to live and die under the Viſconti family. They offered to maintain for him ten thouſand horſe, and an equal number of infantry, without any other conſideration than that of having the benefit of the revenues of the city of Milan itſelf, without the intervention of any of his blood-ſucking miniſters: but they agreed to leave him in full poſſeſſion of all the reſt of his dominions and their revenues.

This propoſal was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Philip's courtiers, who repreſented to him the diſgrace of ſuffering his dukedom to fall under a republican adminiſtration. Theſe arguments prevailed. Philip refuſed to admit the deputies into his preſence, but referred them to Henrico; and thus the propoſal was dropt. Nevertheleſs, Philp reſolved to avail himſelf ſo far of their offer, as to oblige them to furniſh all the neceſſaries for the war, and to carry it on at their expence. He, therefore, ranſomed all the ſoldiers that had been taken at the battle of Anghiera; broke off all conferences for peace with the Venetians; and the war was recommenced.

Philip

Philip being still rich in ready money, soon assembled a greater army than ever. During the conferences for peace, the Venetians had thought proper to dismiss some of their soldiers; and they all entered into Philip's pay. The extraordinary encouragement he gave them exasperated the Venetians; and they called upon their allies for the performance of their engagements. These were, the Florentines, the duke of Savoy, the marquis of Montferrat, who was promised to be put in possession of Alessandria, as soon as it could be conquered, and the Genoese exiles, who were in hopes of being restored. Philip, on the other hand, made head against this powerful confederacy both by land and sea. He recalled Picinino from Bologna, and marched a strong army into the Bressan, where, at first, his success was so rapid, that it promised to re-instate him in Brescia, and all its dependencies. It happened fortunately for Philip, that Sforza, the Venetian general, still hankered after the match with Philip's daughter; and, though he had too much honour to betray his masters, yet he certainly did not act so decisively as he might have done, had he been free from that passion. The reader, in the History of Florence, will see all the turns which this war took The life of Philip was the most miserable that can be supposed; for he was in perpetual suspence. He was passionately fond of quiet, but not of peace, all his aim being to keep war and disturbance from his own person. He never negociated but with a design to over-reach others; and he imagined that all mankind were in a confederacy against him. Thus his days were one continued vicissitude of fighting and treating: one day his affairs appeared irretrievable, and the next he was victorious in every quarter. He made the greatest sacrifices for tranquillity of any prince in his time, and broke it upon the most frivolous occasions. He was, by nature, the most interested man alive; and yet no prince was ever known to do more magnanimous, generous actions. Alphonso of Arragon had laid claim to the crown of Naples, in opposition to Regnier of Anjou. Gaeta being then besieged by Alphonso, Philip, who had an eye to the crown of Naples, ordered the Genoese to fit out a fleet for its relief. According to some authors, he was at that time jealous of the Genoese, and obliged them to equip that fleet, in hopes that it would be destroyed by Alphonso. They even go so far as to pretend, that there was a secret correspondence between him and Alphonso for that purpose. Be that as it may, it is certain that Alphonso was apprised of the approach of the Genoese fleet, went out and

New wars break out in Italy.

and engaged it, was defeated, and he himſelf, with two of his brothers, were made priſoners; as were many of his chief nobility and followers. Every one gave up Alphonſo as utterly ruined; but this royal priſoner being conveyed from Genoa to Milan, was nobly received and entertained by Philip, who diſmiſſed him and all his friends without ranſom. This generoſity was attributed to intereſted motives; and the Genoeſe, not imagining that it was poſſible for Philip to perform any virtuous action, reſolved to revolt from his dominion. They were the more ripe for this rebellion, as Philip had behaved to them with great haughtineſs. Though he knew they hated Alphonſo with the moſt implacable rancour, he compelled them to fit out a new ſquadron, to convey that prince to Naples, rather as a conqueror than a captive. Philip trembled at the apprehenſions of the revolt of the Genoeſe; and to appeaſe them, he pretended that he had given Alphonſo his liberty, only on condition that he ſhould deliver up Corſica to their republic. This pretext amuſed them, till they ſaw two thouſand freſh troops ſent by Philip, to their city; and then their conſpiracy broke out all at once.

Generoſity of Philip towards Alphonſo, whom he takes priſoner.

Philip loſes Genoa.

They were headed by one of their own number, Francis Spinola, who had acquired a reputation in war. They killed Philip's governor, and obliged his garriſon to ſurrender. The next care of the conſpirators, was to new-model the conſtitution of their city, by chuſing eight perſons, who held the reins of government in the mean time, till it could return to its former channel. Philip, in hopes to prevent the conſequence of this revolt, ordered Picinino, his general, to march againſt the city, while the inſurgents beſieged and took the citadel. As this general could do nothing effectual againſt the city, he advanced to the Weſtern Riviera, where he beſieged Albenga, which was relieved by Fulgoſo, who again aſſumed the adminiſtration of Genoa, and recovered ſeveral towns belonging to their dominions. Next year Fulgoſo renewed his league with the Venetians and Florentines; the inteſtine diviſions of Genoa reviving, Philip applied to Baptiſt Fulgoſo, brother to the doge; and, by making him great promiſes, engaged him in a party for raiſing himſelf to the dogeſhip; but in this attempt he failed, and was taken priſoner. He was, however, pardoned by his brother, and ſent with ſeven gallies to aſſiſt the duke of Anjou, in making good his claim upon the crown of Naples. The progreſs and particulars of that war, is to be found in our hiſtory of Genoa. All that regards Philip is, that Fulgoſo was in his turn expelled by Fliſco, a new competitor for that government; and Peter

A.D.1437.

Fulgoſo

Fulgoſo put himſelf under the protection of Philip, who gave him Novi, a preſent which enabled him to make great depredations upon the Genoeſe. But Philip himſelf, never regained his footing in Genoa.

His affairs in other parts of Lombardy were, however, in a proſperous condition. His generals defeated the Venetians under Carmagnola; and it is ſaid, that he had ſo much intereſt even in Venice, as to make a party againſt that general, who had behaved towards him with great rancour, and been the chief obſtacle of all his ſchemes. Carmagnola had in his compoſition violent reſentment and was proud of having more than once humbled Philip, and forced him to accept law from Venice; but upon the loſs of a battle, his death had been reſolved on by that ſenate, for many months before it happened: he knew nothing of what was intended againſt him, and was living familiarly with the doge, and thoſe who had pronounced his ſentence, when all of a ſudden he was arreſted, and a few hours after, undergoing the torture, his head was ſtruck off. As to his crimes, they do not clearly appear. The pretext for putting him to death was that he maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the enemies of Venice; an allegation that never was proved.

He marries the duke of Savoy's ſiſter.

Philip, ever ſince the death of his firſt wife Beatrix, had continued a widower. But his minions and flatterers, perceiving his health was much impaired by his debauches, became now importunate with him to marry; and the archbiſhop of Milan undertook to effect a match between him and the daughter of Amadeo, duke of Savoy. Philip at firſt was averſe to the propoſal; but his creatures hoping, in caſe of a minority, to engroſs the adminiſtration, applied not only to his friends and relations, but to the neighbouring princes, who joined in their ſolicitations for the ſame purpoſe. Philip, however, would have continued deaf to all their remonſtrances, had they not engaged in their party one Stephen, a reputed aſtrologer, whoſe prognoſtications were counted oracular by Philip, at that time in his retreat of Abbiati. Stephen no ſooner pronounced the aſpect of the ſtars favourable, than he agreed that the lady ſhould be ſent for. Her friends, afraid of his fickle fantaſtical temper, had already brought her to Rebecca, which lies within three miles of Abbiati, where ſhe was attended by her brother and a noble train of Savoyards. The ceremonial of the meeting being ſettled, the bride appeared mounted on a palfrey behind her brother, and Philip met her on horſeback likewiſe, on a certain ſpot in the fields, which

had

had been marked out for their firſt interview. There having eſpouſed, and mounted her on the crupper, he took leave of her attendants, and returned to Abbiati to conſummate the marriage. He was ſo well pleaſed with his bride, that he ordered great rejoicings to be made on account of the marriage, and not only refuſed to receive any thing with her in dowry, but even relinquiſhed to her brother the duke, the quiet poſſeſſion of Vercelli; an inſtance of generoſity which was owing, perhaps, not more to love than to policy, as he thereby made Amadeo his friend.

Philip, after his marriage, had a ſhort reſpite from war; but he was ſoon obliged to march againſt the inhabitants of the Appennines, the Placentine rebels, and ſome other free-booters in thoſe parts. There is reaſon to believe, that he had no motive for this expedition but revenge, as thoſe people had ſhewn an inclination to take part with the Venetians in the late war; all mention of them having been omitted in the pacification, Philip pretended that he had a right to treat them as robbers and traitors; and he proceeded accordingly, by hanging ſuch of them as fell into his hands. The reſt of Philip's life and actions, which have not been recounted in the preceding parts of this hiſtory, were perfectly deteſtable. Sforza, notwithſtanding his paſſion for the duke's daughter, knew him too well to preſs the celebration of the nuptials, though Philip himſelf had repeatedly offered to conclude it; but at laſt a mere accident brought it about. The Venetians, ever intent on their own intereſt, without regarding thoſe of their confederates, withdrew their confidence from Sforza, whom they would not truſt, but could not diſcharge. The palm of war was, at this time, divided ſo equally between him and Picinino, that it was hard to ſay which had the beſt right to wear it, though the advantage of magnanimity, generoſity, and the other civil virtues, lay on Sforza's ſide. Beſides, he had at his devotion a body of troops, the beſt diſciplined of any then in Italy. Being extremely careful of his honour, he ſerved every ſtate who paid him, with great fidelity, as he conſidered that the want of ſucceſs, in their eyes, was the want of merit. He was therefore the more vexed that the Venetians did not enable him to carry on the war in Lombardy, with the ſame vigour as before, and went to Venice, where he cleared himſelf of all ſuſpicions ſo effectually, that the republic ordered their troops to withdraw from Tuſcany to join his forces. But before that junction could be effected, Picinino, who was well ſupported

Other wars break out.

ſupported by Philip, had obtained ſo many advantages in the field, that it was thought Sforza and his army would be obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. Picinino, who had nothing to depend upon for his ſubſiſtence but his ſword, thought himſelf ſo ſure of ſucceſs, that having made his diſpoſitions, he ſent to demand of Philip the city and territory of Piacenza, becauſe, as he ſaid, he was not maſter of ſo much earth as would cover his bones. Philip no ſooner received this meſſage, than, either out of caprice or policy, he reſolved to purchaſe peace at any rate. He accordingly ſent Antony Fortona to Sforza, to make an end of all difficulties, and to conclude the marriage without farther delay. The intereſt of the Venetians, Sforza's maſters, was not forgot; for Philip gave up to them all his claims upon the Breſcian and the Bergameſe, with other cities and forts that had been conquered from him; and matters were accommodated at the ſame time with the Florentines. As to Sforza, he obtained the lady in marriage, and with her the city of Cremona.

Sforza marries Philip's natural daughter.

This peace pleaſed all Italy, excepting the pope and Picinino. The nuncio of the former, when it was concluded, left Venice in a rage, breathing fury againſt the contracting parties, for having betrayed the intereſts of the church. As to Picinino, Philip the moment the articles were agreed upon, ſent him a peremptory order to make a truce with Sforza for a year. This command came upon him like a thunder-bolt. He refuſed to obey it, till Philip gave him to underſtand, that, if he did not comply, he would give him up to his enemies, from whom he knew he could expect no quarter; upon which Picinino was, with the utmoſt reluctance, forced to ſubmit. The marriage between Sforza and Philip's daughter, was celebrated at Cremona. According to Paul Jovius, Philip was long in ſuſpenſe, whether to give the preference of his ſucceſſion to Alphonſo, king of Naples, or to Sforza. The former was befriended in his councils by Brocard Paſſico and Francis Landriani; and the latter ſupported by Andrew Birago and Peter Puſterla. The matter remained long doubtful; but Philip's affection for his daughter prevailed in Sforza's favour.

Though Philip had every motive, both of intereſt and inclination, to cheriſh the peace he had juſt obtained; yet it was ſcarce concluded, when it had like to have been broke by his own impatience and ſuſpicious temper. Alphonſo, the king of Naples, having got the advantage of his competitor René, or Regnier, who held nothing in that kingdom but the capital, had ſeized Benevento, and other great

great poſſeſſions belonging to Sforza, which had been granted to his father for his ſervices in that kingdom. Sforza, who, after the celebration of his marriage, had retired to Venice, immediately formed connexions in favour of Regnier, who was joined likewiſe by the pope, the Florentines, and the Genoeſe; all of whom were jealous of Alphonſo's power. On the other hand, that prince had recourſe to Philip, with whom he had ſo much reaſon to be ſatisfied; and Philip, having nothing to apprehend on the ſide of Naples, readily came into his views, and even perſuaded his holineſs to join againſt Sforza, moſt of whoſe eſtates had formerly belonged to the church. At the ſame time Philip ſent Picinino, who continued ſtill in his ſervice, to his aſſiſtance; and this general entering the marquiſate of Ancona, ſtripped Sforza of almoſt all he poſſeſſed there. Mean while, Alphonſo drove his competitor Regnier out of Naples, and took that capital; while Antony Bentivoglio of Bologna, the Venetians, and the Florentines, prepared to aſſiſt Sforza. Philip, according to the myſterious manner in which he conducted all his actions, ſeeing Alphonſo in poſſeſſion of the throne of Naples, was ſecretly glad of the confederacy that had been formed in favour of his ſon-in-law; but ſtill proceeded in a way peculiar to himſelf. He would not give Picinino orders to return with his army to the Milaneſe, and agreed with Alphonſo in ſuffering Sforza and the pope to fight it out between themſelves. Though Picinino's army was paid by himſelf, yet he was afraid of the entire dependence they had upon their general; and thus Picinino had only himſelf, and the valour of his ſoldiers, to depend upon; while Sforza, receiving freſh reinforcements, defeated Picinino, and obliged him to take refuge in Montecchio. This reverſe of fortune intereſted the pope and Alphonſo, who were afraid of Sforza's progreſs, in favour of Picinino, whom they enabled to take the field with a ſtronger army than before, which turned the tide of war once more againſt Sforza. Again, when Picinino was on the point of victory, Philip, under a plauſible pretext, ordered him to repair to Milan, leaving the command of his army to his ſon. Sforza laid hold of that opportunity to attack young Picinino, whom he en-
A.D. 1445. tirely defeated, and took priſoner; and the father, perceiving that he had been abandoned and deceived by Philip, died of grief. Sforza, by his late victory regained his eſtates in Ancona, and came to an accommodation with his holineſs.

Nevertheleſs, Philip would not give him the command of his army, but ſent for Ciarpellone, a general officer who had

had deſerted from the Venetian ſervice, to ſucceed Picinino. Ciarpellone was then in Sforza's army; but upon his receiving Philip's order, he was arreſted and put to death, though it does not clearly appear upon what pretext. This outrage upon Philip's honour, produced another war in Ancona and Lombardy. Philip was joined, in ſupporting Giſmond Malateſta of Rimini, by the pope and the king of Naples; and Sforza was aſſiſted in ſtripping him of his eſtates, by the Venetians and the Florentines. Philip, upon the death of Ciarpellone, had given the command of his army to young Picinino, whom Sforza had ſet at liberty. But he was totally defeated at Caſal by the Venetians, who purſued their advantages to the very heart of the Milaneſe; while Sforza baffled two attempts formed by his father-in-law upon Cremona and Pontremoli. The ſucceſſes of the Venetians produced a reconciliation between Philip and his ſon-in-law Sforza. Both of them were perfectly ſenſible that the Venetians aimed at becoming maſters of the Milaneſe. The duke could receive no immediate aſſiſtance from his ally Alphonſo, king of Naples; and being now diſpirited, blind, and neglected by his ſubjects, he found himſelf obliged, after all his fine ſpun politics, to apply for relief to his ſon-in-law Sforza.

The latter had a difficult game to manage. He was ſtill commander in chief of the Venetian army, though his kinſman Attendula was the acting general; and he had entirely broken the power of Philip's arms under Picinino, therefore was extremely cautious in his anſwer to his ſolicitations. The Venetians were not inſenſible of the views of his father-in-law, and endeavoured to outbid him, by offering him a power over their armies, little inferior to that of perpetual dictator. Sforza ſtill heſitated; and the Venetians thought themſelves, through their late ſucceſſes, powerful enough to force him into their meaſures. They impriſoned an envoy he ſent to their ſenate. They cancelled all the public acts they had paſſed in his favour; and at laſt attempted to ſurpriſe Cremona, in which they failed. Mean while, Philip had loſt almoſt all his troops upon the Adda; and Brandolino erected the Venetian ſtandard under the walls of Milan, inviting the inhabitants to ſhake off his yoke, and aſſert their liberty. It was now high time for Sforza to determine on the part he was to act; and his deciſion was in favour of his father-in-law. He accordingly put himſelf in motion for his relief; but when he was upon his march, he received intelligence that Philip was dead of a fever, in the ſixtieth year of his age. A D. 1448. *Philip's death.*

Philip's

Character of Philip.

Philip's character is one of the most difficult to draw of any in history. Though he is allowed, by all writers, to have been one of the best soldiers and completest statesmen of his age; yet distrust and superstition had weakened him to such a degree, that he incurred the contempt of his friends, as well as enemies. He was naturally expensive, magnificent, and voluptuous; yet he seldom enjoyed quiet, and more than once brought his dominions to the brink of ruin by his parsimony. Paul Jovius, who was the best acquainted with his character of any other writer, is of opinion, that the unexampled generosity he shewed to Alphonso, king of Naples, was the result of his own magnanimity; that he excelled all his ancestors in the splendor of living; that the magnificence of his hospitality was inexpressible; and other writers agree in celebrating the politeness of his address, and the sprightliness of his conversation: while all allow, that he bore the most mortifying reverses of fortune with the greatest calmness and intrepidity. The same authors who clothe him with this noble character, admit that he was naturally so timid, that he trembled at hearing a small clap of thunder; and that on such occasions he fled like one distracted to dark subterraneous recesses. When at home he generally lived in a small closet, that could receive but very little company. The access to his person was very difficult. He commonly managed his business at second hand, and shewed great aversion to company. In the latter part of his life, he pretended that his eye-sight had failed him, and that he could not discern one person from another; while those who were better acquainted with him, thought that this defect proceeded only from affectation and distrust; and that the frequent use he made of interpreters and monitors proceeded from dissimulation. He took great delight in reading history, according to Paul Jovius: he used to view through a perspective, the young men belonging to his court, as they were playing at tennis, or exercising themselves in wrestling; and when he saw any who pleased him by his address, vigour, or beauty, he took him into his service about his person; a circumstance that has borne hard upon his memory, though Paul Jovius attempts to vindicate him from any suspicions of unnatural practices.

After the murder of his wife, and several wanton executions, it would be difficult to clear him from the charge of being personally cruel; but Jovius lays the blame of many of his failings upon bad advisers, particularly upon Oldrati Lampugnani, who had been bred up with him from his

his youth, and had obtained an entire ſway over his affections, by depreciating all but his own merits, and thoſe of his favourites. Philip's failings increaſed with his age; particularly his inconſtancy and cruelty. He is ſaid, though fickle and variable in his friendſhip, to have been inexorable in his hatred, and that, however he might ſeem to overlook it, he never pardoned an offence.

His irreſolution made him unhappy at the time of his death; for though he doated on his daughter Blanche, yet he could not bear the thought that Sforza, who was a baſtard ſhould ſucceed him in his dominions; and he ſtill turned his thoughts towards Alphonſo. Nay, it is affirmed, that he actually made a will in his favour, which never was ſigned, Philip being deterred by the univerſal averſion that prevailed amongſt his ſubjects againſt the Neapolitans. Alphonſo III. of Naples, however, hearing that this will had been deſtroyed, put in his claim to the Milaneſe ſucceſſion.

Affairs of Milan.

By Philip's death, the legitimate male line of the Viſconti family was at an end, and the next lawful heir was Valentina, his ſiſter, who had married the duke of Orleans. By the contract of that marriage, the lawful progeny of it was to ſucceed to the duchy of Milan, in failure of the heirs male. But this proviſion was diſputed by the emperor, who pretended that it could not be valid without his conſent, which it never had obtained. Notwithſtanding this objection, neither Sforza nor the French court regarded the imperial authority, and the people of Milan regarded it leſs than either. Sforza had great difficulties to conquer before he could make good his claim. By his difference with the Venetians he had been diſabled from paying his troops; and he knew that moſt of the powers of Italy were his enemies. Though he had a great party in the Milaneſe, yet that city was far from being united. Many of its inhabitants inclined to a republican government, and ſome to Alphonſo; but the republicans proved the moſt powerful. Sforza, to give them as little time as poſſible for deliberation, moved with his army towards Milan, and offered the inhabitants his ſervice. By this time, they had eſtabliſhed themſelves into a kind of republican government.

They gave him to underſtand, they were ready to take him into their pay upon the ſame terms on which he had ſerved the late duke; and that in the mean time they were willing to relinquiſh to him Breſcia and Verona, as ſoon as he could reduce them under his dominion. The hiſtory of the Sforza family, we were unavoidably obliged to inſert

in the foregoing parts of this work, particularly in our hiſtory of Florence, where the reader will find a full account of Lewis Sforza, who made ſo great a figure in the hiſtory of Italy, and who fell a ſacrifice to his own cunning. It is certain, that if a legal title by birth lay to the ſucceſſion of the Milaneſe, it was veſted in the houſe of Orleans, and the kings of France. Lewis XII. accordingly put in his claim, as grandſon of John Galeazzo; and for ſome time he was ſucceſsful; but the inſolence of the French was ſuch, that they were driven out of the Milaneſe by the Swiſs and Maximilian Sforza; Francis I. of France, in his turn, defeated the Swiſs and Milaneſe, and obliged the deſcendants of the Sforza family to relinquiſh the government for a penſion of thirty thouſand ducats a year. Francis Sforza, the ſon of Maximilian, however, being aſſiſted by the emperor and the pope, regained poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe about the year 1521; and eight years after, the French king, by the treaty of Cambray, gave up his claim upon that duchy.

But, in fact, the emperors of Germany, had, perhaps, the faireſt title to the Milaneſe, in right of their being formerly ſovereigns of Italy. Upon the death of Francis Sforza, therefore, in the year 1536, the emperor Charles V. declared the Milaneſe an imperial fief, and granted the inveſtiture of it to his ſon Philip II. king of Spain, in whoſe family it continued till the year 1706, when the French and Spaniards were driven out of it by the imperialiſts, and the emperor again took poſſeſſion of it as a fief[a].

N. B. The nature of our plan will not allow us to particularize the hiſtory of all the leſs important ſtates of Italy, ſuch as Lucca, Bologna, Modena, Ferrara, Mantua, &c. nor is ſuch a circumſtantial detail of any conſequence to the reader, as the principal tranſactions of all theſe ſtates, are interwoven in our hiſtory of the popes, emperors, and other Italian powers, which we have already recorded.

[b] Vide Paul. Jov. Vit. Viſcont. Princip. Milan. Murator. Annal. d'Italia.

CHAP.

CHAP. XCVII.

History of the House of Savoy.

SECT. I.

Containing a general Description of the King of Sardinia's Dominions.

Description of Savoy.

SAVOY, the Sabaudia of the ancients, borders upon France to the west; upon France and Piedmont to the south; upon Piedmont, the Milanese, and Switzerland to the east; and is bounded on the north by the lake of Geneva. According to its present dimensions, it extends eighty-eight English miles from west to east, and from south to north seventy-six. The face of the country is rugged, and wretched to the last degree, being mountainous, or rather rocky; between the hills, in a few contemptible vallies, the inhabitants, with the utmost efforts of industry and labour, make shift to earn a miserable subsistence. There are, however, a few exceptions to this wretchedness. Grain grows in some of the vallies; and vines thrive near the lake of Geneva, Montmelian, and St. Jean de Maurienne. Ripaille affords beautiful prospects. Mount Cenis is famous for its height, and the difficulty of its passage, being part of the road between Savoy and Piedmont; but has of late years been rendered more practicable by incredible labour. The chief river of Savoy is the Rhone, which flows out of the lake of Geneva, and on that side separates it from France. This river is augmented by the following streams: the Arve, which rises in Fauciguy, has a mixture of gold in its sand, and near Geneva empties itself into the Rhone: Les Suffes and Siers; the sources of which are in the Genevois, they fall into the Rhone not far from Seisel, the latter being increased by the Seran: the Isere, which rises in the Tarantaise, at the foot of the mount Iseran; it receives the river Arc, the head of which is in Maurienne, and beyond Valence loses itself in the Rhone. The Arc, having a great many falls, is very rapid and full of foam. The chief lakes are those of Anicy in the Genevois, and Bourget in Savoy[a]; and both of them abound with excellent fish, particularly trouts. The inhabitants are generally so miserably poor, that one-third of the men

Its inhabitants.

[a] Busching's Geography, vol. iii. p. 16.

ſeek their bread in foreign countries by the loweſt occupations, ſuch as puppet-ſhew men, chimney-ſweepers, and ſhoe-blackers. They who remain at home labour very hard for their living, particularly in carrying ſtrangers and travellers over their mountains, which are often impaſſable for mules, though it is amazing with what art and ſecurity they walk. But neither this employment, nor the moſt laborious drudgeries, prevents many of the inhabitants from begging alms on the high roads, from every traveller who makes a tolerable appearance. After all, the miſeries of the Savoyards are not ſo much owing to the barrenneſs of the ſoil as to the tyranny of the landlords, who diſcourage all cultivation of the ground by their haughtineſs and rigour.

The people, are naturally ſubmiſſive, chearful, and contented, and bear all their miſeries with patience. A farmer, who has a yoke of oxen, two horſes, four cows, and a few goats and ſheep, is looked upon as a wealthy man. Their bread is generally made of oats, but a few amongſt the richeſt of them have wheat. The fare of the lower ſort is extremely poor; their higheſt luxury conſiſting in milk and water for drink; and for food, in cheeſe, butter, wallnuts, and garden ſtuff. Fleſh meat is ſeldom taſted, even amongſt the more wealthy. The reigning king of Sardinia, and his father, have gone far towards aboliſhing many of oppreſſive tenures and uſages, under which the ſubjects groaned from their landlords. Nobility and genealogy, and armorial bearings, are in Savoy ſo many civil diſeaſes, which are encouraged, becauſe they bring in a conſiderable revenue to the crown; titles here being a mercantile commodity. The language of the Savoyards is French; but they retain among them a great deal of the old German plainneſs and honeſty. Their religion is popery, to which they are no great bigots. Hunting is one of the privileges of the noble Savoyards; and the lives of the poorer people might be much more comfortable, if they were indulged in the exerciſe of that paſtime, many of their woods and plains being ſtored with excellent game.

Chamberry, the capital of Savoy, is ſituated on the river Leiſe, in a fine valley; but nothing worth mentioning is to be ſeen there. It is, however, the place where the ſtates or parliament of Savoy aſſemble, and here ſome veſtiges of the ancient feodal conſtitution are ſtill diſcernible. Montmelian is a very ſtrong town of Savoy, and Ripaille is famous for its delightful retirements. The reſt of its towns have nothing remarkable. We cannot cloſe this general account of Savoy without taking notice, that vaſt numbers

numbers of the inhabitants have large wens and excreſcences upon their throats, which are thought to be owing to their drinking ſnow water.

Piedmont, ſo called from its being ſituated at the foot of the mountains, is a part of the ancient Lombardy, and northward, borders on Savoy and Italy; weſtward, on France; ſouthward, on the Mediterranean, and the republic of Genoa; and eaſtward, on the duchies of Montferrat and Milan. From ſouth to north it is about thirty German, or one hundred and fifty Engliſh miles, but much leſs from weſt to eaſt. The ſoil of it is a great deal more fruitful, and leſs rugged than that of Savoy. Its hills produce plenty of excellent wine; and Turin, its capital, is famous for fine fruits, and noble walks of cheſnut and mulberry trees. Cheſnuts and truffles of an excellent kind, are found here in great plenty[b]. They have a particular kind of dogs, which by their ſcent find out the truffles; nor do they loſe that quality when carried to other countries. It is ſaid that the cattle of Piedmont, brings into the country above one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds a-year; but the chief commodity of the inhabitants is ſilk, the beſt in Italy. The country, from Turin to Coni, is delightful. Rochemelon is the higheſt of all the Italian Alps, from whence there is a noble proſpect all over the Milaneſe, Venice, and the neighbouring countries. Its chief rivers are the Po and the Var; indeed, the laſt is but an inconſiderable torrent, fed by melted ſnow, which divides France from the county of Nice, and runs into the bay of Antibes. *Piedmont.*

As to its inhabitants, they are lively, ingenious, and witty. The nobility live under the like conſtitutions, and much after the ſame manner as thoſe of Savoy. In Piedmont there are about fifty counties, fifteen marquiſates, a great number of lordſhips, and twenty abbeys. The language of the Piedmonteſe is a mixture of French and Italian; but they have the mifortune to be equally ſlaves to their kings and to their religion, which is popery, and which cramps all the efforts of their natural genius[c]. In this duchy, however, amidſt the vallies of Lucerne, Peyrouſe, and St. Martin, bodering on Dauphiné, live the celebrated Waldenſes. Theſe people profeſs a kind of primitive Chriſtianity, and have always oppoſed the ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome, with ſuch zeal and reſolution as have often drawn upon them moſt inhuman perſecutions. The king of Sardinia, by the ſituation of his dominions, has been juſtly termed the jailor of the Alps,

[b] Buſching, vol. iii. p. 24. [c] Ibid, p. 26.

as it would be extremely difficult for the French, or any other people, to force their way into Italy without his consent. This advantage renders his friendship of infinite consequence to all the powers of Europe, who are concerned in any quarrel relating to the Italian states. As he is an absolute sovereign in civil matters, and for the most part in ecclesiastic, his ordinary revenues amount to what he pleases to impose. They are generally estimated at one million sterling; and, indeed, they must be very considerable, as he maintains a very splendid court, and an army of fifteen thousand men in time of peace, though he can bring into the field an army of forty thousand men on occasion.

The capital city of Piedmont is Turin, the ancient Augusta Taurinorum. It is one of the finest cities in Europe for its dimensions, being of a quadrangular form, and above four miles and a half in circumference. It is situated in a delightful country, on the confluence of the Po and the Doria; and nothing can be more pleasant than the hills that surround it, which are covered with villas, convents, and magnificent buildings. Its inhabitants are reckoned at sixty thousand, and it contains forty-eight churches and convents, and seventeen more may be seen from its ramparts. Its principal street is remarkable for its regularity, breadth, and the loftiness of its buildings, which are decorated with spacious arcades, and balconies to every story, but disfigured by the use of paper lattices. The king's palace is built of free-stone, adorned with pillars, statues, and a grand stair-case, where there is a brass figure of Victor Amadeus, the late king, on a horse of white marble. It must, however, be acknowleged that the old town of Turin does not at all answer to this magnificent description. The houses in both are built of brick, and many of the streets are narrow, crooked, and incommodious. To make amends for this inconvenience, they are interspersed with grand palaces, and some of them contain beautiful squares.

Besides the king's palace, which can be matched by few in Europe, Turin contains a great number of fine public buildings both religious and civil. The opera-house, the record-house, office, the university, the royal printing-office, and the arsenal, are all of them master-pieces, in their several kinds. The king's cabinet of curiosities is allowed to be invaluable, and the university library, besides twenty-thousand printed volumes, is stocked with an immense collection of manuscripts. The hospitals for the sick, the poor, and the lunatics, are answerable to the other magnificent works of this city; and its fortifications render it extremely strong. A cut from the Doria, which is communicated

municated by sluices to all the streets of Turin, renders it sweet and wholesome. The inhabitants, in their manner and way of living, greatly resemble the French; but they are not without their religious weaknesses, witness the sudarium, which is most sacredly preserved in Turin, within a chapel of black marble of curious architecture. Turin is the see of an archbishop, and it has an university, which was erected in the year 1405. The academy here, for riding, dancing, and warlike exercises, is reckoned to be the best of any in the world, and is greatly encouraged by that king, whose courtiers, in time of peace, are formed out of the officers of his army. The court itself is polite and agreeable, and is thought to be free from that insincerity which prevails in France, and the dissimulation that characterizes the other courts of Italy. There are, however, inconveniencies, that render Turin less agreeable to a stranger that it would otherwise be. The air is thick and moist; its water is bad; and the inns afford wretched accommodation. Upon the whole, the city is grand and beautiful; the present king has omitted nothing to complete its fortifications; and to render it one of the strongest places in Europe.

Description of its neighbourhood.

The neighbourhood of Turin is full of magnificent palaces, many of which belong to the king. La Vigne de la Reine, is famous for its delightful prospects. La Venerie has a fine garden, and near it the king's guards are quartered. Montcallier, and Stupinice, are two royal palaces, neither of them four miles from Turin, and each adorned with peculiar beauties of painting, gardening, and situation. Superga is a religious foundation, the original of which is connected with our history. The high hill upon which it is built, was the place from whence the duke of Savoy, his present Sardinian majesty's father, together with prince Eugene, reconnoitred the French army, which besieged Turin in 1706, and had well nigh reduced it to a heap of rubbish. The awful prospect of this scene of misery and distress, inspired his royal highness with such sentiments, that he made a vow to erect a charitable foundation, if he should succeed in delivering his crown and capital from their enemies; and this vow he accordingly performed [d]. The building, which is six stories high, forms a parallelogram, one of the smaller sides of which is taken up by the pompous church, where, over the main entrance, is seen the following inscription; "Virgini genetrici Victor Amadeus, Sardiniæ rex, bello Gallico vovit, pulsis hostibus,

[d] Busching, vol. iii. p. 29.

extruxit dedicavitque." Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, during his war with France, vowed this house; and having defeated his enemies, he has built and dedicated the same to the Virgin Mother. Under the church is built the new burial-place for the royal family.

Piedmont may be called the country of fortifications, as its situation is equally fit for erecting forts, and inviting invasions: we shall therefore confine ourselves to a description of those cities and strong places, that have made the greatest figure in war for these three hundred years past, and tend to the illustration of the history.

Chivas. Chivas, or Chizazzo, a strong-place, stands on the Po,
Mondovi. about twelve miles northward of Turin. Mondovi is reckoned the second city of Piedmont, and a place of strength,
Coni. and lies forty miles to the southward of Turin. Coni lies about thirty, and, during the late wars of Savoy, was
Pignerol. reckoned impregnable. Pignerol is famous, in the histories of France and Savoy, for being the object of perpetual wars. It is situated on the river Chiese, and being very strong, underwent various fates. At last it was restored to the house of Savoy, by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, but on condition that it should not be fortified by his Sardinian majesty.

Fort Brunette. Fort Brunette lies on one of the entrances of Savoy from France. It consists of eight bastions, which, with their out-works, are all cut out of the rocks. Not a single building is to be seen, nor a soldier to be perceived, excepting a few centinels on their different posts. The communication between the bastions and other works, are under the rocks, of such a breadth, that large carriages, and heavy cannon, can, with the greatest conveniency and safety, be drawn by horses, from one place to another. These bastions are generally guarded by three thousand men; and the desperate attacks that have been at various times made upon them by the French, particularly during the last war, exceed all belief.

Susa. Susa lies in another pass between France and Piedmont, to which last it is of the utmost importance. It stands on the river Doria, twenty miles north of Turin; and is stronger by its garrison, than by its fortifications or situation. Here is to be seen a marble triumphal arch, erected
Fenestrelles. by king Cottius, in honour of Augustus Cæsar. Fenestrelles
Exilles. and Exilles, are likewise famous for their strength and situation, and for the noble defence they made against the French, when the latter invaded Italy in favour of the in-
Asti. fants of Spain. Asti is the capital of a county, twenty-five miles to the eastward of Turin, and is a bishop's see. It is large, strong, and populous, and few cities in Lombardy

bardy are ſaid to exceed it in its palaces and public buildings. Remains of antiquity, ſuch as a triumphal arch, and an amphitheatre, are ſtill to be ſeen in this place, which was a favourite town with Auguſtus Cæſar, and other emperors. Saluzzo is the capital of a marquiſate of the ſame name, and ſtands on an eminence at the foot of the Alps. It has undergone various revolutions; but it is now remarkable for little more than the magnificence of its cathedral, and its being a biſhop's ſeat. Chateau Dauphin is another fort, lying in the Piedmonteſe vallies. *Saluzzo.* *Chateau Dauphin.*

The chief of theſe, commonly called the vale of Lucerne, is fifteen miles in length, but of an unequal breadth. It contains twelve pariſhes: that of Roras, which is the ſmalleſt, is remarkably fruitful in wine, grain, and vegetables, the very dreadful hills, which every where ſurround it, being improved. The pariſh of Angrogne, in which lies the famous barricade, is perhaps one of the ſtrongeſt ſpots in the world; for it lies amongſt ſtupendous mountains, and the entrances into it are almoſt inacceſſible. It was here that the Waldenſes, held out againſt all their enemies, who were powerful, keen and numerous; and here their paſtors uſed to preach without obſtruction before the reformation, and to fit young men for the purpoſes of the miniſtry. *Valley of Lucerne.*

Verue, is a fortreſs ſituated on a rock near the Po, of prodigious ſtrength. Verceil, ſo called from a barony of that name, is ſituated near the frontiers of Milan, or rather of Montferrat, fifteen miles to the north of Caſal, and about forty north-eaſt of Turin: it gives name to a biſhoprick, which is ſuffragan to the archbiſhoprick of Milan: it is large and fortified, and generally follows the fortune of Turin the capital. Before we finiſh this deſcription of the vallies of Piedmont, it may be proper to ſay ſomewhat farther concerning their natural curioſities. Thoſe vallies, particularly that of St. Martin, contain large woods and thickets that abound in white hares, white, and other coloured partridges, and large pheaſants, not to mention great numbers of wolves and bears. The marmotte, which is ſo famous in England, reſides on the higheſt parts of the mountains. It is of a reddiſh colour; it is larger than a rabbit; its fleſh taſtes like pork, and lives where there is very little herbage; but the moſt remarkable property of that animal is, that while the mountains are covered with ſnow, for eight or nine months in a year, it is always aſleep. The bouquetin, which reſembles a goat, or chamois, has its haunts upon the mountains likewiſe; it generally ſleeps on the ice; it is very fleet; its fleſh is excellent, *Verue.* *Verceil.* *Valley of St. Martin.*

lent, and a few drops of its blood, administered in warm wine, is counted an excellent remedy for that numbness which is so common and fatal in that country. The jumar, or bif, is a creature engendered by a bull and a mare, or a a bull and a she ass; it lives upon very little; and its strength, swiftness, and utility in travelling is amazing(A).

Nice. Nice, the capital of a county that bears the same name, is a maritime city of small extent, situated in the bay of Antibes, at the distance of thirty leagues from Turin. The climate is extremely mild and salutary, and the king having declared it a free port, it will probably become a flourishing place.

Sardinia. The island of Sardinia is of little other consequence than than that of affording its sovereign a royal title. It stretches from north to south in the Mediterranean, about one hundred and sixty miles in length, and from west to east eighty. The air is so unwholesome, and the soil so poor, that the ancient Romans punished their criminals by sending them in exile to this island. The barrenness of the soil is, however, chiefly owing to the indolence of the inhabitants, but it has of late been greatly improved, so that from

Cagliari. many places they export corn to Spain Cagliari, or Calaris, the capital, situated on the declivity of a hill, is an university, an archbishoprick, and the residence of the viceroy. It has an excellent harbour; is said to be large and populous, and to carry on a considerable commerce; but it certainly is a place of no great strength. The rest of the places in this island have nothing remarkable in them. We shall, therefore, here close the description of his Sardinian majesty's dominions.

SECT. II.

Containing the History of the House of Savoy, from the Year 1000.

Origin of the house of Savoy. THE ducal and sovereign house of Savoy is generally thought to have the same original with the electoral house of Saxony, derived from Witikind, furnamed the Great, duke of Saxony, who was contemporary with Charle-

(A) Some of the best modern naturalists deny the possibility of any such production from an intercourse between the male and female of different species; and yet such an animal is described by Columella, de Re Rustica. Perhaps the jumar is nothing but a lusus naturæ of the male kind.

magne;

magne; but we ſhall begin our hiſtory with Beroald, or Bertold.

We have already, in the Hiſtory of Geneva, mentioned the kingdom of the Bourgignons, or Burgundians, which was ſometimes called the kingdom of Arles; but, in fact, they were diſtinct, though under the ſame ſovereigns. The kingdom of Arles comprehended Provence, the Lyonnois, and Dauphiné: the kingdom of Burgundy included Savoy, Swiſſerland, and many countries in the neighbourhood. Bertold bought from Rodolf, one of the kings of the Burgundians, the counties of Savoy and Maurienne; and he had a ſon name Hubert with the White Hands. This prince, who died about the year 1050, performed ſo many important ſervices to the emperor Conrade II. that he rewarded him by giving him in property St. Maurice, Valais, and the country of Chablais. Hubert's ſon, Amadeo, died without iſſue, and his brother Otho added to his paternal dominions the marquiſates of Suſa, Turin, Piedmont, and the valley of Aoſta. He aſſumed the title of marquis of Italy, and died in 1060. His ſon, Amadeo II. pretended to be independent of the imperial power, and lived during the troubleſome times of the emperor Henry IV. That prince, in his famous expedition into Italy, to recover the rights of the empire, found all the paſſes ſhut up by his enemies, but that by Savoy, through which he demanded liberty to march; but Amadeo obliged him, in conſideration of that privilege, to yield to him the poſſeſſion of five biſhopricks in the neighbourhood. Amadeo took advantage of Henry's diſtreſſes to increaſe his dominions, by the acceſſion of a large portion of the kingdom of Arles, which is thought to be the county of Baugy. This prince was ſucceeded by his ſon Hubert II. who aſſumed the title of count of Piedmont. He added to his other dominions the Tarantaiſe, and died about the year 1103. His ſon and ſucceſſor, Amadeo III. was engaged in war with the count of Geneva, whom he is ſaid to have ſlain with his own hand. He attended the emperor, Henry V. in his two journies to Rome; ſerved in two campaigns againſt the infidels in the Holy Land, and died at Nicoſia, a city of Cyprus. His ſon and ſucceſſor, Hubert III. had a religious turn. He joined the pope againſt the emperor Frederic I. who ſtripped him of Turin, with all its dependencies, which he beſtowed upon the archbiſhop of that city. This was a great blow to the houſe of Savoy, from which it did not recover for many years.

Bertold. *Hubert.* *Amadeo.* *Otho.* *Amadeo II.* *Hubert II.* *AmadeoIII.* *Hubert III.*

Hubert III. dying, was ſucceeded by Thomas I. who obſerved a conduct very different from that of his father; for he

A.D. 1188.

Thomas I.

he attached himself to the imperial interest, by which he not only recovered many of his paternal estates in Piedmont, but received the title of vicar-general of the holy Roman
Amadeo IV. empire in Piedmont and in Lombardy. His son, Amadeo IV. following his father's principles and party, prevailed with the emperor Frederic II. to erect the Chablais and Aosta into
Thomas II. duchies in his favour. His brother Thomas added to the house of Savoy the principality of Carignan, which he purchased from the family of Provane, and also the marquisate of Ivrée, which the emperor made a present of to his house, though it was long before they could obtain possession. This Amadeo IV. reigned twenty years. He was
Boniface. succeeded, in 1255, by his son Boniface, who, from his bodily strength, was called Roland. He was an unfortunate prince, being all his life-time engaged in quarrels with his neighbours, particularly with William, marquis of Montferrat, who took him prisoner, and carried him to Turin, where he died under confinement, notwithstanding the earnest mediation of the pope in his favour. This Boniface never having been married, was succeeded in his do-
Peter. minions by his uncle Peter, who married Agnes, the heiress of Faucigny, the lord of which left all his estates to his daughter, by whom they came to the house of Savoy. He defeated the marquis of Montferrat, who had been so cruel to his predecessor Boniface, and acquired so great reputation, that the town of Bern put itself under his protection, that it might be defended from the encroach-
A.D. 1268. ments and menaces of its neighbours. This prince dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Philip, archbishop of Lyons and Vienne; but he quitted the ecclesiastical state, and married Alice of Burgundy, by whom hav-
Philip.
Amadeo V. ing no issue, his dominions fell to his next heir, Amadeo V. son to Thomas II. This prince acquired the surname of the Great, by his successes, and the wisdom with which they were conducted. He married Sibylla, the heiress of Bresse, a province of France. He purchased Revermont from Robert, duke of Burgundy, and inherited, by the last will of Margaret, queen of France, the fortresses of Pierre Chatel, Seissel, and Montfalcon. The county of Asti was given to him in a present by the emperor Henry VII. but the possession of it was not made good to the house of Savoy till the time of the emperor Charles V. This great prince acquired immortal honour by his behaviour in defending the isle of Rhodes, which had undergone various revolutions. The kalifs of Bagdat, or, as they are commonly called, the Saracens, had taken it from the Greek emperor. The Saracens were expelled by the Turks,

Turks, and they in their turn by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The Turks, about the year 1311, endeavoured to retake it, and must have succeeded, had it not been for the generous and powerful assistance offered to the Christians by the count of Savoy. The histories of that time are full of his gallant behaviour in defending that important island, which was then the barrier of Christendom, against the infidels. The king of Arles, or Burgundy, had made a present of the temporal sovereignty of the city of Lyons to its archbishop; and the latter had given a palace there to the knights of St. John, which, in consideration of the great services performed by the count to the order the great master bestowed upon him. His defence of Rhodes is said to have given rise to the device, or F. E. R. T. the initials of the Latin words, Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit: *His bravery saved Rhodes.*

All the sovereign princes of Europe courted the friendship of this Amadeo, and he was generally the mediator in all their differences, witness the friendship he contracted with the emperor, and the kings of France and England, all of whom loved and honoured him, while they were at variance with one another. He governed Savoy forty-five years, and his brother Thomas re-united Piedmont to that house, which it had long been deprived of, as we have already seen. This Amadeo the Great was succeeded by his son Edward, who was then only lord, or, as he was called, sire of Baugy and Bresse. In his father's lifetime he had signalized himself in war, particularly in the battle of Mont en Paele; but after he came to be count of Savoy, he had but indifferent success in the wars he waged with his neighbours, particularly the dauphin of Viennois. In the year 1328 he assisted Philip de Valois, whom he followed into Flanders, at the battle of Montcasel. Having received many services from the inhabitants of Bern, he generously re-established that city in its liberties, and died while Clementia, the widow of Lewis Hutin of France, was endeavouring to reconcile him to the dauphin of Viennois. He left behind him an only daughter, who was married to John III. duke of Brittany. *Edward.*

Edward was succeeded by his brother Aimon, who having seen the misfortunes of war during his brother's reign, endeavoured all he could to avoid them; and for that reason obtained the name of the Pacific. He was the first count of Savoy, who added to his titles that of count of Vercell. After having reigned upwards of fourteen years, he was succeeded by Amadeo VI. This gallant prince distinguished *Aimon.*

Amadeo VI.

guished himself at a tournament, in which the furniture of his horse, and his own armour, being all green, he obtained the appellation of the count de Verd, or the Green Count, by which he was generally known. He was but nine years of age when he succeeded to the dominions of Savoy, which he greaty increased. He joined to it Quevasque and Mondovi, about the year 1346, and the year after Cheri and Savigliano. Three years after the city of Fribourg, of its own accord, put itself under his protection; but it afterwards recovered its liberty, and is now the capital of one of the Swiss cantons. He purchased from his cousin Catherine, the wife of Azzo Visconti, the country of Vaud; and he had a present of the marquisate of Saluces from the emperor Charles IV. that marquis having rebelled against him; but it was of little service at this time to the marquis. In 1373 he took St. Agatha, and several other places upon the Doria, and afterwards added to his dominions Bielle, Coni, and Verue. He was the original founder of the order of the knights of the Annunciada, which for many years was called the order of Savoy; and he obliged the king of Bulgaria to restore to his liberty the emperor John Paleologus of Greece. He had many wars with the dauphin of Viennois, the marquis of Montferrat, and other neighbours, in all which he was successful; but he died near St. Stefano, while he was assisting Lewis of Anjou to recover the kingdom of Naples. His death, according to some, was occasioned by the plague; but others allege he died in consequence of drinking water which the enemy had poisoned. His son Amadeo VII. was so fortunate as to become master of the county of Nice; and both Villa Franca and Barcelonetta put themselves under his protection. This prince died of the consequences of a fall he received from his horse, while he was hunting.

Amadeo VII.

Amadeo VIII.

He was succeeded by his son Amadeo VIII. who purchased from its last earl the county of Genevois, which cost him forty-five thousand florins of gold. We have, in the History of Geneva, given an ample account of the wars between the house of Savoy and the inhabitants of that city; we shall not, therefore, repeat them here. Amadeo VIII. purchased the city of Rumilli, upon the lake of Geneva, from the widow of the last count of Genevois; and the house of Savoy now became so illustrious, that, in 1426, the emperor Sigismund erected Savoy into a duchy. According to the Savoyard historians, this Amadeo supported John Paleologus against the duke of Milan, who endeavoured to deprive him of the duchy of Montferrat.

Paleo-

Paleologus, thinking he could not be too grateful for the aſſiſtance he had received, not only reſigned to the duke Chivas, Brandis, and other eſtates, but ſubmitted to hold all the marquiſate of Montferrat as a fief from the houſe of Savoy. Vercelli was given to this duke, upon the marriage of his daughter with Philip Maria, duke of Milan; and, about the ſame time, the count of Creſcentino became his feodary.

Few æras in hiſtory are ſo remarkable as the life of this Amadeo; nor do writers ſeem to know his real character. Some have repreſented him as a perſon of great ſanctity, leading a life of moderation and virtue; others as a mere bigot, and an enthuſiaſt; and a third ſet, as one of the moſt politic princes in the world. His real character appears, with a mixture of virtue and abilities, to have been diſtinguiſhed by caprice, and a peculiar humour that led him to indulge himſelf in all kinds of extravagancies. He pretended a great love for retirement, that he might have an opportunity to live at freedom, and in the moſt ſenſual manner: he therefore retired to Ripaille, where there was a religious houſe, and there he inſtituted the order of St. Maurice. The place, which is naturally delightful, was accommodated with every thing that could pleaſe the eye and charm the other ſenſes; and he was attended by ſeveral of his intimates, and twenty ſervants, who were entruſted with his voluptuous ſecrets. Inſtead of taking upon him a religious habit, he aſſumed purple robes (B), and a golden croſs was embroidered upon his mantle. In ſhort, nothing was wanting to complete his ſcheme of pleaſure. He was provided with excellent muſic, and lived upon the moſt luxurious dainties, both in eating and drinking. *His character.*

In conſequence of his retreat from the world, and his ſuppoſed ſanctity of manners, he was choſen pope by the council of Baſil, which had depoſed pope Eugene IV. This was carrying the farce of his devotion very far: but he ſtill continued to humour it. He had reſigned the dukedom of Savoy to his eldeſt ſon Lewis, and made his youngeſt ſon Philip, count of Genevois; but their honours were only titular, for they were obliged to live on a very ſcanty allowance; while the father, in his retirement, received all the revenues, and amaſſed ſo much money, that he is ſaid to have purchaſed the papacy. It is highly probable *Is choſen pope.*

(B) This retreat, according to Monſtrelet, a French hiſtorian, who lived about the ſame time, enriched the French language with the word *faire ripailles*, to ſignify a life of exquiſite pleaſure and luxury.

that

Takes the name of Felix V.

that the duke was not then ſerious in retaining that dignity. He took the name of Felix V. and was crowned at Baſil by the cardinal of Arles, to the amazement of all Europe, for he had never taken holy orders. This council, however, in its twenty-ninth ſeſſion, confirmed his election to the popedom; and he himſelf, with pretended reluctancy, aſſuming the pontifical ornaments, was conſecrated in the church of St. Maurice. For ſome time the dignity of pope was conteſted between him and Eugene; but he was not acknowleged by the emperor, notwithſtanding the moſt earneſt inſtances of the council for that purpoſe. All Europe were divided between him and Eugene. Æneas Sylvius, who was himſelf afterwards pope, informs us, that France, England, Spain, Italy, and Hungary acknowleged Eugene. Germany was neutral. The kings of Arragon and Poland, and the duke of Bretagne, acknowleged the council only; while Savoy, Swiſſerland, Baſil, Straſburg, Pomerania, and one of the dukes of Bavaria, acknowleged Felix, who obtained from the council a grant of many rich revenues for the ſupport of his dignity. This ſubſtantial mark of their approbation, prevailed with Felix to make ſome efforts towards retaining the pontificate. He, and the council of Baſil, had been excommunicated by Eugene; and the emperor, Frederic III. held a council at Franckfort, before which both popes pleaded their right by deputies, but without any effect. The emperor afterwards repaired to the neighbourhood of Baſil, where he had an interview with Felix, whoſe natural propenſity to pleaſure was ſo great, that he committed the management of his affairs to his cardinals, and retired again to Ripaille. It was there that he treated with Alphonſo, king of Arragon, but in vain; for Alphonſo acknowleged Eugene. Mean while, the fathers of the council of Baſil were perpetually applying to Felix to reſide in that city; but he ſtill found means to elude their requeſts, and to indulge his pleaſures. He even rendered them obedient to his will in every thing he deſired, and prevailed on them to transfer the council to Lyons, which lay more convenient for himſelf. Eugene having excommunicated ſome of the German princes for adhering to Felix, the others threatened to diſavow his authority; and thus every thing relating to the church ran into confuſion, till the death of Eugene, which, for a few days, left Felix ſole poſſeſſor of the papacy.

Is excommunicated by Eugene IV.

But his authority having been diſowned by above half of Europe, the cardinals at Rome, in order to reſtore peace to the church, on the eleventh day after Eugene's death, proceeded to the election of a new pope, and the choice

fell

fell upon Thomas de Sarzana, who took the name of Nicholas V. and, being generally recognized, Felix agreed at last to treat concerning his abdication of the popedom. This, however, could not be done without danger to himself; and he applied for the assistance and countenance of Philip, duke of Milan, his son-in-law, who had been very instrumental in his exaltation. Philip only laughed at his application, by saying, that as Amadeo had given him a wife without a portion, so he had given him a popedom without a revenue; for the grant of money which the council had given him had never been paid. Though it is uncertain whether Felix ever was in earnest about keeping the pontificate, yet he undoubtedly offered the emperor, Frederic III. two hundred thousand crowns with his daughter in marriage. The emperor had his reasons for declining this offer; and Felix perceiving that the little authority that remained to him was daily diminishing, agreed, at the request of the emperor, under certain stipulations which Frederic transmitted to Rome for the approbation of Nicholas, to resign the papacy. This negociation proved Felix to be an able prince. Nicholas annulled all that had been done by the late pope Eugene to his prejudice, or that of his friends. He confirmed the acts of the council of Basil, and granted many others that were equally to the honour and advantage of Felix; for he was made perpetual apostolical legate in Savoy, Piedmont, and the other places of his own dominions, as well as in the bishopricks of Lausanne, Basil, Strasburg, and Constance. He was, at the same time, created a cardinal, and bishop of Subino, and permitted to wear his pontifical dress, all but a few badges of authority appropriated to the pope. It was likewise stipulated, that he should not be obliged to come to Rome, or attend any general council; and that when he approached the pope's person, his holiness should rise to receive him, and that he should kiss his cheek instead of his toe.

Resigns the Holy See to Nicholas.

We have, in the history of Geneva, given some farther particulars concerning this Amadeo of Savoy, to which we refer the reader. He died at Lausanne, which, during the latter part of his life, he had chosen for his residence. He was succeeded by his son Lewis, to whom the father, in his life-time, had resigned the title, but few or none of the revenues of the dukedom. Lewis seems to have resented this hard usage; for he ordered William de Balomier, his father's chancellor and chief counsellor, to be drowned in the lake of Geneva, on pretence of his having opposed the accommodation between his father and pope Nicholas V. During the contests about the succession to the duchy of

Lewis.

Milan, after the death of Philip Maria, the last duke, this Lewis, duke of Savoy, who had strong pretensions to it, made himself master of Valenza upon the Po, Romagnana, and several other places of the Milanese. He had been married when young to Anne de Lusignan, and his family has still some pretensions to the title of king of Jerusalem; and by her he had a numerous issue. Charlotte, one of his daughters, was married to the dauphin of France, afterwards Lewis XI. who, after he became king, treated her but indifferently; and the duke her father died at Lyons, on
A.D. 1465. a journey he made to see his son-in-law. Of eight sons, three of them embraced an ecclesiastical life; two of them, named Peter and John Lewis, were successively archbishops of Tarento; and the youngest of all, Francis, was archbishop of Aix. Amadeo IX. who was the eldest, succeeded to the dukedom of Savoy. The second, Lewis count of Genevois, was married to Charlotte of Cyprus, and it is in her right that the house of Savoy claims the title of king of Cyprus. Amadeo's third and fourth brothers, died without issue; and the fifth, Philip, is the ancestor of the present king of Sardinia, being styled in his father's life-time Lackland.

Amadeo IX. Amadeo IX. of Savoy, though in his person feeble, and troubled with the falling sickness, was surnamed the Happy, on account of his virtue, his piety, his readiness to pardon all who had offended him, and his love for justice. One day a foreign minister at his court, took the liberty to ask him, whether he kept any hounds? "A great many (answered the duke), and if you will visit me to-morrow noon, you shall see them." The minister came accordingly to court; and the duke leading him to a window, which looked into a large square, "There," said he, pointing to a great number of poor people, who were seated at tables, eating and drinking, "are my hounds, with whom I go in *Philibert.* chace of heaven." Philibert was the eldest son of Amadeo IX. and succeeded him in his dominions. He was termed the Hunter, from his fondness for that diversion; and dy*Charles I.* ing without children, was succeeded by his brother Charles I. surnamed the Warlike. The reader, in our history of Geneva, will find many curious particulars concerning the family of Amadeo IX. which we shall not here repeat.
Charles II. Charles I. was succeeded by his son Charles II. when he was no more than nine months old; and he died when he was but eight years of age.

A.D. 1490. The dukedom, upon that young prince's death, came to *Philip Lackland.* Philip Lackland, the third son of Amadeo IX. who lived but one year after his succession, and was succeeded by his

son

ſon Philibert, furnamed the Handſome, whom he had by his firſt marriage with Margaret, daughter to Charles duke of Bourbon. The mind of this prince was as amiable as his perſon, and he was about ſeventeen years of age, when he ſucceeded to his duchy. His ſecond wife, Margaret, daughter to the emperor Maximilian, brought him the Franche Compté; but there being no iſſue of the marriage, it reverted to the family of Auſtria. Philibert's two ſiſters were married; the firſt, Louiſa, to the count of Angouleſme, by whom ſhe had Francis I. king of France; the ſecond to Julien de Medicis. Philibert dying without iſſue, his dominions devolved to his brother Charles II. by a ſecond marriage. *Philibert the Handſome.*

This prince was ſo fortunate, as to marry Beatrice of Portugal, ſiſter to Iſabella, wife to the emperor Charles V. who was ſo favourable to the houſe of Savoy, that he put this duke in full poſſeſſion of the county of Aſti, which had been granted to it, by the emperor Henry VI. He gave him likewiſe the inveſtiture of the marquiſate of Chivas, and the lordſhip of Quevaſque. Theſe favours, however, had dreadful conſequences with regard to the duke of Savoy, becauſe they drew upon him the reſentment of Francis the Firſt, king of France, the emperor's rival and enemy; and notwithſtanding all the duke could do to appeaſe that prince, Francis demanded his ſhare of the ſucceſſion by his mother Louiſa of Savoy. The duke was ſo much preſſed on this account, that he was obliged openly to declare himſelf in favour of the emperor. *Charles III.*

In the mean time, the conſtable of Bourbon having withdrawn his allegiance from Francis, and joined the emperor, the duke of Savoy went ſo far as even to pledge his family jewels, to enable the conſtable to raiſe ten thouſand Germans, who afterwards were greatly inſtrumental in gaining for the emperor the battle of Pavia. Francis, all this while, was carrying on a ſecret negociation with the duke of Milan; of which the emperor having received information, he loaded that duke with reproaches, and proceeded to meances. Sforza, afraid of diſobliging the emperor, employed ſome of his courtiers, to quarrel with Merville the French agent, an incident which occaſioned ſome diſturbances at court; and the duke ordered Merveille's head to be ſtruck off in priſon, to convince the emperor that he conſidered him only as a private gentleman, on a tour of pleaſure at the court of Milan. Francis demanded ſatisfaction for ſo atrocious a violation of the law of nations; which being refuſed, he not only renewed his family claims upon Savoy, but demanded from that duke a *He joins the duke of Bourbon.*

passage for his troops through his dominions to Milan. This being refused, Chabot, the French general, entered Savoy at the head of an army, and in short a time stripped duke Charles of the greatest part of his forts and cities, and would have taken them all, had not the emperor amused the king with hopes that he would grant the investiture of Milan to his second son; which hopes were confirmed by the cardinal of Lorrain, and the French ambassador at Rome.

His losses. The duke of Savoy being thus weakened, the republic of Bern took advantage of his condition, and seized the city of Lausanne, a great part of Rosgau, and the county of Vaud; while the Swiss Fribourghers invaded Romont. The city of Geneva seized the same opportunity to expel popery, and establish protestanism, and deprive the duke of the small remains of his power over the city, and its neighbourhood. The unfortunate duke, seeing himself thus reduced, retired to Vercelli, where he died of grief.

Emanuel Philibert. He was succeeded by his son Emanuel Philibert, one of the greatest soldiers and statesmen of that age. This prince had been bred up at the court of Charles V. and he performed the greatest services to him and his son Philip II. of Spain, at the battle of St. Quintin, where he commanded the imperial army, which defeated that of France. The duke was, at the same time, governor of the Low Countries, and his reputation was so high, that he was offered the command of the army of the pope, Spain, and Venetians, which was raised against Selim II. emperor of the Turks, but he declined it, being intent on the recovery of his family dominions, great part of which was restored to him by the peace of Chateau Cambresis. The French, however, still kept possession of Turin, Pignerol, Asti, Chivas, and some other towns. When Henry III. of France was on his journey from Poland, to take possession of the French crown, he had an interview with Emanuel at Turin, and the duke managed him so well, that the king agreed to give him up all the places the French had in his dominions. Soon after, the duke of Alva, general to the king of Spain, who was the ally and friend of the duke of Savoy, marched at the head of an army through the duke's territories, towards the Low Countries; a circumstance which struck the Genevois and the Swiss Protestants with so much terror, that the city of Bern restored to Savoy the three bailiages Tonon, Gye, and Ternis, and the duke renounced his pretensions to all the other dominions belonging to his family, which they had seized upon.

The

The war with the Vaudois is one of the most remarkable incidents in this duke's history. That poor people were harmless, inoffensive, and submissive to the duke's government; but, as we have already hinted, they had been always irreconcileable enemies to the church of Rome. It would exceed the bounds allotted to this part of our work, should we recount all the wars and persecutions they suffered, and the glorious victories they obtained, in defence of their religion, over the troops of the pope, and other bigotted Italian princes, who were perpetually spiriting up the dukes of Savoy, against them. Duke Philip had resolution enough to withstand all their importunities and zeal, and admired the courage with which, the unarmed Vaudois defended the passes into their country, and defeated the numerous well-disciplined armies of their enemies. Being resolved to put an end to their persecution, he permitted them to send twelve of their principals to his court, to make their submissions, and to pay a small acknowlegement of his sovereignty; which the Vavdois did, ordering their deputies to do whatever the duke should direct them, provided their religion was safe. It is remarkable on this occasion, that the duke ordered some of their young children to be brought from their vallies, to satisfy himself whether they were not born with black throats, shaggy manes, and four rows of teeth, as they had been described by their enemies.

War with the Vaudois.

A peace.

This unreserved submission procured them but little respite from persecution, which was renewed against them about the year 1532; but, leaving their prayers, they betook themselves to their fastnesses, and their usual arms; defeated all the repeated efforts of their enemies, and at last, having settled a correspondence with the reformers of Germany, embraced protestantism. Their resolution and valour obliged the government of Savoy, who durst not break with the pope, to change their method of persecution, and, instead of invading their vallies, cut them off from all communication with the rest of their dominions, where they were put to death whenever they were found. This rigour could not satisfy the zealots, who persuaded duke Emanuel, against his own better judgment, to attempt an utter extripation of the Vaudois. The duke's troops were joined by those of the pope and the French king, the whole commanded by the mareschal Montelie and Charles Truchses, who lost their lives in the service, and their troops were defeated on every occasion; so that the duke was at last obliged to grant the Vaudois the exercise of their religion, under certain restrictions. This duke Emanuel acquired the principality of Oneglia, by giving

A.D. 1532.

War resumed.

John Jerome Doria in exchange for it the marquisate of Chivas, which he was, however, to hold as a fief of Savoy. Emanuel likewise purchased the county of Tend, and, after a glorious government of twenty-seven years, he died
A D. 1580. in 1580, universally esteemed and beloved for wisdom, courage, and the great encouragement he gave to science. He married Margaret of France, daughter to Francis I. a princess of incomparable prudence and virtue. It was chiefly owing to her that the Vaudois were delivered from persecution; and she was so little an enemy to the reformed religion, that she is said to have sent every year four thousand crowns to Geneva, for the use of the French Protestants in that place.

Charles Emanuel. He invades and seizes the marquisate of Saluces.

Charles Emanuel, son to Emanuel Philibert, though of a feeble constitution, possessed a bold, restless, enterprizing genius. While Henry III. of France was distressed on the one hand by the leaguers, and on the other by the protestants, Charles invaded the marquisate of Saluces, which he long had an eye upon, and wrested it from the crown of France, on pretence of securing it against the Protestant general Lesdiguiers, who was master of Dauphiné, and might, perhaps have introduced his religion into the marquisate. But the duke did not bear his success with moderation; for he ordered a medal to be struck, with his own head on the one side, and on the reverse a centaur, in the action of discharging an arrow from a bow, with the motto, "Opportunè," insinuating, that he had seized the lucky crisis of conquest.

Upon the assassination of Henry III. the affairs of his successor Henry IV. looked so gloomy, that the duke renewed his invasion, and seized several places in Dauphiné and Provence, but was soon obliged to give them up.
A.D. 1595. When the peace of Vervins gave Henry the peaceable possession of his kingdom, one of the first steps he took, was to demand from the duke restitution of the marquisate of Saluces. Charles, being conscious he was no match for Henry in power, employed all his address to prevail with him to desist from his demand; but finding all ineffectual, he promised to comply, provided his majesty would desist from protecting Geneva. The reader, in the history of that city, will see what followed upon this proposal. The duke even paid a visit in person to Henry, at Paris; but all his address and cunning could not prevail over that king's resolution and good sense. Henry immediately invaded and reduced the greatest part of Savoy. At last, the pope mediated a peace between them, by which the king kept possession of Bresse, Bugey, Valeromey, Gex, Fort l'Ecluse, and

and ſome other places upon the Rhone, ſuch as Auche, Chouſi, Vaulai, Pont d'Arley, Seiſſel, Chaucey, and Pierre Chatel. The duke retained poſſeſſion of the marquiſate of Saluces, and its dependencies; but what he loſt in property was made up to him in conveniency, for he thereby gained a frontier for his capital of Turin, which before was expoſed to the inroads and inſults of his enemies. His attempt to ſcale the city of Geneva, which we have particularized in the hiſtory of that city, followed the peace; and the duke was, by the French king and the Bernois, forced to give the Genevois ſatisfaction, and to agree to build no fort within four miles of their city.

Duke Francis of Mantua dying without male iſſue, the duke of Savoy, who had ſtrong pretenſions upon that ſucceſſion, ſeized Trino, Alma, and Monte Calvi; but he was forced, by the grand-duke of Tuſcany, and the republic of Venice, to reſtore them in a ſhort time. He ſtill, however, kept his army on foot, and was required by the governor of the Milaneſe, on behalf of the king of Spain, to diſmiſs it, which he refuſed to do. Upon this refuſal, the governor beſieged Vercelli, and took it, after having loſt above ſix thouſand men in the ſiege, together with ſome places of ſmaller importance which the duke had ſeized. France offered her mediation, which was accepted, for reſtoring the tranquillity of Italy; and by the peace that followed, Vercelli, with the other dominions, which he had loſt, were reſtored to the duke, who, on his part, was obliged to give up all that he held in Montferrat and the Milaneſe. The peace being ratified, the duke ordered the marquis of Bottio's head to be ſtruck off, and his eſtate to be confiſcated, for having ſided with the Spaniards, though he was a ſubject of Savoy. Scarce was this war finiſhed when the court of France perſuaded the duke to fall upon the Genoeſe, for their having bought the marquiſate of Zuccarella, which had been taken from the marquis de Caretto, by the emperor, and which the duke ſaid belonged to him by a prior ceſſion of the marquis in his favour. A.D. 1613.

The duke was very ſucceſsful in the beginning of this war. He gained the battle of Ottaggio over the Genoeſe, and took from them many of their towns, while the conſtable Leſdiguiers, the French general, reduced Gavi. The general opinion was, that, if the duke, after this battle, had marched directly to Genoa, he might have taken it; but Leſdiguiers is ſaid not to have been proof againſt the Genoeſe gold, and it is certain he relaxed in his operations, ſo as to give time for the Genoeſe to recover from their conſternation, who, aſſiſted by the Spaniards, had

laid siege to the strong fortress of Verue, in Piedmont. They forthwith relenquished that enterprize, and marched to the relief of Genoa; which they not only effected, but assisted the Genoese in conquering several places belonging to the duke. A peace then followed, by which each party was to re-enter into possession of what it had before the war; and the marquisate of Zuccarella remained with the Genoese, who, however, paid to the duke of Savoy one hundred and sixty thousand crowns for renouncing all his pretensions.

It was the fate of this active but too turbulent prince to govern the most submissive obedient people in Europe, who supported him in all his wars of ambition or justice with equal chearfulness. Scarce had he concluded peace with the Genoese, when the elder line of the Gonzaga family failed in the person of Vincent II. duke of Mantua; and Charles, on that event, renewed his claim upon the duchy of Montferrat. The court of France warmly supported the duke of Nevers in his claim to that succession. Charles was obliged to abandon the country of Susa, and went to the relief of Casal, which was besieged by Gonsalvo de
A.D. 1629. Cordova, the governor of the Milanese. When he was intent upon relieving that place, the French attacked Pignerol, which they took in a very short time; and the loss of that important place broke the duke of Savoy's heart, after he had governed Savoy fifty years. He was indulged with a long life and reign, which, like his character, was chequered with good and bad. He was undoubtedly a prince of great abilities, but too much enterprize. His subjects, though forward to serve him, were not endowed with a military genius that could answer the suddenness, the variety, and boldness, of his operations in the field; and he was but very indifferently served by the foreigners he took into his pay. The French king being in possession of Pignerol, at the time of his death, was a most unfavourable circumstance for his dominions. His attempt upon Savoy, reflects great dishonour upon his memory; and his insolence towards Henry IV. the greatest monarch, and best natured man of his age, deserved the chastisement it met with. In point of religion, he is said to have been no bigot; but he was forced by churchmen and priests to give way to the persecution which his protestant subjects underwent.

A.D. 1630. He was succeeded by his son Victor Amadeus I. who, in 1630, wisely agreed to the treaty of Quevasque, in Piedmont, by which he accepted of an annuity of fifteen thou-
Victor Amadeus I. sand crowns for all his claims upon Monferrat, and left the family of Nevers in full possession of that duchy. To in-

sure

ſure the payment of this annuity, he was, by a ſeparate writing, put in poſſeſſion of Trino, Tricerto, Palazzuolo, and eighty other places upon the Po; ſo that, in fact, he poſſeſſed the fineſt part of Montferrat. The truth is, the French, on this occaſion, ſacrificed the intereſt of the Nevers family to their own; for they obliged Victor, in conſideration of what he had got in Montferrat, to abandon to them Pignerol, Peruſa, Angrogne, and Lucern. It is ſaid by the French hiſtorians, that the famous father Joſeph, the confident of cardinal Richelieu, was the main inſtrument in concluding this treaty; that, after its concluſion, when he viſited the duke of Mantua, that prince could not help teſtifying his diſcontent at what had been done; that, on the other hand, the duke of Savoy employed all his artifice to avoid ratifying the treaty; but all was to no purpoſe, becauſe the cardinal was reſolved to carry his point, which he did, to the infinite danger of all Italy.

Two years after the concluſion of the peace of Quevaſque, the duke thought proper to aſſume the title of king of Cyprus; and the Venetians took umbrage at this ſtep, becauſe of their pretenſions upon that crown; ſo that for ſome time, all correſpondence between them and the duke was broken off. Two years after this tranſaction, Victor and his army joined the French, who had been ſent, under the marſhal de Crequi, to the ſupport of the duke of Parma, and aſſiſted in the fruitleſs ſiege of Valenza, the miſcarriage of which Victor attributed to Crequi, who, he ſaid, minded the diverſions of hunting much more than the operations of the field. Afterwards the duke exerted himſelf ſo vigorouſly, to repair the failure before Valenza, that he contributed chiefly to the victory which the French gained at Tornavento over the Spaniards. Next year, he obtained a conſiderable battle againſt the Spaniſh general don Martin de Arragon; but he died, in the courſe of the ſame year. This ſpirited prince leaving a ſucceſſor, Francis Hyacinth, who was no more than ſix years of age, the Spaniards took great advantage of the minority, by making themſelves maſters of Vercelli and fort Brema. To increaſe the misfortunes of Savoy, a diſpute aroſe about the regency of the duchy, which was claimed by the ducheſs dowager, the cardinal Maurice, and Thomas Francis, prince of Carignan, who were both of them uncles to the young duke. The ducheſs dowager depended upon the aſſiſtance of her brother the French king, while the cardinal, and the prince of Carignan, took the party of the Spaniards; and it was agreed amongſt them, that all the places

A.D. 1637.

Francis Hyacinth.

places which should willingly submit to the authority of the two uncles, should belong to their government; but all that should be conquered by the Spaniards, by force of arms, should remain in the possession of that crown. While those matters were in agitation, the young duke of Savoy died, and was succeeded by his brother Charles Emanuel II. who was no more than four years of age. Thus the disputes about the regency continued. The Spaniards seized Chivas and Trino, and the two brothers made themselves masters of Chieri, Moncalier, Pondestura, Asti, Villa Nouva de Asti, Alba, Verue, Crescentino, St. Agatha, Nice, and Villa Franca. The young duke, all this time, remained under the tutelage of his mother; but prince Thomas, in the night surprised Turin, and the duchess and her son had some difficulty to escape to the citadel. It is hard to say what the consequence might have been, if a quarrel had not happened between the two brothers and the marquis de Leganez, during the siege of the citadel, on the following occasion.

A.D. 1638.

Charles Emanuel II.

The marquis pretended, that, by the articles of the treaty between them and his master, Turin and its citadel, when taken, should belong to his Catholic majesty. The prince, on the other hand, alleged, that Turin was not understood to be comprehended in the treaty, because it was the capital of Piedmont, and the residence of the duke. This dispute engrossed them so much, that the siege was in a great measure neglected. Mean while the French army under the count de Harcourt, raised the siege of Casal, then besieged by the Spaniards, and marching to Turin, prince Thomas was shut up in that city, between them and the citadel. The marquis de Leganez having orders to forget all animosities, and to relieve the prince, marched to his assistance, but without effect; and the city being reduced to extremity by scarcity of provisions, surrendered by capitulation. Next year, the French took the strong fortress of Coni, and obliged the two brothers to come to an accommodation with the duchess dowager. This agreement imported that she should have the guardianship of the prince; the cardinal was to have the government of Nice, and prince Thomas that of Ivrée and Biel, during the duke's minority. All parties of the ducal house of Savoy being now agreed, they joined in a design to force the Spaniards to quit those places, which their own imprudence, or the necessities of the times, had put into their hands. The marquis de Pianesse retook the important fortress of Verue; and prince Thomas, who had by this time reconciled himself with the French court, retook Old and New Asti,

Aſti, and Trino; but the citadel of Aſti ſtill held out: next year, however, the Savoyards ſurpriſed it, and drove the Spaniards out of St. Agatha. It muſt be acknowleged, that, on this occaſion, the duke of Savoy had infinite obligations to the French court; nor ſhall we examine whether they were not owing as much to the jealouſy which Lewis entertained of the Spaniards, as to his affection for the ducheſs dowager.

This year duke Charles Emanuel, though no more than fifteen years old, was declared of age. Three years after, the Spaniards reduced Trino and Creſcentino, which laſt was immediately retaken by the Savoyards, and the other was reſtored to them by the peace of the Pyrennees. The duke, by that treaty, having re-eſtabliſhed the tranquillity of his government, cultivated peace with all his neighbours; which was never interrupted but by a ſlight difference he had with the Genoeſe, and this was ſoon accommodated, through the mediation of France. A.D.1649.

All the reſt of his reign was employed in cultivating and improving the internal policy of his dominions. Turin owes to him ſome of its moſt magnificent ſtructures at this day; and he cut the amazing paſſage through the rock Mont Viſo. This is an arch five hundred geometrical paces in length, and broad enough for two loaded mules to walk abreaſt, for tranſporting goods to and from France and Italy. He was equally magnificent in all his other public works, and is ſaid to have loſt his life in the following remarkable manner: being one day in the menage, or riding-ſchool, the young prince's horſe, in going through his exerciſe, threw him; which accident ſhocked his father ſo much, that he was immediately taken ill, and died in a few days. A.D.1675.

Charles Emanuel II. never acknowleged any legitimate ſon but his ſucceſſor Victor Amadeus II. to whom his mother, Joan Baptiſt de Savoy Nemours, was guardian during his minority. When this prince grew up, he demanded in marriage the infanta of Portugal, and the duke of Cadaval came to Nice with a Portugueſe fleet, to carry him to Liſbon; but, all of a ſudden, he changed his reſolution, and the marriage was broken off; and, two years after, he married Anna Maria of Orleans, daughter to Philip, duke of Orleans and Henrietta Anne of England. The iſſue of this marriage, when the ſucceſſion of the family of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain was ſet aſide, was nearer in blood to the crown than the houſe of Hanover; but their claim was rejected, becauſe they were of the Roman Catholic religion. Victor Amadeo II. imitated the *Victor Amadeus II.*

conduct

conduct of Lewis XIV. at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, by perſecuting his proteſtant ſubjects the Vaudois, with all the fury and malice of a bigot; but this inhuman reſolution coſt him a great deal of blood.

This duke, however, engaged in the grand alliance formed againſt France, and by a ſecret article, it was ſtipulated, that the Vaudois ſhould be reſtored to their ancient rights. It being thought by the confederates that his alliance would be highly uſeful, in checking the power of the France on that ſide, they furniſhed him with conſiderable ſupplies both of men and money. Nevertheleſs, the French general St. Ruth took from him all Savoy, while marſhal Catinat defeated him in the two battles of Staffarde and Marſaille, and conquered from him Carmagnolo, Suſa, Nice, Villa Franca, and Montmelian. The duke, ſoon after, retook Carmagnola, and obliged the French to raiſe the ſiege of Coni. To give them a farther diverſion, he invaded Dauphiné, where he took Gap and Ambrun, and carried away their bells. This ſmall ſucceſs was far from drawing the French out of his dominions; for they reduced Caſal, and Fort St. Bridget near Pignerol. The duke's leſſes preſented him with ſo melancholy a proſpect, that he entered into ſecret connexions with France; and, under pretence of being indiſpoſed, returned out of Dauphiné. Soon after, France thought his friendſhip of ſo much importance, that ſhe granted him a moſt advantageous peace, and gave him up Nice, Suſa, Villa Franca, Montmelian, and Pignerol (the fortifications of which were demoliſhed, together with the three vallies of Peruſa, Lucern, and Angrogne), with a ſum of money, by way of indemnification: nay, ſo intent was Lewis XIV. on forming a ſtrict connexion with the duke of Savoy, that, by the ſame treaty, he concluded a marriage between his grandſon the duke of Burgundy, eldeſt ſon to the dauphin, and Mary Adelaide, Victor's eldeſt daughter. Victor afterwards entered into a new contract with him for driving the imperialiſts out of Italy; and actually beſieged Aleſſandria in the Milaneſe.

A.D. 1701. This year, Philip of Anjou, the ſecond ſon of the dauphin, being called to the crown of Spain by the death of Charles II. married Mary Louiſa Gabrille, the duke of Savoy's ſecond daughter, and the duke was declared generaliſſimo of the armies of France and Spain in Italy. But all theſe repeated marks of diſtinction and friendſhip could not fix the duke in the intereſts of France. The Spaniſh ſucceſſion being diſputed by the emperor Leopold, the confederates in the grand alliance joined againſt Lewis and his grandſon

grandſon the king of Spain. It was eaſy for the duke of Savoy to foreſee his danger, if he ſhould continue his engagements with France; and, after prince Eugene had penetrated into Italy, he began ſecretly to negociate with the allies. This conduct could not be concealed from the penetration of the French court, and Lewis ordered his generals to make the duke's troops priſoners. Upon this outrage, the duke arreſted the ambaſſadors of France and Spain, a regiment of French horſe, and all the French who were at Turin: a meaſure which drew from the French king the following laconic letter. "Monſieur, ſince religion, honour, alliance, treaties, and your own handwriting, are of no force between you and me, I have ſent my couſin, the duke of Vendome, to explain my mind to you; and he will give you four-and-twenty hours to conſider what you have to do." This threatening letter had an effect very different from what the writer intended. The duke was one of the moſt penetrating princes in the world, remarkable for accommodating his ſituations to his intereſt; but on occaſion of this inſolent letter, he acted with ſurpriſing ſpirit and conſtancy. Though he loſt town after town, though his army did not exceed twelve thouſand men, though he had ſcarce territory enough to ſubſiſt even theſe, and though he was but ill ſupported by the imperial court, he could not be brought to abandon his allies. At laſt, on the 5th of June, the French beſieged his capital of Turin. His ducheſs and his clergy preſſed him to comply with the neceſſities of his ſituation: he continued firm againſt all her remonſtrances, and forbad the others to appear before him. He even declined the civility offered him by the French marſhal de Feuillade, who, by orders of his king, offered paſſes and a guard to the ducheſs and his family, to carry them to a place of ſafety, when Turin was beſieged. At laſt, the glory of taking ſo important a city loſt the duke of Vendome and Feuillade their command, in which they were ſucceeded by the duke of Orleans. The duke did all he could to interrupt the progreſs of his enemies, by giving them repeated alarms, which retarded their operations for ſome time; ſo that the French loſt above fourteen thouſand men before the place; but they had made themſelves maſters of the ſtrongeſt poſts, and the ammunition of the beſieged was almoſt exhauſted. In this extremity, prince Eugene, after having ſurmounted incredible difficulties, on the 30th of Auguſt, appeared near Turin, and two days after joined the duke of Savoy. The action that followed has been deſcribed in other parts of this work. The loſs of the French in this battle was

A.D. 1706.

Siege of Turin raiſed.

very

very great; about five thousand were killed, besides those that fell in the pursuit. The duke of Orleans was wounded, as was marshal Marsin, who died next day. Near eight thousand men, including a great number of officers, were made prisoners. Two hundred and fifty-five pieces of cannon, one hundred and eighty mortars, seven thousand eight hundred bombs, thirty-two thousand royal grenades, forty-eight thousand cannon balls, with a proportionable number of small artillery and ammunition, fell into the hands of the confederates, with all their tents, baggage, ready money, and horses of all kinds; so that, upon the whole, the loss which the French sustained was incredible. On the other hand, the defence which Turin made, under count Daun, cost above five thousand men, besides three thousand of the confederates, who were killed in the battle. The duke of Orleans retired into Dauphiné, and the duke of Savoy not only recovered all the towns and territories he had lost, but enabled the imperialists to drive the French out of Lombardy.

Attempt on Toulon. The British ministry, in concert with the Dutch, had formed a project for the conquest of Toulon. The duke of Savoy communicated this scheme to prince Eugene, who, finding it disliked by the court of Vienna, was backward in giving him encouragement to undertake it. The truth was, that court was not so intent upon humbling France, as upon aggrandizing itself, by employing its troops in the conquest of Naples: and it was thought that the French had early notice of the design. The court of England was so earnest in carrying it into execution, that the emperor was at last obliged to give way, and prince Eugene had orders to co-operate. A large sum of money was furnished by England, and the enterprize was supported by a strong British fleet, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. The duke of Savoy and prince Eugene, on the 11th of July, passed the Var, at the head of thirty thousand men, and advanced with great expedition against Toulon. They had been promised great reinforcements from the imperial court, but were disappointed; and prince Eugene, who never appeared hearty in the enterprize, had orders from the emperor not to expose his troops too much. The English admiral bombarded the town, and became master of two forts that commanded the mole; so that many houses were destroyed, some magazines blown up, and eight ships of the line were burnt or rendered unserviceable. But by this time the French had not only re-called their troops from Spain, but were marching with the whole power of their monarchy to relieve Toulon. The duke of Savoy, finding he was thus in danger of having his retreat cut off,

A.D. 1707.

and

and that the troops in the garriſon, who made a ſally which coſt him a thouſand men, increaſed every day, re-imbarked his artillery, his ſick and wounded, and returned in good order, without being purſued, to Piedmont. Thus ended this important expedition, to the great diſappointment, though not diſgrace, of the Engliſh and duke of Savoy.

The unſucceſsful expedition againſt Toulon gave the French an opportunity of becoming maſters of many places in Savoy. In the conferences which were held at Gertruydenburg, in May, the duke claimed reſtitution of the whole duchy of Savoy, the county of Nice, and all his hereditary dominions, as alſo the quiet poſſeſſion of the territory, ſtates, and places that had been ceded to him by the emperor, and his allies, with the ſovereignty and ſole property of the cities of Exilles, Feneſtrelles, and Chaumont, with the valley of Pragelas to Mount Genevre, and its adjacencies, which were to be the boundaries between his dominions and thoſe of France. The conferences at Gertruydenburg proving ineffectual, and the duke, having ſome differences with the emperor, he remained quiet till the peace of Utrecht, when he renewed his claims, with ſome additional demands. By that treaty he was put in poſſeſſion of the duchy of Savoy, the county of Nice, and all their dependencies. The French king likewiſe yielded to him, in perpetuity, the valley of Pragelas, the forts of Exilles and Feneſtrelles, with the vallies of Oux, Sezane, Bardonache, and Chateau Dauphin. The duke, on the other hand, ceded to Louis the valley of Barcelonetta, and its dependencies; ſo that the ridge of the Alps became the boundary that ſeparated France and Piedmont, and the county of Nice; the plains of thoſe ridges being equally divided between them. A.D.1709. A.D.1713.

As the duke of Savoy had not only behaved in the common cauſe with unexampled firmneſs and ſpirit, but was a great means of its ſucceſs, and as his importance in the affairs of Europe was now known to be very great, all parties concurred to aggrandize him. The emperor was, in a manner, forced to confirm to him the poſſeſſion of that part of Montferrat which had belonged to the dukes of Mantua, with the provinces of Aleſſandria and Valenza, the territory between the Po and the Tanaro, the Lomellin, the valley of Seſſa, and the Vigevanaſco. But, to crown all the duke's other good ſucceſſes, his catholic majeſty agreed to reſign to him the kingdom of Sicily, by which he and his deſcendants acquired a royal title; and it was agreed, that, in default of ſucceſſion from the king of Spain, that crown ſhould go to the houſe of Savoy, preferably to that of Bourbon.

The

The ceſſion of the crown and title of Sicily was diſputed with the duke by the emperor Charles VI. who had ſucceeded his brother Joſeph in the empire. The duke, however, took upon himſelf the title of king of Sicily, and entered into poſſeſſion of that iſland, which was evacuated by the Spaniards; and the inhabitants were beginning to be reconciled to his government, when he embroiled himſelf with the clergy, and, conſequently, with the pope, on account of the eccleſiaſtical immunites. The quarrel went ſo far, that the archbiſhop of Meſſina, and the biſhop of Catanea, left Sicily, after having laid their ſees under interdicts, and were followed by almoſt all the clergy of Sicily, who flocked to Rome; but the viceroy paid ſo little regard to them, that he made it capital for the Sicilians to obey the interdicts.

His catholic majeſty had made the great ſacrifice of Sicily, on the expreſs condition that Victor ſhould join his troops with thoſe of Spain, in order to diſpoſſeſs the emperor of what he ſtill held in Italy. His Sicilian majeſty after having obtained poſſeſſion of that iſland, ſeems to have repented of his private treaty with Spain. His catholic majeſty ſuſpecting his ſincerity, demanded that the prince of Piedmont ſhould be ſend to Madrid, by way of ſecurity for the performance; but the demand was evaded by his Sicilian majeſty, on account of the queen's tenderneſs for her ſon; yet he offered to ſend him the prince of Carignan, his other ſon. Though this offered was accepted, yet Victor had his reaſons for eluding the performance; and the court of Madrid was given to underſtand that the prince had, without his Sicilian majeſty's knowlege, retired to France. Immediately the turbulent cardinal Alberoni, prime miniſter of Spain, made vaſt preparations for conquering Sardinia from the emperor, and Sicily from Victor Amadeus. The court of England interpoſed in the diſpute, and, in conjunction with France, undertook to preſcribe a peace, by obliging the Spaniards and his Sicilian majeſty to comply with the terms they had preconcerted with the emperor. Theſe terms are foreign to this part of our hiſtory. They were rejected at the court of Madrid; upon which the court of Great Britain fitted out a powerful fleet under Sir George Byng, to enforce its mediation. Sir George ſailed to the Mediterranean, where he ſecured the kingdom of Naples to the emperor, but underſtood by the viceroy, count Daun, that Sicily was on the point of being entirely conquered by the Spaniards. The marquis de Lede had landed there with thirty thouſand men, and the Spaniſh fleet ſtill lay upon the coaſts. He had reduced Palermo, and was then beſieging the citadel of Meſſina, after having taken

taken the town; but in mean time the emperor had come to a compromiſe with his Sicilian majeſty, who was now willing to agree to the terms of the quadruple alliance, and to admit the imperialiſts into Sicily. Not to repeat too much of what we have ſaid before, the Engliſh fleet deſtroyed that of Spain, off Cape Paſſaro, and reinforced the garriſon of Meſſina with ſome imperialiſts; but the citadel was loſt. The emperor, and his Sicilian majeſty having, by this time, come to a good underſtanding, it was reſolved, that Sicily ſhould be reconquered from the Spaniards, and that Sardinia, with the title of king, ſhould be given to his Sicilian majeſty. This compromiſe was, after ſome difficulty, executed. His Sicilian majeſty reſigned that title for that of king of Sardinia, being too wiſe to oppoſe powers for whom he was no match. This exchange being made, his Sardinian majeſty applied himſelf entirely to propogate the arts of peace, and to prevent his being farther embroiled in the affairs of Europe.

In the ſequel, Victor formally reſigned his crown to the prince of Piedmont, Charles Emanuel, his ſon, who in virtue of the quadruple alliance, became king of Sardinia, and ſucceeded to all his father's other dominions and titles, only reſerving to himſelf a yearly income, ſome ſay of one hundred thouſand pounds, for his ſupport. The world is well acquainted with what happened upon this abdication, which he did not long ſurvive.

Victor Amadeus was the moſt extraordinary character, and may be ſaid to have been the moſt politic prince of his age, Till the finiſhing ſcene of his life he had diſcovered few human frailties, and many great qualities. He conſidered his near family-connections with France as tending only to render him a precarious dependent on that crown; and he ſeems to have been reſolved rather to give up all, than to live in that character. The emperor and the kings of Spain would have treated him in the ſame manner; but he ſtudied the intereſts of all the powers in the great alliance with ſo much ſagacity, that, though at variance with one another after the treaty of Utrecht, and though the many calamities his dominions had ſuſtained left him but little real power, yet they all agreed in not only giving him a kingdom, but in extending his dominions on the continent, far beyond thoſe that had been enjoyed by the greateſt of his anceſtors. We are not to place the difficulties and loſſes he met with, during the courſe of a fifty years reign, to his intrigues or ambition, but to the conveniency which the three great potentates of Germany, France, and Spain, found in becoming maſters of his dominions[c].

[c] Vid. Guichenon. Hiſt. de la Maiſon de Savoye.

CHAP. XCVIII.

The Hiſtory of America.

INTRODUCTION.

IF we conſider commerce as eſſential to induſtry, and labour neceſſary to the opulence and happineſs of ſociety, we cannot but regard the diſcovery of the vaſt continent of America, and the infinity of wealthy iſlands with which it is ſurrounded, as one of the moſt important conſequences of the happy diſcovery of the compaſs, and the improvement in navigation. Without a knowlege of the Weſt Indies, the intercourſe with the Eaſt Indies would be of little advantage to Europe; it might even be pernicious, by draining it of gold and ſilver; whereas we now purchaſe the commodities of the latter, not only with European manufactures, but with the ſilver dug in the mines of Potoſi. To her poſſeſſions in Chili, Peru, Mexico, and the Antilles, Spain owes all her opulence. Great Britain hath, by means of her colonies on the continent of America, and her iſlands in the Weſt Indies, raiſed herſelf to her preſent aſtoniſhing and much-envied height of grandeur and importance. Portugal almoſt holds her exiſtence on her poſſeſſions in Braſil: even the barren Canada was fruitful of bleſſings to France, whilſt ſhe remained poſſeſſed of it, by promoting her trade and navigation, not to ſpeak of the benefits ariſing from Guadaloupe, Martinico, and her other Weſt India poſſeſſions. The intercourſe with Surinam, and the Spaniſh main, has brought great wealth into Holland. In a word, the American colonies may be conſidered as the vitals of the ſtates that ſettled them, diffuſing ſpirit through all the members of the body politic, by which it exiſts, and being the living fountain whence it draws all its nouriſhment. For the trade to theſe colonies is in fact a foreign commerce, carried on and conducted under the direction of the mother-country; and accordingly we find, that, in proportion as the ſeveral crowns of Europe cheriſh their plantations, they acquire a larger ſhare of maritime ſtrength, eſtabliſh a more fruitful nurſery of ſeamen, gain a more conſiderable fund of wealth, and promiſe faireſt for the ſovereignty of the ocean. But we need not inſiſt on the importance to Europe of the gold of Chili and Braſil, of the ſilver of Peru, the ſugar, indigo, and coffee

coffee of the Antilles, the furs of Canada, the fish of Newfoundland, the tobacco of Virginia and Maryland, the precious stones, balsams, gems, drugs, dying-woods, and other commodities of the islands and continent of America, as this would be only to repeat what has been hackneyed by every political writer of the last century. It is rather our province to inquire into the means of this great discovery, to relate the history of the nations, to trace the progress of the conquest and colonization of America, and the West Indies; to lay before our readers a minute geographical description of the country; describe its productions, natural and artificial; ascertain the strict limits of each division, and the legal boundaries of the several European settlements; explain the connection of the colonies with each other, the peculiar trade carried on by each, and the general commerce of the country: in a word, to give the public what was never before attempted, a complete, political, commercial, and natural history of this fourth division of the globe, called the New World, or Western Continent, at least as far as is consistent with the nature of our design, and the limits of an Universal Modern History.

Design of the author's.

But before we enter upon voyages undertaken to this country under the patronage of the court of Spain, it will be necessary to mention, that Columbus was led to the discovery of America, not only from a consideration of the terraqueous globe, and the relation of certain ship-wrecked modern mariners, but by the idea which several eminent writers entertained of an unknown continent to the westward. Plato, in one of his dialogues [a], speaks of the island of Atlantis; and there is still extant, in the collection of Greek Poetical Fragments [b], a description of it in verse, ascribed to Solon, who borrowed the relation from an Egyptian priest. To confess the truth, all these hints, taken from Plato and Solon, have so much the air of poetic allegory, that they cannot be considered of weight sufficient to determine whether or not those authors really entertained any idea of the western continent. It is otherwise with respect to the testimony of Aristotle [c], because he descends to particulars. In a book ascribed to this philosopher, we are told, that the Carthaginians discovered an island far beyond the Pillars of Hercules, large, fertile, and finely watered with navigable rivers, but uninhabited. This island, he says, was distant a few days sailing from the continent; its beauty attracted the discoverers to settle there; but the

[a] In Tim. [b] Poet. Frag. edit. Lugd. ap. Stephan. [c] De Mundo.

policy of Carthage dislodged the colony, and laid strict prohibition on all the subjects of the state not to attempt any future establishment. This account is confirmed by an historian of no mean credit, who relates, that the Tyrians would have planted a colony in the new discovered island, which some take to be Hispaniola, but were opposed by the Carthaginians for state reasons. It was feared lest the natural advantages, which it was reported this colony enjoyed, might induce too many of the citizens to desert their native soil, whereby the government would be weakened, industry checked, and the vast maritime power of the republic diminished. Besides, it was urged, that this island ought to be reserved as an asylum, to which they might retire with safety, when oppressed by any change of fortune, or public calamity. A passage hath also been quoted from the third act of the Medea of Seneca (A), in confirmation of the opinion, that although America was undiscovered, the ancients had a strong notion of large countries beyond the reach of their present knowlege. In a fragment that remains of Theopompus [d], there is an allegory of a new world, inhabited by two nations of warriors and devotees; and one of the fathers affirms [e], that beyond the ocean there is another world: however, both Lactantius and St. Augustine ridicule this notion, and the opinion that the earth was globular: even to the days of Galileo, the Romish clergy regarded the rotation of the earth on its axis, as contradictory to the sacred doctrine. Upon the whole, it is plain that the ancients dreamed something about a new world, and that they transmitted to posterity an imperfect broken account of those regions; but it is equally certain, that the general opinion was, that all the climates between the tropics were uninhabitable; a judgment built on an axiom of their absurd philosophy, that the health and preservation of the animal depended on a due mixture and just proportion of the four elements, which could not happen under the torrid zone, where they fancied fire, and the emanations of the sun must absorb all the other qualities.

[d] Diod. Sic. Hist. [e] Greg. in Epist. S. Clemen.

(A) ——— Venient annis
Sæcula seris, quibus oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Typhisque novos
Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
Ultima Thule. ——— Med. act. iii. v. 375.

America

America is that vaſt continent diſcovered in the latter end of the fifteenth century, one ſide of which is waſhed by the Atlantic, and the other by the Pacific Ocean, extending from about 80 degrees north to the Streights of Magellan, in 53 degrees ſouth latitude; ſome geographers extend it to the ſouthern extremity of Terra del Fuego, in the latitude of 55 degrees, 42 minutes; but as that country is an iſland, it ought not to be conſidered in the dimenſions of the American continent. The breadth is very various; in ſome places it ſtretches from the 35th to the 136th degree of longitude. It is above nine thouſand Engliſh miles in length, and enjoys the principal climates of both hemiſpheres. It is bounded on the north by unknown countries; on the ſouth by the Southern Ocean; on the eaſt by the Atlantic; and on the weſt by the Great South Sea, or Pacific Ocean. It conſiſts of two large continents, joined together by a narrow neck of land, called the Iſtmus of Darien; and diſtinguiſhed by the epithets North and South. A great variety of iſlands are ſcattered on both ſides of America; but the moſt remarkable are ſituated in a large gulf formed by the coaſts of the northern and ſouthern continents, and thoſe of the Iſthmus of Darien. Some of theſe iſlands are very large, moſt of them fertile, and the greater part full of inhabitants. They are called the Weſt Indies, and will be deſcribed in their proper place.

Theſe continents are ſubdivided into a great number of parts; but before we proceed to lay down theſe ſubdiviſions, and to deſcribe the different countries, it will be proper to take notice of ſome mountains and rivers, which, as it were, diſdain to be confined within the limits of any particular province. The moſt remarkable mountains in South America, form that prodigious chain called the Andes. This ridge begins in the Terra Magellanica, the ſouthernmoſt country of South America, traverſes the kingdom of Chili, the provinces of Buenos Ayres, Peru, and Quito; where, contracting themſelves as it were, for a paſſage through the Iſthmus of Darien, they again expand their ample dominions, and continue their courſe through the provinces and kingdoms of Nicaragua, Guatemala, Coſta Rica, St. Miguel, Mexico, La Puebla, and others; with ſeveral arms or ramifications for ſtrengthening, as it were, the conjunction between the northern and ſouthern continents of America. In the province of Quito the Andes form a double chain, called the Cordilleras of the Andes; and between theſe two ridges, the city of Quito, and a large extent of fertile lands, are ſituated. The mountains

which form the Andes extend above five thouſand Engliſh miles in length: nor is their height leſs remarkable than their extent; their ſummits are always covered with ſnow, even in the midſt of the torrid zone. Many of them are volcanoes, and the greater part of them mines of the moſt precious metals. North America has alſo ſeveral lofty and extenſive chains, the principal of which are called the Alegenny or Apalachian mountains.

Some of the rivers of America are equally remarkable with its mountains. South America has three of the largeſt rivers in the world, the river of the Amazons, the river Plata, and the river Oroonóko. The firſt has its ſource in the lake of Lauricocha, near the city of Guanaco, in 11 degrees ſouth latitude. In its courſe it receives all the rivers and ſtreams iſſuing from the eaſtern Cordillera of the Andes, between its ſource, and the government of Popayan, and at laſt becomes rather a ſea than a river, and falls into the ocean under the equinoctial. Its length, reckoning its turning and windings, is at leaſt three thouſand three hundred miles. The river Plata riſes in the audience of the ſame name in the eaſtern Cordillera of the Andes, and after running through many territories, and adding fertility to a great extent of country, falls into the ocean with ſuch rapidity, that the water is freſh many leagues from the land. The Oroonoko has its riſe near Popayan, in Terra Firma, and, after a courſe of ſeven hundred miles, falls into the ſea in 9 degrees 13 minutes north latitude. North America is watered by innumerable rivers, ſome of which are very remarkable, and will be deſcribed in their reſpective provinces. The river Miſſiſſippi, riſing from unknown ſources, runs a prodigious courſe from north to ſouth, and receives the vaſt tribute of the Ohio, the Ouabache, and other immenſe rivers, navigable almoſt to their very ſources, and laying open the inmoſt receſſes of that continent. Near the heads of theſe rivers are five great lakes, or rather ſeas of freſh-water, communicating with each other, and all with the ocean by the river St. Laurence. Theſe afford ſuch an inlet for commerce as muſt be productive of the greateſt advantages, whenever the adjacent countries ſhall be fully inhabited by an induſtrious and civilized people. The eaſtern ſide of North America is watered by the noble rivers of Hudſon, Delewar, Suſquehanna, Patowmack, and ſeveral others of great depth, length, and commodious navigation. Many parts are indeed ſo interſected with navigable rivers and creeks, that great numbers of the planters may, without exaggeration, be ſaid to have each a harbour at his own door.

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The continent of America is principally divided between three European nations, the Spaniards, the English, and the Portuguese. The French and the Dutch have indeed two small settlements in South America, called Guiana and Surinam; but these are of so little importance, that they hardly deserve to be mentioned in a general division of America. The Indians also enjoy prodigious tracts of land, where they live unmolested by the European powers, unless they join with the enemy, or make incursions into the settlements of the Christians. The Spaniards, who first discovered the New World, still enjoy the largest and richest portion, extending from New Mexico and Louisiana, in North America, to the Streights of Magellan, which terminate the continent of South America, except the large province of Brasil, which belongs to Portugal, and the small territories of Guiana and Surinam, already mentioned. From these provinces, besides a great variety of other rich merchandizes, the Spaniards have drawn such amazing quantities of gold and silver, that the value of these precious metals bears little proportion to what it was before the discovery of the New World.

The multitude of islands which lie in the gulf between the two continents of America, are divided between the Spaniards, the English, and the French. The Dutch, indeed, possess three or four islands, which in any other hands would be of no consequence; and the Danes have one or two, but they hardly deserve to be mentioned among the proprietors of America.

SECT. I.

Containing a general Relation of the Voyages made by the Spaniards in Search of America.

IT was in the month of April, 1492, that Christopher Columbus, after repeated mortifications and disappointments at the courts of France, England, and Spain, was at length, under the patronage of queen Isabella, honoured with the commission of admiral to their catholic majesties, and viceroy of all the islands and continents which he should discover and acquire in the ocean. Immediately after this promotion, he repaired to Palos de Moguere, where a small squadron, consisting of three vessels, manned with a hundred and twenty men, was appointed to attend him, and be entirely directed by his orders. On the 3d day of August he took his departure from Spain, and after

Columbus discovers the Bahamas, Cuba, and Hispanola.

a tedious navigation, during which the sailors mutinied, he discovered Guinaya, one of the Lucayo islands, on the 12th of October. Finding it well inhabited, he went on shore, and with proper solemnity took possession in the name of their catholic majesties. The natives were thrown into the utmost astonishment at sight of the ships, which they took for sea-monsters, and their admiration was increased by the strange appearance of the Spaniards, who landed. They gazed with wonder at their beards, fair complexions, and cloaths; and joyfully received the trifling presents distributed among them by the admiral. When the Spaniards returned to their ships, the Indians swam after them, expressed their gratitude for the presents by signs and tokens, and seemed extremely desirous to enter into a more familiar intercourse.

Columbus having named the island St. Salvador, and understanding from the natives, that the small gold plates, which they wore in their noses, came from a large island to the southward, proceeded on his voyage. He touched at several other islands, and on the 27th of October arrived at Cuba, situated between 20 and 23 degrees of north latitude, and 74 and 87 degrees of west longitude, a fruitful island, near eight hundred miles in length, and about seventy in breadth. Here he stayed some time, and exchanged some baubles for gold, with the islanders; but receiving intimation that this metal was brought from another island to the south-east, called Bohio, signifying *the land of cottages*, he pursued his voyage thither, and arriving on the 6th day of December, denominated the island Espanola. It was even more extensive than Cuba, and much more populous, exhibiting such an agreeable variety of hill and dale, wood and water, and such a luxuriancy of verdure and vegetation, that the adventurers could not help comparing it, in terms of admiration, to their own country, and this comparison suggested to Columbus the appellation which he bestowed. He had carried some Indians from Cuba, and by means of these endeavoured to cultivate a familiarity with the inhabitants of this last discovered island; but they at first avoided all communication, and seemed to behold the Spaniards with equal horror and surprize: however, Columbus having had the good fortune to take a female prisoner, whom he treated with great humanity, her report impressed a more favourable opinion of the strangers, and brought about the intercourse so much desired. At first they trembled, and started back upon touching the cloaths of the Spaniards; then they laid their hands upon their heads, in token of respect, cast their eyes up to heaven,

heaven, and regarded them as divinities; a notion which was confirmed by the preſents of glaſs-beads, and other ſhining glittering trinkets they received. Here Columbus was viſited by the cazique, or lord of the country, who expreſſed great curioſity to ſee the Spaniſh ſhips. His retinue conſiſted of two hundred men, beſides his prime miniſter and counſellors; he was carried on a bier upon mens ſhoulders, though a robuſt young fellow, and ſerved with marks of the deepeſt reſpect and veneration. On his coming on board he behaved with great ſtate and ſolemnity, ordering all his train to keep at a diſtance, except two of his counſellors, who ſat at his feet. He eat and drank with the admiral; and when Columbus gave him to underſtand that he was only the ſervant of the king of Leon and Caſtile, he ſhook his head, believing, with the Indians of Cuba, that the Spaniards were ſupernatural beings. The admiral made ſome preſents of beads, ſlippers, and cloaths, to the monarch, who was highly delighted with his reception; and the ſailors bartered pieces of broken glaſs, earthen plates, and other trifles, with the natives for gold rings, which they wore in their noſes, and ſmall plates of gold, the produce of the iſland, where it was gathered in grains, mixed with the ſand of certain rivers. But Columbus was ſoon informed, that a great continent to the eaſtward afforded this precious metal in great abundance. The diſcovery of that continent was the great object of the voyage; nevertheleſs, the admiral reſolved to eſtabliſh a colony in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, from whence he might extend his diſcoveries in the ſequel. To effect this deſign, it was neceſſary to conſult the inclinations of the five ſovereigns, among whom the iſland was divided. Accordingly the admiral had an interview with king Guacanagari, with whoſe conſent he ſettled a colony, built a fort, and mounted it with cannon, in order to command the more reſpect. The colony was compoſed of thirty-nine Spaniards, under the conduct of James de Avana; and the fort was called Navidad, or Nativity. This aim being accompliſhed, Columbus, carrying with him ſeveral natives of the iſland, and a ſufficient quantity of gold to evince the importance of his diſcovery, took his departure for Spain [f].

We ſhall ſtop to relate a few of the general obſervations which the admiral made on the iſland of Hiſpaniola, and the character of the natives. He found the iſland extremely well peopled, and filled with villages, ſome of them con-

[f] Herrera's Hiſt. of America, dec. i. lib. i.

taining

taining above a thousand houses. They were whiter, handsomer, and more tractable and courteous than the inhabitants of the other islands, after they had been once reconciled to the Spaniards. The men were of a middling stature, large boned, and inclinable to corpulence; their nostrils wide, and their foreheads smooth, and uncommonly high. To their nostrils were suspended small plates of gold. Several of the caziques, whom the admiral visited, wore crowns of the same metal; and pieces, weighing four ounces, were exchanged with the sailors for bits of tin and glass. Guacanagari had several princes tributary to him, and though he did not claim the entire sovereignty, was at least considered as the most potent monarch on the island. The natives shewed great ingenuity, not only in their military weapons, some of which were admirably pointed, and riveted with fish-bones, but in the form and composition of their earthen pitchers, in which they supplied the shipping with fresh water. Nor was their humanity less extraordinary, as Columbus experienced, in the assistance they afforded when one of his vessels was shipwrecked. King Guacanagari made him a present of a masque, the nose, tongue, and ears of which were of beaten gold, and a girdle elegantly set with seed pearl. Besides the consideration of these valuable articles, the admiral had great reason to believe the island might become valuable to commerce, on account of the cotton, spices, and variety of drugs and timber it produced. In a word, after he had sufficiently impressed this simple people with an idea of his friendship, by the civility of his treatment, and with due respect, by the thunder of his cannon, at the report of which they all fell flat upon their faces, he took his leave, and quitting Port Nativity on the 4th day of January, 1493, arrived at Palos on the 15th of March, from whence he sent notice of his return to their catholic majesties.

The second voyage and discoveries of Columbus.

The discoveries made by Columbus filled Spain with joy and admiration. He was caressed by the king, queen, and court; the pope was made acquainted with the transaction, and he granted a bull, confirming the crown of Spain in an exclusive right to the West Indies. The Indians and gold were shewn as the greatest wonders in nature, and in a short time Columbus was equipped for another voyage, with more extensive powers, and a stronger armament. He was now made governor-general and admiral over all the territories included in the apostolical concession; he was authorised to plant colonies, establish judicial courts, and take any other steps that circumstances might require, in promoting the general design of the expedition: a squadron

dron of ſeventeen ſhips, manned with two thouſand two hundred able-bodied ſeamen and ſoldiers, was equipt; mares, ſheep, cows, corn, wheat, and a variety of European plants, were put on board; a chart of his diſcoveries and voyage was drawn and kept in the king's cabinet, and every other meaſure taken that could poſſibly inſure the proſperity of the expedition: at length Columbus once more departed, on the 25th of September. In this voyage he diſcovered Dominique, Marigalante, and Guadaloupe. When his boat put aſhore at the latter, all the inhabitants fled to the mountains; however, the Spaniards had the good fortune to ſeize upon two Indians, from whom they obtained ſome uſeful intelligence, importing, among other particulars, that a continent lay to the eaſtward, at an inconſiderable diſtance. Here Columbus found ſome pieces of ſpun cotton and looms, of a very peculiar and ſimple conſtruction. He diſcovered, in the courſe of this voyage, all the iſlands to the ſouth-weſt of Hiſpaniola, to which he gave the general appellation of Virgins. On his arrival at this iſland, he found all the Spaniards dead, and the colony entirely deſtroyed, misfortunes owing to their own inteſtine diviſions, and the inſolence and cruelty with which they had treated the natives. He viſited his old friend Guacanagari, and found that prince confined to his bed by a wound he had received in defence of the Spaniards. The attachment and fidelity of this chief, encouraged Columbus to ſettle a new colony, and build the town of Iſabella. Twelve of the ſhips he ſent back to Spain, reſerving only the five largeſt for his own uſe; and after having quelled a ſedition, he ſet out with a body of men in ſearch of the gold mines, that were ſaid to be worked by the Indians at Cibao, and actually obtained a conſiderable quantity of rich ore.

He afterwards reſolved to purſue his voyage, touched at Cuba, and diſcovered Jamaica; but being forced back by ſtreſs of weather to Hiſpaniola, he found the colony at war with the natives. King Caunabo, one of the ſovereigns of the iſland, had aſſembled a prodigious army, which the Spaniards defeated with a handful of men, for the Indians were exceedingly terrified at ſight of the horſe, believing that the beaſt and his rider conſtituted one individual. This voyage, in general, proved unfortunate, though Columbus exerted every quality of a ſoldier and politician; ſuch was the factious, rapacious, and licentious diſpoſition of the Spaniards, who endeavoured all in their power to rob the gallant general of the fruits and glory of ſo many ſignal actions and important diſcoveries. He left his brother

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Bartholomew Columbus in quality of lieutenant-governor, and ſet ſail for Spain, where he arrived after a voyage of three months. Repairing to court, he preſented their majeſties with the gold-duſt and ore he had brought with him, and cleared himſelf of all the aſperſions thrown upon his character by the malevolence of his enemies. The obſervations which he had made upon the Indians, and now communicated to the court of Spain, implied, that all the ſovereigns, or caziques, lived in palaces at ſome diſtance from their towns, where there were a number of extraordinary images made of ſtone or wood painted. Theſe they called Cemis, and honoured ſometimes with the particular names of their anceſtors. They were worſhipped by the people as tutelary beings; and offerings were made to them for health, affluence, fine weather, and proſperous enterprizes; yet they were conſidered as inferior deities to the ſun, which was reputed the chief, or cazique, of the divinities. Each ſovereign of the country was alſo a high prieſt, a character which added greatly to his authority, and enabled him to practiſe many religious impoſtures on his ignorant ſubjects. When a cazique died, he was embowelled, and dried by a ſlow fire, to preſerve his body from corruption, which was then interred in a cave, with his military weapons, and ſtore of proviſion. She, of his wives, who bore him the greateſt affection, was buried with him; and there could not be a more diſhonourable proof of female ingratitude, than any marks of reluctance to pay this laſt duty to her lord and huſband. They ſtrangled all the ſick of whoſe recovery they deſpaired. After death they imagined they ſhould go to a valley of vaſt extent, of which the caziques believed they ſhould be ſovereigns, where they imagined they ſhould find their parents, kindred, and friends, be bleſſed with beautiful women, and an eternal ſource of uninterrupted felicity. They had phyſicians among them, who pretended to effect extraordinary cures by the aſſiſtance of dæmons. Their idols they believed were immortal, and they perſuaded themſelves that the dead appeared to the living, a circumſtance which rendered them extremely fearful in the dark and alone. Almoſt all the men were addicted to beſtiality and ſodomy. The women were exceedingly libidinous with the Spaniards; and with reſpect to the propagation of the ſpecies, no regard was paid to any degree of conſanguinity, mothers, ſiſters, and daughters excepted. They were much afflicted with the venereal diſtemper, which is ſuppoſed to have been originally produced in this iſland; where the natives aſſuaged the violence

Account of the natives of Hiſpaniola.

of

of its ſymptoms by drinking ſtrong decoctions of guaiacum, otherwiſe called lignum vitæ (D).

While Columbus was ſoliciting the court of Spain for the reward of his ſervices, and a proper appointment for the proſecution of his diſcoveries, his brother Bartholomew ſtruggled with a variety of misfortunes in Hiſpaniola A great number of the Spaniards had mutinied, at the inſtigation of one Roldan, the chief alcade or juſtice of the iſland, and engaged the governor in a war with the natives. Several battles had been fought, in which Bartholomew was generally victorious; though he muſt have ſunk under the ſuperiority of numbers, and the inclemency of the climate, had not two ſhips arrived ſeaſonably from Spain with a reinforcement. The arrival of Columbus a third time reſtored peace and tranquillity, and enabled the Spaniards to purſue with vigour the plan of a new ſettlement and city, begun during Bartholomew's government, which was called the New Iſabella, or St. Domingo, becauſe the foundation was laid on Sunday.

Third voyage of Columbus, and diſcovery of the continent of America.

The admiral had long ſolicited the court of Spain for proper aſſiſtance to proceed on a third voyage in ſearch of the continent; and at length he obtained his requeſt. He ſet ſail from the port of St. Lucar on the 30th of May, 1498, and on the 31ſt of July fell in with an iſland which he called La Trinidad, ſituated near the mouth of the great river Oroonoque. Here he landed to refreſh his men, and received a viſit from the cazique, whom he found hoſpitable and good-natured. This prince taking a crimſon-velvet cap off the admiral's head, which he put upon his own, covered the admiral's, in return, with a crown of cotton, encircled with a plate of gold. Columbus ſailing from hence, diſcovered more land to the eaſtward, which he took for an

(D) Columbus was told the natives of this iſland had an old prophecy, importing that they ſhould be ſubdued by men of a white complexion, whoſe ſwords ſhould beam like the ſun, and whoſe thunder ſhould be terrible; to confirm which opinion, the admiral ordered ſome cannon to be fired, the balls of which penetrated the wrecks of the ſhip he had loſt. to the great aſtoniſhment and utter confuſion of the Indians, who now perſuaded themſelves that the prophecy was fulfilled. This prophecy had for ages been recorded in a ſong, which they ſung at feſtivals, accompanied with the muſic of an inſtrument made of a hollow thin piece of wood, that could be heard, when beat, at the diſtace of a league. This inſtrument was wholly conſecrated to the uſe of the caziques (1).

(1) Herrera, dec. 1. lib. iii. ſect. 4.

iſland,

iſland, and called Iſla Santa, though it proved to be the continent, and part of the province of Paria. Thus the Spaniards date the firſt diſcovery of the continent from the 1ſt day of Auguſt, 1498, whereas the Engliſh claim that honour by a prior date. John Cabot, a Venetian, having obtained letters patent from Henry the Seventh, diſcovered Newfoundland in the month of June, 1496, and continued his courſe along the coaſt of America as far as the gulf of Florida. If, therefore, any title to poſſeſſion be founded on priority of diſcovery, as the Spaniards allege, the right of Great Britain to the main land of America muſt be as indiſputable, as that of Spain to the iſlands of the Weſt Indies.

Here Columbus found the country well cultivated, populous, and adorned with villages; he eat ſeveral European fruits, as grapes, apples, figs, and oranges; taſted a liquor greatly reſembling green wine, which he imagined was expreſſed from the grape, and perceived that the inhabitants were not only civil, but induſtrious and ingenious. In their complexion they reſembled the iſlanders; their hair was long and flowing, their ſtature of the middle-ſize, well-proportioned, and robuſt; and the male diſtinction of the ſex tied up and covered, though the females went entirely naked. They were armed with bows, targets, and poiſoned arrows, which they ſhot with great dexterity: they were not ignorant of the art of ſpinning and weaving cotton. Some ingenious ſpecimens of this manufacture they produced, and exchanged for bits of tin, upon which they placed an exorbitant value, calling it turey, or *heavenly*. Many were adorned with collars of beaten gold, which they alleged was the produce of the country; and they ſhewed the admiral, by ſigns, their method of finding this metal. Having received undoubted proofs that he had now touched upon the continent, he carried off ſix of the natives, and returned to Hiſpaniola; diſcovering in his paſſage a great variety of ſmall iſlands, on which he beſtowed particular appellations.

Voyage of Alonſo de Ojeda.

While Columbus was employed in reducing the Spaniſh mutineers in Hiſpaniola to obedience, and eſtabliſhing the infant colony, the merchants of Seville, excited by the ſight of the gold and pearls which he had ſent home, ſolicited leave to attempt farther diſcoveries, as private adventurers. They acccordingly obtained a commiſſion from the biſhop, John Roderiques de Fonſeca, charged by the court with the care of all affairs relative to the Indies, and equipped a ſquadron of four veſſels, under the conduct of Alonſo de Ojeda, aſſiſted by John de la Coſa, a Biſcayan, and

and Americus Veſpucius, a Florentine, well ſkilled in coſmography and navigation. On the 20th of May, 1499, Alonzo ſet ſail from the coaſt of Spain, and, after a voyage of twenty-ſeven days, fell in with the continent of America; but the particular place at which he firſt touched is not exactly aſcertained. Herrera ſays only in general terms, that it was two hundred leagues to the eaſtward of Paria, from whence he coaſted two hundred leagues more to Cape Vela. The account given by Ojeda and Veſpucius of the inhabitants to the eaſtward, differs from what Columbus related of the natives of Paria. Their faces were broad, their complexions of a tawny red, and the activity both of men and women, in all martial exerciſes, altogether aſtoniſhing. They appeared to have no form of government, caziques, ſovereigns, or leaders. In war, every man depended upon his own ſkill, ſtrength, and courage. When any affront was received, the injured party aſſembled his friends, laid his grievances before them, and demanded revenge. They ſeemed to have only a very imperfect idea of property, and none of ſubordination. Their food was fiſh or fleſh, ſerved up in earthen porringers, or the dried ſhells of gourds called calibaſh; they were temperate in their diet, but had no ſtated hours for meals, being regulated entirely by the calls of appetite. Their beds conſiſted of cotton hammocks, ſlung to the roofs of their houſes. The two ſexes were modeſt in their converſation, but extremely indelicate in their cuſtoms; for they never retired out of company upon their natural occaſions. In matrimony, no ſtated rule, either as to conſanguinity, or the number of wives, was obſerved; fancy determined every thing, and love ſeldom produced quarrels, becauſe property was unknown, and continence on either ſide neither expected nor required. The women were extremely proliſic, and made ſo little of the pangs of labour, that they bathed and waſhed immediately after delivery. Their houſes were ſpacious, well built, of a conical form, and common to all. Above a hundred perſons lived in the ſame habitation. Yet they frequently migrated ſouth or north, eaſt or weſt, juſt as inclination directed, or the heat of the climate required, leaving their houſes, which had coſt ſo much pains and labour. All their wealth conſiſted in feathers of different colours, beads made of fiſh-bones, and a kind of green and white pebbles, with which they adorned their neck, lips, ears, and noſes. Gold and pearls were deſpiſed by this ſimple people; commerce was unknown; the uſe of their wives and daughters was freely given to ſtrangers, and the acceptance regarded as a mark of reſpect and friendſhip.

friendſhip. The ſick were carried in hammocks to the mountains, ſlung to trees, and furniſhed with proviſion for a certain number of days; in which ſituation, if they chanced to eat and recover, they were received with great rejoicings by their friends and acquaintance. Sometimes they dipped female patients in cold water, placed them before a large fire, then covered them warm in bed, by which means they enjoyed a plentiful diaphoreſis, and recovered. Phlebotomy was frequently practiſed in inflammatory diſorders, the inciſion being made in the loins or calves of the legs; and emetics were uſed in diſorders of the ſtomach, by holding a certain herb in their mouths, which excited vomiting. Human fleſh was eat at feſtivals when they ſacrificed their enemies; and this was the only inſtance in which they diſcovered a cruel, brutal, and barbarous diſpoſition. As Ojeda proceeded weſtward on his voyage, he obſerved the face of the country improve, and the inhabitants more acute and lively in their genius. Their towns now exhibited a pleaſing proſpect. One village, in particular, extremely reſembled Venice in point of ſituation (E). It ſeemed to riſe out of the water, the houſes being built on pillars, and connected by bridges, which the inhabitants drew up on the appearance of danger. Hence it is probable, that this people were moleſted by ſome neighbouring powerful nation, which forced them upon this contrivance. Steering along the coaſt of Paria, the Spaniards frequently landed, and met with the kindeſt treatment from the natives, who returned theſe viſits, went on board, and were highly delighted with the ſails, rigging, and ſtructure of the ſhipping, bringing the ſailors gold and pearls in exchange for glaſs-beads and pieces of tin, iron, and copper. In a word, Ojeda, having coaſted a vaſt track of continent, touched at ſeveral iſlands, and procured ſome valuable commodities, ſteered for Hiſpaniola, where he arrived on the 5th of September, to the great detriment of the new colony, as his turbulent humour gave birth to a freſh mutiny againſt Columbus. This was the iſſue of a voyage from which Americus Veſpucius claimed to himſelf the honour of diſcovering a continent that hath ever ſince been called by his name, in prejudice of the prior right of the great Chriſtopher Columbus.

Although Ojeda's voyage was productive of no important diſcoveries, yet the pearls and gold for which he

(E) From this circumſtance it took the name of Venezvela, which ſome allege was given by Columbus, and others by Americus Veſpucius.

trafficked

trafficked along the coasts of Cumana and Maracapana encouraged the inhabitants of Seville to solicit leave to sail upon another expedition. The draught made by Columbus facilitated Ojeda's enterprize; and now the course to the West Indies being perfectly understood, nothing more was wanting than to proceed farther to the northward or southward. Peter Alonso Nino, who had accompanied Columbus when Paria was discovered, obtained a commission from the court, provided he should not come to anchor within fifty leagues of the former discoveries; but being unable to support the expence of the expedition, he had recourse to Lewis Guerra, who agreed to equip a vessel, on condition that his brother Christopher Guerra should be appointed commander. The terms being accepted, Christopher accordingly set sail early in the year 1500, touched, contrary to his orders, on the coast of Paria, and having traded with the natives for pearls, to the amount of one hundred and fifty marks, equivalent to twelve hundred ounces, he returned to Spain, where he was accused of having defrauded the king of his fifth, and the owners of great part of the cargo. *Guerra's voyage.*

It was about the same time that Vincent Yannez Pinçon, who served under Columbus in the first voyage, having fitted out four vessels at his own expence, set out in quest of discoveries, and was the first who ventured to cross the equinoctial. Pinçon sailed, if we may credit the Spanish writers, as far as the latitude of ten south of the line, discovered land on the 26th of February, 1500, and soon after went on shore, and took possession of part of Brasil. But we know not how to reconcile this assertion with what follows concerning the voyage of Cabral. *Pinçon's voyage.*

Emanuel, king of Portugal, had equipped a squadron of thirteen sail, carrying twelve hundred sailors and soldiers, destined for the East Indies, under the conduct of Peter Alvarez Cabral. This admiral departing from Lisbon on the 9th of March, 1500, struck out to sea to avoid the coast of Guinea, and steered his course southward, that he might more easily turn the Cape of Good Hope, which projects a great way into the ocean. On the 24th of April he got sight of the continent of South America, which he judged to be a large island. Coasting along for some time, he ventured to send a boat on shore, and was astonished to observe the inhabitants entirely different from the Africans in features, hair and complexion. It was found, however, impracticable to seize upon any of the Indians, who fled to the mountains on the approach of the Portuguese; yet, as the sailors had discovered a good harbour, the admiral thought proper to come to an anchor, and called the bay *The Portuguese discover Brasil.*

Puerto Seguro. Next day he ſent another boat aſhore, and had the good fortune to lay hold on two of the natives, whom he clothed, and treated kindly, and then diſmiſſed to make a proper report to their countrymen. The ſtratagem produced the deſired effect. The Indians crouded to the ſhore, ſinging, dancing, leaping with joy, and ſounding horns; then Cabral landed, and took ſolemn poſſeſſion in the name of his Portugueſe majeſty. The truth is, Pinçon never produced any authentic vouchers of his having coaſted farther to the ſouthward than the river of Amazons, from whence he returned, paſſing along Terra Firma and Paria, and then ſteering directly for Hiſpaniola.

Theſe ſeveral voyages were performed during the reſidence of Columbus in Hiſpaniola, where he experienced a thouſand mortifications, from the mutinous ſpirit of his people, and the ingratitude of the court of Spain. He had tranſmitted a faithful account of the different inſurrections, in the new colonies, to the catholic king; which were anſwered by recriminations from his officers, who charged him with tyranny, cruelty, and avarice; alleging, that he uſed the Spaniards as ſlaves; that he drove the Indians to deſpair, and ſecreted great part of the gold, pearls, and other valuable commodities, which came to his hands. Theſe complaints reached the royal ear, and determined the king to recall him from his government; perhaps, more from motives of policy than juſtice. The vaſt wealth which the admiral had amaſſed was the topic of every converſation, and the court hoped, that, by ſuperſeding him, all theſe riches would flow into the treaſury. Accordingly, Francis Bovadilla was appointed to go over to Hiſpaniola, in quality of examiner into the mutual complaints; to inveſtigate the cauſes of the frequent mutinies and diſturbances, and judge of the conduct, not only of the private men and inferior officers, but of the admiral himſelf, and his brother, the lieutenant-governor. To inforce his authority, Bovadilla had the commiſſion of governor-general, with a number of blank warrants ſigned by their majeſties, and a letter to Columbus, ordering him and all his people to obey this officer. He no ſooner ſet foot on the iſland than he demanded all the royal ſtores, arms, and proviſions, ſeized upon the admiral's effects, ingratiated himſelf with the Spaniards by the moſt liberal conceſſions in their favour, expreſſing great eagerneſs to receive complaints againſt Columbus, and at length put the admiral and his two brothers in irons, without hearing their defence. In this diſgraceful ſituation he ſent them priſoners to Spain, under the care of Alonſo de Valejo; who treated Columbus with kindneſs,

neſs, and offered to knock off his irons, a favour which he refuſed, until it ſhould be done by order of their majeſties.

When the ſhip arrived at Cadiz, and the king and queen were made acquainted with the indignity put on Columbus, to whoſe ſervices they owed ſo many obligations, orders were immediately diſpatched for his releaſe, and a thouſand ducats remitted to defray his expences to court, where he met with a favourable reception, eſpecially from the queen, who had never withdrawn her patronage from this great man, though ſhe had been perſuaded to conſent to his removal, and gave ſome credit to the malicious aſperſions of his enemies. He kneeled for ſome time before their majeſties, without being able to utter a ſyllable. When he was ordered to riſe, he made a pathetic ſpeech, recapitulating his ſervices, enumerating the hardſhips which he had ſuffered, and charging Bovadilla with the moſt wanton abuſe of his authority. In conſequence of this remonſtrance, their majeſties reſolved to ſupercede him; and accordingly appointed Nicholas de Obando, knight of the order of Alcantara, a perſon of worth and integrity, to hold the government of Hiſpaniola for the ſpace of two years; to reviſe all the decrees paſſed by his predeceſſor, and reverſe ſuch judgments as ſhould either appear to be unjuſt to individuals, or injurious to the general intereſt of the iſland. A promiſe was alſo made to the admiral, that he ſhould have a proper appointment for undertaking a fourth expedition, which he earneſtly ſolicited, notwithſtanding his old age, infirm ſtate of health, and the mortifications he had ſuſtained in a long courſe of faithful and important ſervices to the public. However, the execution of this promiſe was artfully deferred, until the report of the new governor ſhould arrive, that their majeſties might be better able to judge of the degree of confidence which they ought to place in Columbus.

Baſtidas's voyage.

In the mean time, the daily reports that were circulated of the immenſe wealth of America, and the Weſt Indies, excited the ambition and avarice of other adventurers; eſpecially of one Baſtidas, a man converſant in buſineſs, well ſkilled in geography, of a bold ſpirit, and conſiderable fortune. Having obtained a licence, he entered into engagements with one La Coſa, who had ſerved under Columbus, and acquired the reputation of the beſt mariner in Spain, equipped a ſhip, and ſet ſail from the port of Cadiz, in the beginning of January, 1501, ſteering the ſame courſe which Columbus had purſued, when he diſcovered the continent. After a proſperous voyage, he arrived on the American

coast, and touched at all the good harbours, where he trafficked with the natives, whom he found extremely ready to engage in the most intimate correspondence. When he reached Venezuela, he coasted westward, and passed in sight of that shore now called Santa Marta, as far as the bay of Uraba; keeping on his course, until he arrived at port Del Retrete, where afterwards was built the town of Nombre de Dios. Thus Bastidas, having discovered about a hundred leagues of the continent, sailed directly for Hispaniola, with a considerable cargo of pearls and gold.

Second voyage of Ojeda and Americus Vespucius.

The same motives which induced Bastidas to engage in this undertaking, stimulated Alonso de Ojeda to a second attempt towards a more perfect discovery of the continent. He was accompanied in this voyage by the same Americus Vespucius, who claimed the honour of having discovered America in his former expedition, and still persisted in arrogating to himself the merit which was certainly due to Columbus (E). They kept the same course which had been followed by Bastidas, coasting along the same shores, but were less fortunate; as the voyage was neither productive of wealth nor discoveries, though it furnished the artful Vespucius with the means of gaining more credit to his pretensions, by confounding the particulars of both his voyages [b].

Fourth voyage of Columbus.

At last, after various delays, four ships were provided for Columbus, to undertake his fourth expedition. He set sail from the coast of Spain on the 9th of May, 1502, and arrived at Hispaniola on the 29th of June; where he predicted a storm that proved fatal to great part of the Spanish fleet homeward-bound, and to the admiral's two greatest enemies, Bovadilla and Roldan, before mentioned. Departing from this island on the 14th of July, he coasted along the south side of Jamaica, until he made the small island of Guanaja; which he found well inhabited, as well as were several lesser islands in its neighbourhood. These stood in the entrance to the bay of Honduras, at the distance of twelve leagues from the cape of that name. Here he was visited by a great number of the natives of the continent, in a canoe of great length, eight feet wide, and constructed

[b] Herrera, dec. i. lib. iv. fe. ii.

(E) Americus had great address; his voyages were the first ever published on this subject, and the plausibility of his narrative strongly prejudiced mankind in his favour; notwithstanding it appears from our relation, and the dates of the several voyages, that he can with no truth dispute the discovery with Columbus.

with

with great art, and more ingenuity than he had ever before diſcovered among that people. After mutual civilities, and the exchange of a few commodities, the admiral diſmiſſed the Indians, detaining only one elderly man, to give him information, and ſerve as an interpreter with the natives. By this Indian's advice, he ſteered eaſtward, trading as he went along, and making his obſervations on the people and country. All the Indians upon this coaſt were civil and pacific; they furniſhed the Spaniards with abundance of proviſions, and exchanged gold and other commodities, with great eagerneſs, for the glittering baubles offered by the admiral. Some went entirely naked, others covered the pudenda, and a few wore ſhort cotton jackets without ſleeves, manufactured in a manner that evinced they underſtood the uſe of the loom. The figures of different animals were impreſſed on their bodies by the actual cautery; and perſons of the greateſt diſtinction among them wore pieces of cotton cloth, of various colours wrapped round the head. On feſtivals, and extraordinary occaſions, ſome painted their faces black, others red, but the greater number were ſtreaked, or checquered, with different tints, which they regarded as the ſtandard of elegance and beauty. Columbus called this coaſt Oreja, becauſe many of the natives had ears of an extraordinary length, pierced with holes of above an inch wide. A great reſemblance was found among the inhabitants of this whole coaſt, as he advanced; though ſometimes they differed in the manner of dreſſing their hair, in particular ornaments, and certain cuſtoms, which it is not our province to deſcribe and diſtinguiſh. We ſhall only take notice in general, that the more he advanced eaſtward, the more rich were they in ornaments. As he approached Porto Bello, the inhabitants wore necklaces, ſuſpending eagles of pure gold, of conſiderable weight, which they bartered without heſitation for glaſſes, beads, and hawk's-bells (F). By the 17th of September, he reached the little iſland Quiribiri, oppoſite to the coaſt of Arcari. On this ſide of the continent he landed, and found the people very little different from thoſe we have deſcribed, only more warlike, armed with bows, arrows, and ſwords, made of hard wood. From

(F) Their method of burying the dead was different from what had hitherto been obſerved. In their houſes they had tombs, in which were laid the dead bodies, dried, preſerved, and wrapt in cotton cloths, over which were laid boards covered with the figures of beaſts, and the image of the deceaſed. Many of theſe tombs were adorned with pieces of gold, and the moſt valuable effects of the country. Herrera, dec. i. lib. iv. ſect. iv.

thence he proceeded to the bay of Caravaro, where the inhabitants flocked about the ſhips, offering large plates and eagles of gold, in exchange for European commodities. One of theſe plates, weighing ten ducats, were purchaſed at the ſmall price of three hawk's-bells. Here the Spaniards procured great quantities of gold, and were given to underſtand, they might fill their ſhips with it by venturing two days land journey. Columbus having finiſhed all his commercial buſineſs, proceeded to Aburena; and upon his approaching the ſhore, the Indians preſented themſelves in a hoſtile manner; but when they underſtood by ſigns, that his intention was friendly, they brought him abundance of gold in plates and eagles, ſome of which weighed twenty-two ounces. From thence he proceeded to Catiba, where he purchaſed ſeven ounces of gold in plates, for three dozen hawk's-bells. He continued ſailing along the coaſt, for fifty leagues, to the town called Cabiga, and from thence to a fine harbour, to which he gave the name of Porto Bello, on account of its beauty and convenience. This he quitted on the 9th of November, and diſcovered to the eaſtward ſeveral ſmall iſlands, which he denominated Baſtimentos, becauſe they ſupplied him plentifully with proviſions. Strong north-eaſt winds obſtructing his courſe, he ſteered on the 5th of December, to the weſtward, upon information that there were gold mines in the province of Veragua; in his voyage to which he encountered ſuch tempeſtuous weather, and ſo many diſappointments, that he called this part of the country La Coſta de los Contraſtes, or *the Coaſt of Oppoſition.* On the 6th of January he entered the river Yebra, which he called Belen, or Bethlehem; and diſcovered another river called Veragua, at an inconſiderable diſtance. His boats went up the former to a town, where the Spaniards were informed that Veragua abounded with gold mines. A trade was carried on with the natives, and great quantity of this metal purchaſed for toys of no value. The admiral was viſited by one of the caziques, who brought him ſome gold, and conducted the Spaniards to the mines of Urira, where they gathered ſeveral pieces of almoſt pure gold round the roots of trees, without digging. From Urira the admiral's brother advanced with thirty men up the country to Zabraba, an Indian town, ſurrounded with fields, ſown with Indian wheat, to the extent of ſix leagues. Thence he proceeded to Catiba, where he was hoſpitably entertained by the natives, who ſupplied him with ſeveral plates of gold, ſome weighing ten crowns, in exchange for thoſe baubles, upon which they put ſo high a value. It was the abundance of gold produced in this country, that ſuggeſted to Columbus

bus the idea of settling a colony on the river Bethlehem, and of leaving his brother there, with some other Spaniards, until he could return with more numerous forces. Accordingly Bartholomew, with eighty men, consented to remain, and immediately set about building a small fort and town in the most commodious situation, which was the first colony ever established on the continent. The utility of this project was manifest; but it met with such obstruction in the execution, that after great progress had been made, Columbus was forced to receive the colonists on board, to save them from the vengeance of the cazique Quibia, with whom they had some difference. Being thus disappointed in his principal object, and greatly reduced in ship-provision, he determined to make the best of his way to Hispaniola. Coasting eastward towards Porto Bello, he touched upon the province situated opposite to three islands, called Las Barbas, then at Tortuga, and the Camanes, and taking his course directly for Cuba, landed upon that island, and proceeded for Jamaica; which particulars we mention, to demonstrate that Columbus was the actual discoverer of all the islands of the Antilles, and indeed of almost every island in the West Indies. He found Jamaica extremely populous, abounding with animal and vegetable provision, and the inhabitants not only very obliging, but extremely desirous of traffick. During his residence here, he combated difficulties which would have overwhelmed any other person less firm in adversity than Columbus. He was now reduced to the melancholy prospect of spending the remainder of his declining life among savages. His ships were stranded on the coast of Jamaica; the hope of procuring relief from Hispaniola was extremely precarious, upon account of the distance, the roughness of the sea, and the extreme slenderness of the Indian canoes, which were the only vessels by which he could transmit the account of his situation to Obando, governor of the new colony; besides, great part of his crew deserted, and not only threatened his life, but raised disturbances among the natives, which exposed him to perpetual danger, over all which he triumphed by his prudence, perseverance, and valour.

It was no easy matter to find persons, daring and intrepid enough to undertake a voyage to Hispaniola in canoes; however, Columbus had the good fortune to prevail on Mendez de Secura, and Bartholomew Fiepo, to risque their lives for the recovery of liberty. They committed themselves to sea in canoes, attended by six Spaniards and ten Indians to row, and arrived in ten days at Hispaniola, having sustained incredible fatigue. They delivered their

dispatches, and represented the admiral's situation to Obando, who promised them assistance, but was extremely dilatory in performing his promise. The Spaniards, under Columbus, grew impatient of delay, discontented, and mutinous. Francis de Porras, one of his officers, put himself at the head of the mutineers, threw off all obedience to the admiral, seized upon all the canoes with intention of transporting themselves to Hispaniola, and leaving him behind; but were frustrated in their design through cowardice, ignorance, and tempestuous weather. A few remained faithful to Columbus; but the Indians perceiving the Spaniards divided among themselves, thought to profit by this happy opportunity, of ridding themselves of the strangers, whom they greatly dreaded. They refused to supply him with provision in exchange for his commodities; but Columbus soon gained their veneration and esteem by a stratagem. He predicted an eclipse of the moon, which he told the Indians denoted the anger of the gods at their inhospitality. This raised such terrible apprehensions in them, that they returned loaded with presents to the admiral, beseeching him to pardon them, and deprecate the wrath of heaven. He pretended to comply with their request; and, as a proof of his intercession, he bade the Indians observe how the moon would gradually return to her former colour, a phenomenon which inspired them with great veneration for the God of the Christians, and determined them to side with the admiral against the mutineers. They supplied him plentifully with every necessary which the island afforded, and were instrumental in the victory which he gained in the reduction and imprisonment of Porras, who was taken in the field of battle by the admiral's brother. It was soon after this event that Columbus set sail for Hispaniola, on the return of Mendez, with a ship and caraval, which he had purchased at St. Domingo, without any assistance from the governor.

From that island he took his departure for Spain, and met with a cold reception at court; for his royal patroness was dead. Chagrined and disgusted at the ingratitude of the Spanish nation, he retired to Valladolid, where he breathed his last; and posterity has been just to his reputation.

By this time several laws were issued for the spiritual and temporal government of Hispaniola, the only colony yet established in the West Indies. The profits arising from the gold, and other commodities of the island, proved so considerable, that the Spanish ministry were sensible the colony could not be too much indulged and cherished, though

though the proper means were often miſtaken. The product in gold only amounted at this time to four hundred and ſixty thouſand peſos. A variety of civil ordonnances paſſed; an India houſe was eſtabliſhed at Seville; and a bull obtained from the pontiff for erecting an archbiſhoprick, biſhoprick, deaconries, and other ſpiritual dignities, in Hiſpaniola, and whatever other parts of the Indies the Spaniards ſhould think fit to colonize. For the ſupport of the clergy, all the tithes and firſt fruits were eſtabliſhed, excepting thoſe of gold, ſilver, copper, precious ſtones, and pearls, the produce of Hiſpaniola, or the adjacent iſlands. A ſchool was alſo eſtabliſhed for the inſtruction of the natives, and the clergy were deſired to exert their utmoſt endeavours in propagating Chriſtianity. Several perſons, ſkilled in navigation, were employed in drawing charts of the iſlands and continent, and for laying down ſchemes for farther diſcoveries, eſpecially to the ſouthward. Great numbers of people were brought from the Lucayos to Hiſpaniola, to ſupply the room of thoſe who had deſerted the iſland, upon account of the ſeverity of the Spaniſh government; and Don James, ſon of Columbus, ſolicited the king to be reſtored to all his rights and privileges, in conſequence of the grants made to that admiral, or to ſue for them by a legal proceſs. This laſt requeſt was granted; Don James entered his plea, claimed the dignity of admiral of the Indies, with the ſame privileges as the admiral of Caſtile enjoyed within his juriſdiction. He demanded the tenths of all the gold, ſilver, pearls, and other valuable productions of that country, and an eighth of all the profits ariſing to the crown, together with a variety of other immunities, ſpecified in the grant to his father. This affair was debated, and a verdict given in favour of Don James and his heirs, with this reſtriction, that all buſineſs ſhould be tranſacted in the king's name[a] (A).

SECT.

[a] Herrera, dec. i. lib. vii. ſect. vii. & lib. viii. ſect. i. & ſeq.

(G) Obando, who had been ſent to ſuperſede Bovadilla, ſoon perceived that Columbus had been injuriouſly treated, and the colony greatly prejudiced by the arbitrary proceedings of Bovadilla, whom he now ſent on board the fleet bound for Spain, there to anſwer for his conduct. All his endeavours, however, could not curb the mutinous ſpirit and licentious humour which had ſo long been indulged in the coloniſts. They not only diſobeyed their governor, and threw off all reſtraint, but maſſacred, inſlaved, and plundered the natives with the utmoſt barbarity. Amacaona, a lady of great authority, was cruelly

SECT. II.

Containing a farther Account of the Discoveries made on the Continent, and of the Settlements in Castella del Oro and the Isthmus of Darein, which led the Way to the Discovery and Conquest of Mexico and Peru.

BESIDES the voyage performed by Sebastian Cabot to the northward, other mariners had made some discoveries under the same parallels; particularly Gaspar de Cortereal, a Portuguese, and Jaques Carteir, a Frenchman, in the life-time of Columbus. We shall, however, defer the recital of these until we come to describe the northern provinces of America, to prevent interrupting the narrative of the Spanish discoveries, conquests, and settlements. The first colony established after the death of Columbus was in the island of St. John de Puerto Rico, called Borriguen by the Indians, distant about fourteen leagues from Hispaniola. Ponce de Leon having learned from the Indians that it abounded in gold, desired leave from Obando to visit the island, obtained his request, was hospitably received by the inhabitants, and shewn two mines extremely rich in the precious metal. Obando being superseded in the government of Hispaniola, and Don James Columbus put in possession of the grants made to his father, the colonization of Puerto Rico was deferred, till the return of the former to Spain; at which time Ponce de Leon was appointed governor of this island, independent of the new admiral's authority, with full powers to build towns and plant colonies, in the manner he should think most convenient and advantageous to his own and the general interest. Thus authorised, and accompanied by two hundred Spaniards, Ponce de Leon set sail for his government; built a town called Caparra, and afterwards Soto Mayor, and distributed all the natives in tribes among the Spaniards, to dig and search for gold, plant cotton, and cul-

Settlement in Puerto Rico.

cruelly murdered; several of the caziques were burnt in one of the chief Indian towns, as they were preparing an entertainment for the Spaniards; Calubanamo, the principal cazique in the island, was taken prisoner, and hanged, by order of the governor; and other violences, and acts of the most ruinous consequences, were daily committed, which obliged the natives to desert their country, and take shelter in the island of Guanabo, at the distance of eight leagues from Hispaniola.

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tivate the earth. This ſubjection proved irkſome to the Indians, and laid the foundation of a general revolt; which, after much bloodſhed, was ſuppreſſed by the valour of Leon and the Spaniards, and the fidelity of a number of large dogs, which they had brought from Spain.

Voyages of Ojeda and Nicueſſa to the continent.

About the cloſe of the year 1507, Alonſo de Ojeda, and James de Nicueſſa, entered into articles with the court, to plant and colonize a part of the continent of America. To the former were aſſigned all the territories extending from Cape de la Vela to the middle of the bay of Uraba, beyond Carthagena; and the latter was impowered to make ſettlements from the middle of the ſame inlet to Cape Gracias a Dios. The firſt of theſe grants was made by the name of New Andaluſia; the other by that of Caſtella del Oro; though this name be now transferred to the interior parts of Terra Firma, and the large province called New Granada. The iſland of Jamaica was alſo annexed to theſe governments, a circumſtance which Don James could not but regard as an encroachment on the grants made to Columbus, and an aggravation of the affront he had already ſuſtained in ſeeing Puerto Rico made independent of his juriſdiction. Young Columbus had formed powerful connections by marrying the niece of the duke d'Alva; he had obtained a verdict in the regular courſe of law, but the king delayed the execution of the ſentence; and it was entirely through the intereſt of the Alva family that he was now appointed admiral and governor, with the ſame limited powers which had been granted to the two laſt governors; an employment, however, which he accepted, even under theſe reſtrictions. He was empowered by the king to furniſh all poſſible aſſiſtance to the intended eſtabliſhment of colonies on the continent, and to encourage every plauſible ſcheme that ſhould be projected for the colonization either of the main land or the iſlands. The eſtabliſhment of a colony on the little iſland of Cubaqua, called the Iſland of Pearls, was eſpecially recommended, as the miniſtry entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of a profitable fiſhery in pearls upon this coaſt; nor were the hopes of the court diſappointed; for the king's fifth of this fiſhery ſoon exceeded fifteen thouſand ducats yearly.

Don James no ſooner reached his new government, than, forgetting the king's inſtructions, he conſulted only the dictates of reſentment, and gave all poſſible obſtruction to the expeditions of Ojeda and Nicueſſa; who likewiſe differed betwixt themſelves about the limits of their governments and ſeveral juriſdictions. This diſpute was accommodated; all the difficulties thrown in the way by young Columbus

Columbus were removed, and the two adventurers set sail from Hispaniola for the continent; Francis Pizarro, afterterwards so celebrated, serving under Ojeda. When Ojeda arrived at Carthagena, the natives were in arms, resolving to dispute his landing, because they had been insulted by Christopher Guerra, and some other Spaniards, who had lately touched upon their coasts, under pretence of trafficking. Every method was practised to soothe their resentment, and to convince them, that the intention of the Spaniards was to act for their mutual advantage; but all endeavours proving fruitless, the governor determined to try the effects of arms, fell upon the Indians, and defeated them with considerable slaughter. This advantage had almost proved fatal to the Spaniards; they marched up to a little town four leagues from the sea, and, finding the Indians had retreated to the mountains, dispersed themselves carelessly in small parties in quest of gold and plunder; in which situation they were attacked by the enemy, who wounded and killed many of them with slights of poisoned arrows. Ojeda, and a few followers, maintained the fight for a long time against a multitude of Indians, kneeling upon the ground, covering themselves with their shields, and making dreadful havock with their swords; but at length Ojeda, perceiving that almost all his men were killed, he made a furious effort, pushed through the thickest of the enemy, and directed his course to the sea, in hopes of reaching the shipping. Seventy Spaniards were slain upon this occasion, and, among the rest, John de la Cosa, who supported the expence of the expedition, fitted out the fleet, and now died fighting valiantly, after his body had been covered with arrows, and swoln to a monstrous size by the malignity of the poison. The long stay made by this party created uneasiness on board the ships, and several boats were sent out to gain intelligence, and search along the coast, where they found Ojeda hiding himself in a tree, faint, exhausted, and emaciated with fatigue and hunger.

In this situation were the Spanish affairs when Nicuessa arrived, and not only forgave the injuries he had received from Ojeda, but generously offered him all the assistance in his power to revenge the death of his companions. He embraced him with great cordiality, saying, that it would be unmanly to add to the afflictions of the unfortunate, and unworthy of a good citizen to gratify private resentment at the expence of the public service. The two governors accordingly put themselves at the head of a party of four hundred men, marched by night to Yarbaco,

baco, where they surprised the Indians, set fire to the town, burnt and massacred the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex; and, after having cruelly satiated their revenge, returned to their ships with an immense booty in gold; the share of Nicuessa's party alone amounting to seven thousand castellanos.

After this transaction the two commanders separated, Ojeda steering for Uraba and the river of Darein, which he had been informed by the Indians produced great quantities of the precious metal. Not being able to find the river, he built a fort, which he called St. Sebastian, to defend his people against the attacks of the natives; several houses were erected in the neighbourhood, and thus was laid the foundation of the second town built by the Spaniards on the continent, Columbus having before endeavoured to establish a colony in Veragua. Ojeda dispatched a vessel to Hispaniola, with the prisoners and gold he had taken, to procure in exchange a reinforcement of men, arms, and provisions. This supply was absolutely necessary; but Ojeda exposed himself to great dangers by parting with such a number of men as were necessary to work the vessel and secure the prisoners. The Indians of this district were the most sagacious and alert at their weapons of any they had seen hitherto. They shot their poisoned arrows with such force as pierced the thickest armour, unless it was well lined with cotton; besides, they used their wooden swords with great address, and threw their darts with such violence, as really rendered them very formidable enemies. They had no temples for public worship; but we are told they prayed to the devil, because to him they ascribe the power of doing mischief. The credulous Spaniards even alleged, that he frequently appeared to them in different forms. From this being they pretended to receive information, that the dead should be transported into another country; for which reason the moment a corpse was deposited in the grave, large store of provision was likewise buried to supply the dead in the voyage; and if the deceased happened to be a male, his arms and military weapons were laid by him for his defence. Thus we see that the Indians in general entertained a crude wild idea of immortality and a future state. The Indians of Uraba, besides their skill in war, had also made some progress in the arts of civil life. Their houses were neat, and commodiously divided into different apartments; their beds were cotton hammocks, slung to the roof; and though the people went naked upon account of the heat of the climate, they were no strangers to weaving and spinning, as appeared

St. Sebastian built in the bay of Uraba.

appeared by ſeveral ingenious ſpecimens of piece goods. The male organs of generation were contained in caſes of pure gold or of ivory, while the women covered thoſe parts which modeſty requires ſhould be concealed, with fine cotton cloths, wrapped round the loins, and flowing down to the feet. They alſo wore bracelets, beads, and other ornaments round their arms and necks; and all the women valued themſelves upon their beauty, cleanlineſs, and the ſmoothneſs of their hair. The poiſon with which their arrows were infected was an animal and vegetable mixture, formed into a paſte, of different degrees of malignity, according to the number of ingredients uſed; ſo that the Indians alleged, they could kill with their poiſon within any limited time, from two to fourteen days. Their antidotes were the actual cautery, ſea-water, and the excrements of the wounded perſon, applied freſh to the ſore. Alonſo de Ojeda cured himſelf by fire, and the uſe of actual cautery, in the moſt reſolute manner, plates of ignited iron being applied not only to the wound, but to all the adjacent parts. It is reported, that many of the Spaniards, wounded by theſe poiſoned arrows, grew ſuddenly delirious, and died raving, without any feveriſh ſymptoms.

The new colony had not been long eſtabliſhed before Ojeda and his people were reduced to great extremities. At firſt they made ſome fortunate incurſions into the neighbouring territories; but the Indians daily increaſing in numbers and in courage, cooped them at length within the fort, where they almoſt periſhed with famine. Happily for them a veſſel arrived from Hiſpaniola, with ſeventy men, who had eſcaped from their creditors, and determined to ſettle on the continent. Ojeda welcomed them as his guardian angels, and incorporated them in his colony. Then he ſet ſail in perſon, for farther ſupplies, to Martinico, promiſing to return in fifty days, and allowing his people, in caſe he failed, to diſpoſe of themſelves as they ſhould think proper. This voyage proved exceedingly unfortunate. He was thrown upon the coaſt of Cuba, where he was forced to fight his way through the natives to gain the eaſt ſide of the iſland, that he might be nearer Hiſpaniola. His men dropt every day through fatigue and hunger; they traverſed great moraſſes and foreſts, living upon herbs and roots; half his companions periſhed; and Ojeda, with a few more, arrived at an Indian town called Cuyba, where they fell down through faintneſs as if they had been dead. Their diſtreſs excited the humanity of the Indians, who treated them with the utmoſt civility and kindneſs. They ſupplied them with the beſt proviſion the country afforded,

afforded, and furniſhed a canoe and rowers to ſend intelligence, by one of their number, to the Spaniards in Jamaica, in which iſland a colony had been ſettled under the conduct of John de Eſquibel. Young Columbus had made this eſtabliſhment to preſerve his right to the iſland againſt the encroachments of Ojeda and Nicueſſa, in whoſe grant the juriſdiction of Jamaica was; and the diſpute had come to ſuch a height before theſe adventurers began their laſt expedition, that Ojeda threatened to put Eſquibel to death if he preſumed ſettling in that iſland; notwithſtanding which enmity, the generous Eſquibel was no ſooner made acquainted with his misfortunes, than he exerted himſelf for his ſafety, and, by the humanity of his conduct, ſecured the perpetual friendſhip of Ojeda. He ſent a veſſel to Cuba, which brought him and his companions ſafe to Jamaica, from whence they were tranſported to Hiſpaniola, where Ojeda died before the means of relieving the colony of Uraba were put in execution.

The diſtreſſes of Nicueſſa were not inferior to thoſe of Ojeda. When the two commanders parted company, James Nicueſſa, in a caravel, attended by a brigantine, under the conduct of Lope d'Olano, held his courſe along the ſhore in queſt of Veragua, ordering the larger ſhips to keep out to ſea for the greater ſecurity. This opportunity the treacherous Olano ſeized of gratifying his ambition, and gaining the ſupreme command. Inſtead of keeping company with the caravel, he loſt ſight of her entirely, and then holding out to ſea for the other ſhips, gave them to underſtand that Nicueſſa was ſhipwrecked, and that the chief direction of the expedition belonged now to himſelf, as lieutenant. As no ſuſpicion was entertained of the truth of this relation, the ſailors and officers willingly yielded him obedience, and, by Olano's order, ſteered for the river Bethlehem, where he propoſed ſettling a colony. The ſhips being left upon the coaſt, the lieutenant, with the whole crew, entered the river in boats, Olano contrived this ſtratagem, as was imagined, to ſecure the river to himſelf, and prevent meeting again with Nicueſſa. His intention was to ſettle in the country, but he imagined it might be difficult to prevail upon his people while the ſhips remained; they were therefore left in a careleſs manner, in expectation of their periſhing in ſome hard gale, flood, or other accident. Scarce had the boats advanced a few leagues in the river, when one was overſet, and fourteen men were drowned, an accident which made the ſailors ſo clamorous in the other boats, that Olano was compelled to return to the ſhips, but without abandoning his deſign.

A.D. 1509.

Nicueſſa's expedition.

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He had left ſome men up the river, promiſing to ſend them a ſpeedy ſupply of neceſſaries, and with the brigantines he entered the river Veragua, where he ordered ſtrict ſearch to be made for gold; but the men concealing the gold, leſt their officer ſhould think of ſettling here, he returned to Bethlehem, where he found the little colony greatly reduced in number, ready to periſh with hunger, peſtered with gnats and moſquetoes, and in the moſt fickly condition from the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate. It was obſerved that the ſick always yielded their laſt breath at the tide of ebb, and that the bodies of thoſe who were buried in the ſand, were as perfectly conſumed in the ſpace of eight days, as if they had been fifty years depoſited in any European ſoil; from whence the Spaniards drew dreadful prognoſtics. As the ſhip proviſion was entirely exhauſted, the arrival of Nicueſſa furniſhed no relief to the colony, unleſs conſolation was drawn from ſeeing the number of the wretched multiplied. We may judge of the diſtreſs of the whole from a ſingle inſtance. A mare happening to foal ſoon after Olano's arrival, all the Spaniards flew like hungry wolves, and devoured the young animal, and even the placenta, which they regarded as the higheſt luxury, having for ſeveral weeks taſted nothing but the roots and leaves of vegetables.

Nor was the ſituation of Nicueſſa leſs deplorable. In ſailing up the river the caravel was ſhipwrecked, and not a morſel of the proviſion was ſaved. As this accident happened in the night, many of the crew were thrown aſhore barefoot and naked, in which condition they travelled over marſhes, mountains, rocks, and through foreſts, in queſt of Veragua, without knowing a ſtep of the way. In this journey they were beſet by Indians, and Nicueſſa's favourite ſervant was killed by an arrow. At laſt, in the courſe of their wandering, they were ſhut up by the floods in a deſert iſland, which afforded nothing beſides a few roots and ſhell-fiſh. There they ſpent near three months in the moſt piteous ſituation; their repeated attempts to croſs upon floats to the oppoſite ſhore being all fruſtrated. Many were reduced to ſuch a ſtate of debility, that they crawled about upon their hands and feet in queſt of theſe unwholeſome vegetables, with which they were forced to gratify the cravings of appetite. Happily for thoſe who ſurvived their hardſhips, they owed their preſervation to the treachery of four ſailors, to whom they aſcribed all their calamities. Thoſe wretches had ran away with the boat, when the caravel was loſt, and by mere accident lighted upon the place where Olano, with his unfortunate aſſociates, had eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed a kind of colony. Whether adverſity had ſoftened Olano's heart, or he was afraid of the rebellion of the colony, if he refuſed ſending relief to Nicueſſa, who was known to be living by the relation of the ſailors, certain it is, he ſent a brigantine for him, with palmetos, and ſuch other proviſions as his wretched ſituation afforded, which arrived when that commander, and the remains of his crew, were reduced to the laſt extremity. When Nicueſſa joined the ſettlement at Bethlehem, he demonſtrated that his ſpirit was not broke with adverſity, and that he now owed the preſervation of his life to the ſeaſonable aſſiſtance furniſhed by his lieutenant Olano; yet juſtice and diſcipline required that this laſt ſhould be puniſhed for his raſh ambition, which had not only deſtroyed the intention of the expedition, but proved fatal to the lives of many, and hazarded the ſafety of all the adventurers. Without form of trial he ordered him to be loaded with irons; nor would he hear of his releaſe until he was forced to yield to the interceſſion of the whole colony.

Nicueſſa perceiving that no hope remained of rendering the colony uſeful in the ſpot which Olano had choſen, reembarked, with deſign to return to Hiſpaniola; but want of proviſion obliged him to put aſhore a few leagues above Porto Bello, where he reſolved to make a ſettlement, ſaying, "Let us ſtay here, en nombre de Dios," *in the name of God.* Immediately he fell to work in erecting a fort, which took the name of Nombre de Dios, to protect them againſt the natives; but the deſign failed, his people being in a ſhort time reduced from ſeven hundred and eighty to one hundred men, through fatigue, famine, and the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate.

It will be now neceſſary we ſhould return to the ſettlement at Uraba, which Ojeda left behind, in order that we may clearly underſtand the fate of the colony at Nombre de Dios. When the fifty days, which Ojeda had fixed for his return, were expired, all hopes of relief vaniſhed, and the wretched Spaniards gave themſelves up to deſpair. Two ſmall veſſels only remained, and theſe were inſufficient to tranſport their whole number, amounting to ſixty men, reduced to the moſt deplorable ſituation that imagination can conceive. After mature deliberation, it was reſolved in a general council not to ſeparate, but patiently to wait the decrees of heaven, or until their number ſhould be ſo much diminiſhed by ſickneſs, want, and the arrows of the Indians, that the veſſels could tranſport all the ſurvivors; a period which did not ſeem very remote: accordingly, they died ſo faſt, that in a little time there hardly remained A.D. 1510.

a ſufficient number to work the two veſſels. Theſe, therefore embarked, all their proviſion conſiſting of four mares, which they killed and ſalted, and ſome palmetos. Francis Pizarro, afterwards ſo celebrated in the conqueſt of Peru, who was appointed his ſubſtitute by Ojeda, commanded the largeſt, and had the good fortune to join the Bachelor Enciſo, who had juſt arrived in the bay of Carthagena, with a ſhip and brigantine, a hundred and fifty men, good ſtore of live ſtock, and other proviſion, deſtined for the relief of Ojeda's colony at Uraba, in conſequence of a contract with that gentleman a little before his death. The other veſſel was commanded by Valenzuela, and periſhed at ſea. Pizarro uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevail on Enciſo to ſteer for Veragua, and join Nicueſſa; but the Bachelor was obſtinate in executing his engagements literally; however, as he entered the bay, his ſhip foundered, and he himſelf, with the crew, were ſaved with great difficulty by the brigantines, all the proviſions on board being entirely loſt. Enciſo, nevertheleſs, inſiſted upon landing; but he was ſo roughly handled by the Indians, and the country offered ſo little encouragement, that he was perſuaded by Nunez de Balboa to ſail for the river Darien, which this laſt had viſited in the voyage he performed with Baſtidas. Balboa deſcribed a pleaſant town upon the banks of this river, abounding with proviſion, which proved a ſtrong inducement to the half-famiſhed Spaniards; his advice was followed; and, upon their arrival, every thing correſponded with his account; it however required force of arms to gain poſſeſſion of this land of promiſe, the cazique, with five hundred men, appearing ready to oppoſe the Spaniards. A battle accordingly enſued; the Indians were routed, and the town was the reward of the conquerors, who, beſides a quantity of proviſion, and ſeveral pieces of manufactured cotton, got a booty of ten thouſand peſoes of fine gold plates. Balboa gained ſo much reputation by the ſucceſs of this enterprize, that his ambition was fired, and he aſpired at the government of the colony, which all agreed ſhould be eſtabliſhed on the river Darien, by the name of Santa Maria el Antigua del Darien. To effect his purpoſe, he enlarged his friendſhips, and concerted a ſcheme for depoſing Enciſo, under colour, that as they were not within the limits of Ojeda's government, they owed no obedience to his repreſentative. Several circumſtances contributed to facilitate his ſcheme, which was ſoon put in execution. Enciſo was depoſed, and the chief direction of affairs was entruſted to Nunez Balboa. In this ſituation the colony might have flouriſhed, had

Settlement at Darien.

had not fresh subjects of dispute arisen, and such a variety of separate opinions and interests, as threatened anarchy and destruction. At length it was agreed, that Nicuessa should be sent for to govern the colony. A vessel being dispatched to transport him, with all his people, to Darien, they were found naked, emaciated, exhausted, and feeble, feeding, like savages, upon roots and herbs. The shocking spectacle drew tears from the beholders; but Nicuessa was so much elated with his change of circumstances, that he soon forfeited the good opinion of the colony of Darien. He was deposed before he had scarce felt the reins of authority, and sent to sea in a rotten caravel, with seventeen men, all of whom perished with the vessel; though some writers allege, that Nicuessa reached Cuba, and was massacred, with all his people, by the Indians. This resolution of the colony, and Balboa's artful conduct, secured him in the administration, by which means he was enabled to revenge himself upon the Bachelor Enciso, for the share he had in promoting the late dissensions. He therefore charged him with arrogating to himself an illegal authority, and committing treason, by exerting a power under virtue of Ojeda's commission, which could only be bestowed by the king. Upon this pretext he secured his person, and confiscated his effects; but at length released the Bachelor, on condition that he should take the first passage that offered for Spain or Hispaniola. Farther to secure himself in the government, to obviate the accusations of Enciso, and solicit aids and supplies for the rising colony, he dispatched two of his most intimate friends to Spain and Hispaniola, sending the Bachelor under their custody, and a process against him, couched in the most artful and acrimonious terms.

Balboa becomes chief of the settlement.

The new colony at Darien now began to flourish, and spread the terror of their arms among the Indian nations, with some of which they contracted alliances. To this success the accidental discovery of two Spaniards greatly contributed. These men had deserted from Nicuessa on his first arrival in Veragua, and lived with the Indians, among whom they acquired their language, with a knowlege of the country. They gave the first account of the A.D. 1511. the extraordinary wealth of this part of America, especially to the southward, which was afterwards confirmed by a young prince, who offered to accompany Balboa to a country where the precious metal was in as great abundance as the Spaniards alleged iron was in Europe; but he said it would be necessary to be attended with a thousand soldiers, as he should be opposed by mighty monarchs. Balboa had

Proceedings of Balboa.

contracted a particular intimacy with a neighbouring cazique, named Careta, whom he had firſt taken priſoner, and then releaſed, on his promiſing to befriend and ſupply the colony with proviſions; an engagement which the Indian punctually executed. Careta was then at war with another cazique, called Ponca, who, underſtanding that the Spaniards took part with his enemy, fled to the mountains, leaving his country to be waſted, and his treaſures pillaged by the allies. Thus the Spaniſh influence became daily more conſiderable; princes ſolicited their friendſhip, and, among others, the cazique Cemagre, lord of the adjacent country, who advanced with his ſeven ſons, and grandees, to invite Balboa to his city, where he lodged his troops, ſupplied them with every neceſſary, and accommodated them with the moſt beautiful women of the country, the greateſt mark of confidence that can be ſhewn by an Indian, and an indiſſoluble tie of friendſhip. The Spaniards were ſtruck with the magnificence of Cemagre's palace, which greatly exceeded any thing they had beheld in America. It was a hundred and fifty paces in length, eighty in breadth, raiſed on wooden pillars, incloſed by a ſtone wall, with rails at the top, ſo beautifully carved, that the Europeans were aſtoniſhed at the workmanſhip. Several of the apartments diſtinguiſhed a rude genius for architecture and the fine arts; but what was peculiarly pleaſing to the ſoldiers, was the great abundance of bread, veniſon, and pork, which they found in the ſtorehouſe, together with a variety of red and white pleaſant liquors, drawn from Indian wheat, roots, and the palm. The wealth and generoſity of this prince greatly increaſed their ſatisfaction. His eldeſt ſon, deſirous of obliging the ſtrangers by every means in his power, ordered ſeveral pieces of gold, valuable for their workmanſhip and purity, weighing in all about four thouſand pieces of eight, together with ſeventy ſlaves, to be preſented to Nunez and Calmenares, who, he perceived, were the leading men among the Spaniards. When he perceived them quarrelling about the diviſion of theſe preſents, "The Chriſtians (ſaid he) have no occaſion to fall out about an affair ſo trifling as gold; for if they prize it at ſo high a rate as to forſake their native country, and diſturb peaceable nations, in ſearch of this metal, I will ſhew them a province where they may enjoy it to ſatiety, at the diſtance of ſix ſuns, or ſix days journey from hence (pointing towards the ſouthern ocean), where the natives have veſſels little inferior to the Spaniſh ſhips, with maſts and ſails, and where they eat and drink out of this ſame gold which you value ſo much." The young prince's report,

port, confirmed by the teſtimony of the more grave and experienced Indians, ſo inflamed the ardour of Nunez Balboa, that he reſolved immediately to ſolicit the king for the neceſſary reinforcement, and to lay before the miniſtry the inexhauſtible ſource of wealth he had diſcovered. Valdibia was choſen to tranſact this important affair, and he was alſo charged with the king's fifth of the gold found by the new colony, which amounted to fifteen thouſand pieces of eight.

Settlement on the iſland of Cuba.

While this affair was negociating, and Balboa preparing to penetrate farther into the country, in order to ſupply the colony with proviſions, which now began to fail, don James Columbus, in quality of admiral and governor-general, was taking meaſures for eſtabliſhing a colony on the iſland of Cuba. The advantages of this ſettlement were obvious, becauſe the ſoil was excellent, the country populous, abounding with proviſions, and the moſt valuable articles of commerce. James Velaſquez, a perſon of underſtanding, temper, and integrity, was choſen to conduct this enterprize, and great numbers of perſons involved in debts reſolved to ſhare his fortune. No leſs than three hundred men rendezvouſed at Salvatierra de la Zavana, and embarked on board ſome veſſels deſtined for Cuba, together with divers Indians in their canoes, headed by the cazique Hatney, of the province of Guahaba. It was imagined this prince was diſpoſed to countenance the Spaniſh expedition; but his conduct ſoon evinced that he had quitted Hiſpaniola, where he could make little reſiſtance, only to aſſiſt the inhabitants of Cuba in preſerving their liberty, and acquire more weight and authority than fell to his ſhare, in a country wholly ſubdued and governed by the Spaniards. Accordingly, on the arrival of Velaſquez at the port called Palmas, the cazique ſtood upon his defence, and encamped, with a conſiderable body of Indians, in the woody grounds, which were inacceſſible to the Spaniſh cavalry. Here he maintained his ſituation for the ſpace of two months, but was at laſt diſlodged by the ſuperior ſkill and courage of the Europeans, who drove him to the heart of the iſland, and ſoon after took him priſoner, and burnt him alive; an execution which produced ſuch an effect upon the inhabitants, that the whole province of Maya immediately ſubmitted. Civil diſſenſions afterwards aroſe, which well nigh deſtroyed three parts of the ſettlement. Ferdinand Cortez, ſo celebrated in hiſtory, took part againſt Velaſquez, was ſeized, impriſoned, and on the point of loſing his life as a traitor and mutineer. Happily, however, diſſenſion ceaſed, and the Spaniards made daily progreſs in the reduction of the

Novemb.

island, building towns, and laying the foundation of that valuable colony which hath ever since been maintained (A).

A.D. 1512. In this manner were the Spaniards employed in making new settlements in the West Indies, while Balboa was using every expedient to procure gold and provisions, and extend his influence on the continent. Towards the beginning of

(A) The great extent and fertility of the island of Cuba were at first the chief inducements for colonizing it; for as yet the Spaniards had no idea of the service it might be of to their American traffic in gold and silver. It exceeds two hundred and thirty leagues from east to west, though its breadth is unequal. From Cape de Cruz to Port Monati is reputed forty-five leagues; but this is the greatest breadth of the island, which in some places doth not exceed twelve leagues over. It is finely watered, and agreeably diversified with woods, lawns, and valleys, the whole standing within the tropic of Cancer, and the climate rather hot than unsalutary. The cedars produced here are of so extraordinary a size, that the Spaniards had seen the Indians make canoes of a single trunk able to carry fifty men. The fruits were delicious, the quadrupeds numerous, and the sea and rivers well stocked with fish. A few copper mines were discovered, and some gold; but the precious metal was not found in sufficient abundance to give birth to a settlement, had not the other commodities of the island compensated this deficiency. In a word, it was thought that Cuba might soon be rendered the granary of the Spanish settlements on the continent and islands. With respect to the inhabitants, they greatly resembled the natives of Hispaniola, in temper, stature, and particular customs. They professed no religion, performed no worship, and built no temples; though their physicians might be regarded as a kind of priests, who pretended to communicate with an invisible spirit, called the devil by the Spaniards. They were called Behiques; and the people were deluded by them into the most monstrous superstition and absurdity; it was believed, for instance, that a Behique could cure certain dangerous diseases, by blowing upon the patient. A general notion of the deluge prevailed, and the Indians of Cuba affirmed they were the descendants of an old man who built a vessel, in which he put the male and female of all animals, and thereby saved all animated beings from the universal devastation by water. As to the form of government established among the natives of the island, it was monarchical, but not despotic; for the cazique had not power to enslave any of his subjects. Obiedo accuses them of a certain unnatural passion: but this is denied by Acosta, Herrera, and other writers of credit (1).

(1) Obied. p. 57. Herer. dec. i. lib. ix. sect. 2.

this

this year he had intelligence that a cazique of the province of Dabayba was poſſeſſed of immenſe treaſures; and, in particular, that the offerings made in gold, at a certain temple in his dominions, were incredibly rich. This excited his avarice, and produced the reſolution of attacking the cazique. Accordingly he embarked with a hundred and ſixty able-bodied men, in two brigantines, and a great number of canoes, ordering Calmenares, with a third of this force, to enter a great river, almoſt nine leagues to the eaſtward of the gulf of Darien. On the firſt notice of this expedition, Ceneaco, the grand cazique of Darien, withdrew to Dabayba, leaving the intermediate country entirely depopulated, and a prey to the Spaniards, by which means they obtained a booty in gold amounting to ſeven thouſand pieces of eight; all which was loſt in a ſtorm on their return. Upon this loſs Nunez again entered the river, joined Calmenares, ſubdued ſeveral caziques, and then returned to Darien, without having procured any other advantage to the ſettlement than that of impreſſing the Indians with dreadful notions of the power and invincibility of the Spaniards, and gaining ſome farther information reſpecting the country (B).

Farther proceedings of the colony at Darien, and ſucceſs of Balboa.

The report of the young cazique of Cemagre, concerning the ſouthern ocean, and the prodigious wealth of certain countries lying along that coaſt, impelled Balboa to repeat his inſtances to the court for farther ſuccours of men, arms, and ammunition. He eagerly deſired to enter upon freſh diſcoveries and conqueſts, but he was ſenſible that his force was unequal to the ſcheme. For this reaſon it was determined in a general council of the members of the colony, to ſend Calmenares and Cayzedo, two gentlemen of ability and character, to Spain, to make the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances to the king, upon the nature of their expectations; and to give weight to their negociation, a fifth of all the gold belonging to the colony was ſent as a preſent;

(B) It was about this time that Ponce de Leon, being ſuperſeded in the government of Puerto Rico, reſolved upon a voyage in queſt of diſcoveries; in the courſe of which he fell in with a great number of ſmall iſlands, ſome of them before unknown to the Europeans, and with the coaſt of Florida, to which he gave this appellation, becauſe it was diſcovered on Eaſter, called Paſqua de Flores, by the Spaniards. Here he landed at an inconſiderable diſtance from Cape Corrientes, took poſſeſſion in the name of his catholic majeſty, and erected a ſtone with an inſcription (1).

(1) Herer. dec. i. lib. ix. ſect. v.

but just as the ambassadors had departed, and Nunez was pleasing himself with the hopes of their success, a conspiracy to seize his person was discovered. The colony was divided, and every thing conspired to the destruction of all the sanguine notions entertained by Nunez Balboa. One Alonso Perez, incensed at the distribution of the gold made by Balboa, had contrived a scheme for seizing ten thousand castellanoes kept in bank as the common property; this he executed, and divided in such a manner as secured him a party, equal, if not superior, to that of Nunez. The Spaniards had twice formed in order of battle, to destroy each other, when some of the more considerate interposed, and represented the terrible consequences of such a measure, which would have left the conquerors an easy prey to the Indians. This remonstrance produced a cessation of hostilities, and prevented the immediate shedding of blood, but did not effect a reconciliation; it is probable, therefore, the parties might have proceeded to the most fatal extremities, had not Christopher seasonably arrived from Hispaniola, with two ships, one hundred and fifty men, great store of provision, and a commission signed by the treasurer Passamonte, empowered by the king, constituting Balboa captain-general of all the country possessed
A.D.1513. by the Spaniards round the isthmus of Darien. Nunez was overjoyed at this prosperous circumstance, which, by reestablishing his authority, and placing it upon a more solid foundation than the capricious will of his companions, enabled him to reduce the mutineers to reason, without striking a blow, or shedding a drop of blood. However, his satisfaction was considerably diminished by the accounts he received, that Enciso had arrived safe in Spain, presented bitter remonstrances against his tyrannical conduct, and so far gained credit with the court, that his majesty directed a process to be made against Nunez, who was ordered to make good all the damages sustained by the Bachelor, and to answer the charge in person before the ministry. Balboa taking it for granted that he would, upon this intelligence, be superseded upon the arrival of the first ship from Spain, resolved to go in pursuit of the treasures mentioned by the young cazique, and the discovery of the South Sea, hoping that he might give the court a better impression of his conduct, if he could succeed in performing so essential a piece of service. To carry this design into execution, he began with animating his people, and exciting their ambition with the prospect of immense wealth and immortal honour. When he had roused a spirit of enterprize and emulation, he selected one hundred and ninety men, of whose

whoſe ſtrength, valour, and attachment to his perſon, he entertained the beſt opinion, a thouſand Indians, and ſeveral fierce dogs, with which he embarked in two brigantines, and a great number of canoes, and ſailed to the territories of the cazique Careta, by which means he ſhortened the march conſiderably. He then proceeded by land to the dominions of the cazique Ponca, who hid himſelf in the mountains, on the news that the Spaniards were approaching. Nunez ſent ſome Indians belonging to his ally Careta, to aſſure Ponca of his friendſhip, a declaration which had the effect, and drew that chief out of his retreat, with a preſent for the Spaniſh commander of one hundred and ten peſos in gold, which was all he poſſeſſed. As it was of the utmoſt conſequence to leave no enemies behind, Nunez entertained him civilly, and diſmiſſed him with preſents of hawks bells and beads, upon which the Indian placed a greater value than all the treaſures of Peru and Mexico. Ponca having granted the Spaniards a free paſſage, loaded them with proviſions, and furniſhed them with Indians to carry their baggage, they proceeded to the territories of the next prince, whoſe name was Quaregua. This cazique was powerful, and hearing of the approach of the Spaniards, he had collected a ſmall army, at the head of which he gave them battle; but the ſound and fire of the muſquetry ſo terrified the Indians, that they ſcampered about the hills, fully perſuaded, that as the white men could command both thunder and lightning, they were in all reſpects ſupernatural. The action was but of ſhort duration, though the carnage was conſiderable, for the dogs made terrible havock among the fugitive Indians. The cazique was killed, his brother taken priſoner, a rich booty obtained in plates of gold, and a dreadful idea of the Spaniards impreſſed on the minds of the inland natives. Several Spaniards, who were either ſickly, or too much fatigued, to purſue the journey, being left behind in Quaregua's town, which had ſubmitted to the conqueror. Nunez proceeded to the ſummit of thoſe mountains, whence he was told he might behold the ſouthern ocean. The diſtance from thence to Ponca's territories was no more than ſix day's march; but it coſt the Spaniards five-and-twenty days, on account of the roughneſs of the country, the ſcarcity of proviſion, and the weakneſs of the ſoldiers. At length they reached the top; where Nunez no ſooner caſt his eyes upon the ſea, than he fell down upon his knees, and in a kind of prophetic extaſy returned thanks to Heaven, as if he had foreſeen all the happy conſequences which reſulted to Spain from the diſcovery. He bid his followers Nov. 24.

behold

South Sea first seen.

behold this sea as the end of all their toils, repeating his promises of immense wealth, and unbounded reputation, to all who should follow him to that scene of riches and glory. He then drew up a certificate of his taking possession of the South Sea, all the wealth it contained, and the coasts by which it was hemmed in, for his catholic majesty and the crown of Castile; the better to confirm which he erected crosses, raised heaps of stones, and cut the king's name on the bark of several trees of different kinds, to the great astonishment of the Indians, who could neither conceive the cause of joy in the Spaniards, nor the meaning of all these ceremonies.

These steps being taken, he began to descend the mountains, still advancing towards the ocean, and proceeded with great caution towards the frontiers of a potent cazique called Chiapes, who marched out to meet him at the head of a formidable army. When the cazique came within a proper distance, the Spaniards fired a volley of small arms, the sound of which being reverberated by the neighbouring mountains, made so dreadful a noise, that the affrighted Indians deserting their chief, fled to the mountains for shelter against those dreadful enemies, who they imagined had power over the elements, and could produce storms, lightning, and thunder, at pleasure. As to the cazique, he sought refuge in his town, and Nunez sent some prisoners he had taken, to assure him that nothing more than provisions, and a free passage through his dominions, was required; upon which he thought it better to put himself into the hands of the Spaniards, and rely on their generosity, than expose himself again to those dreadful discharges of fire and smoke. Accordingly he came with a present in gold, amounting to four hundred pieces of eight, apologizing for the smallness of the offering, "because (said he) we Indians set no value upon such dross, and take no pains in collecting it." Chiapes was graciously received, and his presents were returned by what he deemed more than an equivalent, a present of beads, looking-glasses, scissars, and hawks bells, together with some hatchets, the use of which he was shewn by the Spaniards. Nunez, and his people, were so well entertained in this cazique's village, that he sent for the sick and wearied whom he had left behind in Quaragua; but before their arrival he detached Francis Pizarro to survey the coast and adjacent country. John Escoray and Alonso Martin were sent by different routes upon the same business, each attended with twelve men well armed; and Martin was so fortunate as to hit upon the shortest road to the sea, where he no sooner arrived

arrived than he went into a canoe which he found upon the ſhore, and deſired his companions to bear witneſs, that he was the firſt European who entered the South Sea. On the return of theſe parties, Nunez made ready to quit the territories of Chiapes, who offered to attend him to the next province, together with a great number of his people, loaded with proviſion and the baggage of the Spaniards. When he reached the ſea, he took poſſeſſion in the name of the catholic king, with all the uſual formalities, and made public declaration that he would defend the rights of the crown of Caſtile againſt all oppoſers. Then ſeizing nine canoes that he found upon the coaſt, he paſſed over a river to the dominions of a chief named Cocura, who reſolving to oppoſe him drew out his troops, and was going to attack the Spaniards, when a ſingle diſcharge of the muſquetry filled his whole army with terror and diſmay, which was ſucceeded by a general rout, and ſoon after by ſubmiſſion, and a preſent of gold, to the value of ſix hundred and fifty pieces of eight.

Nunez Balboa had now diſcovered the South Sea, but the wealth which he expected to find among the nations bordering on the coaſt, fell greatly ſhort of his expectation. It was therefore highly neceſſary to ſupport his credit with the Spaniards under his command, by making farther attempts. Accordingly he embarked much againſt the inclination of the cazique Chiapes, in canoes, with intention of croſſing a bay that run far into the land, and ſearching the ſurrounding country for the precious metal. This enterprize had almoſt proved fatal; for the canoes were in the utmoſt danger of being overſet in a ſtorm; and they at laſt made a deſart iſland, in the middle of the bay. In the night a flood came on, that not only ſtaved the canoes, but covered the whole iſland, the Spaniards remaining for ſeveral hours up to the waiſt in the ſea, expecting every minute to be ſwallowed up. Proviſion failed them, their ſpirits were exhauſted with the fatigue of ſtanding ſo long, and all muſt have periſhed with famine had not a calm enſued, and the Indians, with great addreſs, repaired ſome of the canoes, which wafted them to the lands of a chief whoſe name was Tumaco. With much perſuaſion this cazique was prevailed on to treat the Spaniards as friends, and to aſſiſt them with proviſion. At laſt he viſited Nunez in perſon, with ſix hundred and fourteen pieces of eight in gold, and two hundred and forty large pearls, which would have been of ineſtimable value, had not their colour been injured by the fire; by which method the Indians always ſeparated the ſhells, until they were better inſtructed by the Spaniards. Tumaco obſerving

ing that the Spaniards ſet a great price upon the pearls, and pleaſed with the returns they made of looking-glaſſes, beads, and hatchets, diſpatched ſome of his people to fiſh for more; who returned with ninety-ſix ounces of beautiful pearls, quite undamaged by the fire; all which the cazique gave to Nunez, telling him, that there was an iſland, at the diſtance of no more than five leagues, where he might find abundance of much larger ſize. This information was ſufficient to rouſe the avarice and curioſity of the Spaniard, who began immediately to prepare for the expedition, but was prevailed on by the cazique Chiapes to defer it till ſummer, when he might croſs the ſea with leſs danger, and fiſh with more ſucceſs. As he had laid aſide the notion of penetrating farther, until the ſeaſon ſhould be more favourable, he thought of returning to Darien, and making the neceſſary preparations for a freſh attempt, having received information that the coaſt extended without bounds to the ſouthward, meaning Peru, where there was a prodigious quantity of gold; and that the natives uſed certain beaſts of burthen. Theſe were no other than the Peruvian ſheep, which the Spaniards took to be camels or deer, from the figures of them made with chalk by the Indians of Tumaco; and this we may regard as the ſecond intimation of Peru given to the Spaniards, who were not yet ſufficiently acquainted with the ſituation of the country, either in latitude, or longitude, or the extenſion of the land, to annex other ideas to thoſe imperfect hints and obſcure deſcriptions. In general Nunez collected information ſufficient to raiſe the moſt ſanguine expectations of the immenſe wealth that would certainly accrue from the ſummer expedition which he meditated. It was agreed on all hands, that the nations both to the ſouth and north of the iſthmus overflowed with gold, upon which the inhabitants put no value; ſo that it was the leſs likely to become an object of contention. However, the jealouſy which the Indians in general expreſſed with regard to foreigners, and the difficulty with which they were prevailed on to ſuffer the Spaniards to enter their country, convinced Balboa of the neceſſity of making vigorous preparations to penetrate, by force, ſhould the caziques oppoſe his deſigns.

Intelligence of Peru.

With this view he began his march back to Darien, taking leave of the cazique Chiapes, who wept at his departure, and leaving under that Indian's protection all the ſick that could not travel, until they ſhould be perfectly recovered. He now took a different route on his return to the north, from that which had brought him to the ſouth, in order to examine the country more accurately, and to extend

tend the fame of the Spaniards among the Indian nations. In this direction, he ſoon reached the territories of a prince called Teaochan, who conceiving a high opinion of the generoſity of the Spaniards from the report of the Indians who attended them, came out of this town to meet Nunez, with marks of reſpect and affection, bringing with him a preſent of a thouſand pieces of eight in gold, curiouſly wrought, and two hundred beautiful pearls, though ſomewhat diſcoloured by fire. He deſired the Chiapeſe Indians might be returned, offering to ſupply the Spaniards with a ſufficient number of his people to carry their baggage and proviſion, which he liberally provided. In a word, after they had refreſhed themſelves three days in the dominions of this cazique, Nunez and his companions began their march over ſteep and barren mountains, in aſcending which they encountered manifold difficulties. At laſt, they reached the dominions of a great lord, named Poncra, who was no friend to the obliging Teaochan; for the ſubjects of this latter were perpetually ſoliciting Nunez to make war upon Poncra, and lay waſte his city. Upon entering the place, they found it abandoned by the inhabitants, though the Spaniards here obtained a booty in gold, amounting to three thouſand pieces of eight. Nunez ſent out ſeveral Indians to ſearch for Poncra in the woods, to aſſure him that he might return with ſafety to his town; and to threaten in caſe of refuſal, that the Spaniards would hunt him with their dogs, and exterminate the whole nation: menaces which produced their effect; for Poncra, terrified with the thoughts of being expoſed to the dogs, waited on Nunez with a preſent of gold to the value of three thouſand pieces of eight. It is not much to the honour of the Spaniſh commander that he violated his faith on this occaſion, and ſuffered Poncra to be torn in pieces by the dogs, under pretence that he was forced to comply with the importunity of all the neighbouring caziques, who demanded his death as a teſtimony of his friendſhip for them; although in fact Nunez was actuated to this meaſure by the obſtinate ſilence of the cazique, who refuſed to give him any information concerning the country where he found his gold.

Here Nunez was joined by the Spaniards, whom he had left under the protection of Chiapes. When they found themſelves tolerably recovered, they had began their march through the dominions of the cazique Boneniama, who received them with teſtimonies of the ſtrongeſt friendſhip; he entertained them with the beſt things his country afforded, loaded them with proviſions, made them a preſent of two thouſand pieces of eight in gold, and eſcorted them

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in person, with a large retinue, to Poncra; where, taking Nunez by the hand, he harangued him to this effect: "Brave and bold man, here are your companions, whom I bring to you safe and well as when they arrived in my territories. He that makes thunder and lightning, and bestows on us the fruits of the earth, preserve and keep you and them." When he spoke, he fixed his eyes upon the sun, whence the Spaniards concluded, that he worshipped that luminary as the fountain of all temporal blessings. It was from Boneniama that Nunez had the best intelligence of the state of Peru, which he could hitherto obtain; though the want of good interpreters rendered his information still imperfect and defective. Having acknowleged the civilities of this friendly cazique, by the present of some trinkets, and other testimonies of regard, the Spaniards quitted Poncra, to proceed on their march. They ascended dreadful mountains, and travelled from one hill to another, without a tract or vestige of human foot, guided only by their compass and the Indians, to whom all roads were indifferent. When they were almost spent with fatigue, they reached a town belonging to the cazique Buchebuca, which they found abandoned by the inhabitants. The Indians were sent in quest of the cazique, who was taken in the woods, where he had concealed himself out of shame and concern that he had no provisions, or any other means of demonstrating his esteem for the Spaniards; he desired, however, that they would accept of certain pieces of gold, in token of his regard and friendship: provisions would at this time have been more welcome than gold to the Spaniards; but the extreme poverty of the surrounding country convincing them of Buchebuca's sincerity, they proceeded on their march repining under the united pressure of hunger and fatigue. All the stock, which the Indians carried on their shoulders, was consumed in three days, and they were thus left destitute in a country that furnished scarce any necessaries of life. In this situation, Nunez was addressed by ambassadors and presents from the cazique Chiovoso; who, with many professions of esteem and friendship, solicited his assistance against a potent neighbour, with whom he was at war. The presents consisted of thirty pieces of gold, which weighed above fourteen thousand pieces of eight; but they were not sufficient to engage the Spaniards in an unnecessary quarrel in their present unhappy circumstances, though they received them with civility, and sent in return some pieces of looking-glass, beads, and hatchets, to the donor. Then they directed their march to Paçorosa, the cazique of which country

try fled at their approach, but returned on receiving a civil meſſage from Nunez, and made that commander a preſent in gold to the value of fifteen hundred pieces of eight. The Spaniards reſted a month in the dominions of this prince, and then proceeded for the territories of Tubanama, a lord much dreaded for his power and valour. In their preſent ſituation it was not thought adviſable to engage in open war with this cazique, although Nunez was aſſured, that he would obſtruct the paſſage of the Spaniards; recourſe, therefore, was had to ſtratagem, and a reſolution purſued of attacking Tubanama by ſurprize, in which they ſucceeded; the cazique, his whole family, and eighty of his women, were made priſoners. As this prince had governed with great ſeverity, and oppreſſed all his neighbours, the report of his captivity was no ſooner ſpread than the people flocked from the adjacent towns to complain of his conduct, and ſolicit that he might ſuffer condign puniſhment. The cazique denied the accuſations, which he alleged were founded upon envy and malice; he wept bitterly, threw himſelf at the feet of the Spaniſh commander, and promiſed eternal friendſhip and ſubmiſſion. Perceiving that Nunez entertained no reſentment, and being told that he intended ſetting him at liberty, he preſented him with gold bracelets and female ornaments, to the value of three thouſand pieces of eight; and next day a preſent came from the lords his a vaſſals, to the amount of double that ſum: but Tubanam obſtinately refuſed to tell the Spaniards whence he drew the gold, fearing they would never quit his dominions ſhould he divulge this important ſecret. Yet, in deſpite of the cazique's ſilence, Nunez found, upon ſearching, that the country yielded gold, and therefore reſolved to eſtabliſh colonies in the dominions of Pacoroſa and Tubanama; not only for working the mines, but for the convenience of carrying on a trade over the iſthmus, between the South and North ſeas. The only puniſhment inflicted on the cazique for his obſtinacy, was, the captivity of his women and ſon who were carried off; though it was thought he freely parted with the latter, to ſerve him as a ſpy over the actions of the Spaniards. At parting, Nunez charged Tubanama to collect as much gold as he could find and ſend it to Darien; in return for which, he ſaid he might always depend on his friendſhip and protection: the cazique promiſed every thing, but never thought of the performance of his engagements.

Juſt as Nunez had quitted the territories of Tubanama, he was ſeized with a fever, the effect of anxiety and fatigue; but he would not ſuffer his own illneſs to prove any

obſtruction

obſtruction to the public ſervice. The men purſued their march, while Nunez was carried in a kind of litter, on the ſhoulders of the Indians, in which ſituation he arrived in the dominions of the cazique Cemagre, his ally, who was now dead, and the chief power veſted in his ſon, the ſame young prince who had given the firſt information concerning the South Sea, and the riches of Peru. The Spaniards were joyfully welcomed by the young chief, who made Nunez a preſent in gold valued at two thouſand pieces of eight; in return for which, the Spaniards gave him a linen ſhirt, and ſome other trifles, which he deemed of ineſtimable value. Nunez having recovered his health at Cemagre, ſet out for Darien, where he arrived on the 19th of January; and found two ſloops, loaded with proviſions, lately arrived from Hiſpaniola, an acquiſition which infuſed great ſpirits into the whole company. In this manner ended Nunez Balboa's expedition in ſearch of the South Sea; during which he diſplayed every quality of a great commander. He acquired the eſteem of his own people, and the reſpect of the Indians; he formed alliances with all the nations through which he paſſed; he obſerved every circumſtance that could facilitate farther diſcoveries, and promote the deſign he had formed of repeating the expedition, and eſtabliſhing a commerce between the South and North ſeas. He now divided the ſpoils, reſerving a fifth for the crown, with ſo much juſtice and impartiality, that all were ſatisfied, and Nunez was equally admired and applauded by the companions of his toil, and the Spaniards who remained at Darien for the defence of the colony.

A.D. 1514.

An account of the ſucceſs of the expedition, with the king's fifth of the riches they had acquired, was diſpatched to court, a ſtep which Nunez was in hopes would have effaced all the bad impreſſions of his conduct made by the ſuggeſtions of his enemies. The effect did not, however, correſpond with his reaſonable hopes; for the news no ſooner arrived in Spain of the diſcovery of the South Sea than his majeſty appointed Peter Arias d'Avila to ſucceed Nunez Balboa in the government of Darien, allowing him twelve hundred men to reinforce the colony, and proſecute the diſcovery. A biſhop, and ſeveral clergy, were alſo ſent for the religious government of the new colony, by this fleet, which entered the bay of Uraba towards the cloſe of the month of July, proceeding from thence to the ſettlement at Darien, where Arias and the biſhop were received by Nunez with all poſſible reſpect. It was Balboa's intention to give all the aſſiſtance in his power to the new governor, and not to obſtruct the public ſervice out of private reſentment; but

Arias d'Avila made governor of Darien.

but the coldneſs with which Arias met his civility, and the bitter proſecution he commenced againſt him, ſoon broke all his reſolutions, and rendered the two commanders implacable enemies. To increaſe the misfortunes of the ſettlement, ſickneſs broke out among the troops lately arrived from Spain; and proviſion beginning to fail, it was found neceſſary to ſend back great numbers by the return of the fleet. Over and above theſe diſaſters, the miſconduct of Arias, and of the perſons he employed, raiſed ſuch a cloud of enemies, as threatened the entire deſtruction of the colony. One Ayora had been ſent with a party of four hundred men to collect gold and make ſettlements in different parts of the iſthmus towards the South Sea. This adventurer giving way to the dictates of the moſt rapacious avarice, fell upon the Indians without diſtinction, robbed, pillaged, maſſacred, and perfidiouſly violated all the alliances formed by Nunez. Some booty indeed he purchaſed at the expence of national honour, and the friendſhip of the caziques, which was ſo eſſential to the welfare of the ſettlement, and the ſucceſs of the deſigns formed by the Spaniſh miniſtry. Several other excurſions of the ſame nature were made, all of them tending to weaken the ſettlement, and irritate the natives, for the ſake of an inconſiderable quantity of gold. In ſome of theſe expeditions, all the Spaniards periſhed, and the particulars of the misfortune were afterwards collected from the Indians. Ayora had erected a kind of little fort in the cazique Tubanama's dominions, in which he left a garriſon, under the conduct of Menezes. The Indians kept this handful of men perpetually blocked up, till Arias found it neceſſary to withdraw the garriſon, and employ the ſoldiers in ſome more profitable expedition. Tello de Guzman was accordingly ordered with a party to make diſcoveries as far as he could to the weſtward along the South Sea, and to take along with him the little garriſon in Tubanama's territories. On his arrival he found them reduced to extreme neceſſity; but the ſight of his troops obliged the Indians to retire; upon which the fort was deſerted, and the Spaniards marched in a body to the countries poſſeſſed by the caziques Chepo and Chepauri, with whom Guzman contracted an alliance. The laſt mentioned chief, in particular, treated the Spaniards with the utmoſt hoſpitality; but while they were entertaining themſelves in the moſt friendly manner, an Indian boy entered, and informed Guzman, that he was the lawful owner of theſe dominions, which had been uſurped by his perfidious guardian the preſent poſſeſſor. He therefore beſought the Spaniard's aſſiſtance againſt the uſurper, and

Unfortunate expeditions.

promised him abundance of gold, if he would restore him to his sovereignty. This promise was sufficient to induce Guzman to break all the most sacred ties of friendship, hospitality, and solemn treaties. Immediately he ordered his host to be hanged upon the nearest tree, delivered up seven of the principal persons of the court to be tortured and put to death by the boy's friends, without ever inquiring into the truth of the allegations; and received six thousand pieces of eight in gold, as the reward of his perfidious cruelty. With this booty he proceeded to the place where Panama now stands, at that time the residence of a few fishermen, whence it took the name of Panama, which in the Indian language signifies a place where fish is catched. From hence he dispatched Albitez, with eighty men, towards the province of Chagre, eighteen leagues distant from Panama. Albitez arrived at the capital, while the inhabitants were wrapped in perfect security, and fast asleep; but he had too much generosity to seize the opportunity of enriching himself by an act of unprovoked inhumanity: he forbore all violence, waited with patience until morn, and by this generous forbearance, so charmed the cazique, that he presented him with twelve thousand pieces of eight in pure gold. So large a sum served only to inflame the avarice of Albitez. Upon seeing the money, he asked whether the cazique could not spare more, and fill him a large bag, which he presented for that purpose. The cazique replied with astonishment, "That he might fill his bag with stones out of the brook, for he neither had any more, nor could make gold." With this answer Albitez departed; but though he was disappointed, he would not suffer any violence to be offered to the inhabitants. Soon after he joined Guzman, and both marched to Tubanama, where the whole country was in arms to oppose their motions. The Spaniards being under the necessity of fighting their way through clouds of poisoned arrows, behaved with admirable intrepidity, but sustained such losses, that, before they reached Darien, they were reduced to one third the number with which they set out, and the remainder were almost dead with fatigue and hunger.

A.D.1515. Another party detached under the conduct of Francis de Valejo proved still more unfortunate. This officer had been sent against the Indians of Uraba, who were continually molesting the settlement at Darien. Being now within three leagues of the principal Indian town, he fell upon the enemy, and no sooner obtained a victory than his men separated in quest of gold, thus leaving the Indians an opportunity of rallying their scattered forces. Nor was the occasion

occasion lost; the Indians reuniting, poured in their poisoned arrows with such execution and effect, that several Spaniards were killed on the spot, and many more wounded, all of whom died in the most excruciating torture. In a word, the Spaniards were forced to retreat on floats of timber and bundles of reeds, sustained incredible hardships, and all perished, except a few, who providentially found their way to Darien.

The unfortunate issue of these two expeditions could not induce Arias to alter measures, the folly of which was demonstrated by fatal experience. On the contrary, he hoped by perseverance to wipe off all former disgraces; and for this purpose detached Francis Bezerra with one hundred and eighty men, well armed, to penetrate into the province of Zener. This officer landed on the coast of Uraba, with instructions to put to the sword whom he should find in that province. Here he underwent numberless hardships, and sustained great losses from the poisoned arrows which the Indians shot from thickets and bushes. When he arrived on the banks of the river Zener, the inhabitants appeared disposed to cultivate peace, a circumstance which encouraged Bezerra to begin his passage over the river in canoes; but no sooner did the Indians observe that half the party was landed on the other side, than they rushed out of the thickets on both sides, fell upon the Spaniards with the utmost fury, and slaughtered them, without suffering a single man to escape to carry the news of the misfortune to Darien. The circumstances of this affair were afterwards related by an Indian boy, in the service of Bezerra, who hid himself in the woods, and travelled by night through byepaths, until he arrived at Darien, half-famished.

All this while Nunez continued unemployed at the settlement, to the great prejudice of the public service, and the discontent of the Spaniards, who knew the activity of his disposition, the generosity of his mind, and the prudence with which he conducted all his enterprizes. It was even expected that he would be recalled, in consequence of the bitter accusations sent by Arias to court, and instead of being rewarded for noble discoveries and eminent services, receive the same proof which the great Columbus had of the gratitude of the administration, by standing trial like a criminal. But, he and his friends were agreeably disappointed, when they found, upon the arrival of the first ship from Spain, that he was appointed adelentado, or lieutenant of the South Sea, and that Arias was strictly charged to assist and support him in his office. The truth

Balboa made lieutenant of the South Sea.

is, the court was diſpoſed to liſten to the calumnies of Arias, had they not been refuted by the undeniable teſtimony of other coloniſts, who had been eye-witneſſes of the many gallant actions performed by Nunez Balboa, whom they recommended in all their letters, as the only perſon capable of raiſing the ſettlement to the moſt flouriſhing condition. Arias was enraged at this honour conferred upon the man whom he conſidered as his implacable enemy, and, inſtead of paying any regard to his inſtructions, uſed every expedient to thwart the ſchemes, blaſt the reputation, and endanger the life of the adelentado. Inſtead of leaving the care of farther diſcoveries to Nunez, he ſent Gaſpar de Merates with ſixty men towards the South Sea, apparently with no other intention than to plunder the Indians, and incenſe them ſo much againſt the Spaniards, that all the adelentado's endeavours to re-unite them, and form alliances, ſhould be fruitleſs; conſequently his utmoſt diligence to eſtabliſh colonies, and make conqueſts acroſs the iſthmus, exerted to no purpoſe. Nunez had no remedy; the power of the governor was uncontroulable, and he was forced to vent his grief in letters to the court, charging Arias with having made all the Indian princes the inveterate enemies of Spain, by plundering and maſſacring the caziques with whom he, Balboa, had formed alliances and friendſhips before the arrival of the new governor.

Unfortunate expedition of Badajoz.

The misfortunes of Valejo, Guzman, and Bezerra, ſerved only to aggravate Arias, and render him more deſperate; while all thoſe under his government expected every moment to be deſtroyed by the Indians. The panic was ſo great at Darien, that the foundery was now ſhut up, and it was thought neceſſary to implore the protection of heaven by public prayers and faſting. Arias, alone, was undejected. He detached Badajoz in a ſhip, with one hundred and thirty men, to Nombre de Dios, with orders to croſs the iſthmus to the South Sea, reduce the country to obedience, and make war upon all the princes who ſhould refuſe ſubmiſſion to the court of Spain, as if the colony at Darien had been in the moſt flouriſhing ſituation, and able to ſupport the loſs of ſo many perſons, in caſe that expedition ſhould prove unfortunate. On their arrival at the fort built by Nicueſſa, the ſoldiers, terrified with the horrid ſpectacle of the bones of their countrymen who had been ſtarved to death, raiſed many difficulties about advancing; but Badajoz, with undaunted intrepidity, diſmiſſed the ſhip, and by cutting off all poſſibility of retreating, reduced them to the neceſſity of paying implicit obedience to his orders. He

then

then climbed up the steep mountains of Capira, and fell, by surprize, upon the cazique Tanonagua, whom he took prisoner, and here he gained a booty in gold to the amount of six thousand pieces of eight. Another neighbouring cazique, whose name was Tataracherabi, he likewise attacked; but although he had not the good fortune to seize his person, he obtained a prize of eight thousand castellanos. To this was added the ransom paid by Tanonagua for his liberty, which amounted to six thousand pieces of eight, and a present brought by Tataracherabi in gold, with a design to impose on the Spaniards, and engage them in a war with the powerful cazique Nata, whom he represented as extreme wealthy, but the sovereign only of a few subjects. The cazique's stratagem succeeded, and the vast flow of prosperity which had hitherto attended Badajoz's arms, was converted into an irresistible tide of misfortune. He was so fortunate, indeed, as to enter the town of this cazique in the night, and gain possession of his person, women, and treasures; but he found himself next morning surrounded by many thousand Indians, who poured in showers of darts and arrows, wounding a great number of the Spaniards. Perez de la Rua had the presence of mind, in this extremity, to threaten the cazique's life, unless he immediately ordered his subjects to lay down their arms, the affrighted Indian instantly complied, and they implicitly obeyed his commands. Several of the adjacent caziques submitted in consequence of Nata's misfortune, and Badajoz collected to the amount of eighty thousand castellanos in gold; but such a spirit of resentment was now raised among all the Indians, that the Spaniards found themselves obliged to rely entirely upon the force of arms, and their own valour, in a distant country, where they were surrounded upon every side by enemies. They had passed through the dominions of the cazique Cheru, and were entering those of Parrizao Pariba, whom the Spaniards called Paris, when a present in gold, amounting to fifty thousand castellanos, was sent by the cazique; which, instead of gratifying, only excited the avarice of the Spaniards. Badajoz imagined, that the prince who could made a present of so much value, certainly possessed vast treasures; he therefore laid a scheme for seizing his wealth, which terminated in his own destruction. Pretending that he would regard the cazique as his friend, he fell upon his town in the night, and collected in gold to the amount of forty thousand castellanos; but the cazique made his escape, laid a snare for the Spaniard, surrounded him, and reduced Badajoz to the necessity of cutting his way through crouds

of Indians, with the loſs of ſeventy men ſlain upon the field, beſides great numbers of wounded, few of whom recovered. Here commenced the misfortunes of this little party. In the trepidation of flight, Badajoz put the wounded into ſome canoes which he found by accident, and he himſelf marched along the ſhore with the reſt of the troops; but the tide riſing to a great height, the Spaniards were ſurrounded by the waters: ſome ſaved their lives by climbing trees, and great numbers periſhed. In this ſituation they were attacked by the cazique Nata, who determined to revenge his late diſgrace: his reſentment muſt have been fatal to the Spaniards, had not night ſeparared the combatants, and furniſhed Badajoz with the means of retreat, the ſound carrying off the wounded upon their ſhoulders to a place of ſecurity. What the Spaniards deemed their greateſt misfortune, even in this extremity, was the loſs of all the gold they had taken; but a new perplexity now aroſe. When they arrived upon the frontiers of the cazique Cheru, they found him in arms, ſupported by a numerous body of forces. He had drawn a line upon the ground, beyond which he prohibited the Spaniards from advancing on pain of his reſentment; but he promiſed to ſupply them with proviſion if they would retire, an alternative which Badajoz thought proper to accept, and then he was accommodated with the beſt of every thing that the country produced. Badajoz being thus refreſhed, paſſed over with a party of men to an iſland at ſome diſtance, which was celebrated for producing large pearls. There ſurpriſing the cazique, he obtained ſome gold for his ranſom, and then returned to his former quarters; he afterwards forced his way through the dominions of Tabor and Pireguetta Indian chiefs, who had threatened his deſtruction; and arrived at length in a wretched plight in the territories of Tubanama and Pocoroſa, where he met with the licentiate Eſpinoſa and his party, after having loſt near half his men, and all the wealth he had collected by dint of cruelty, treachery, and ingratitude (C).

That

(C) It may be proper to obſerve, that this year the great river La Plata was accidentally diſcovered. John Dioz de Solis, celebrated as one of the beſt navigators in the world, was appointed by the king to go with two ſhips in ſearch of a commodious paſſage to the Spice Iſlands. He ſailed on the 8th of October, and ſoon made Rio de Janeiro, on the coaſt of Braſil, ſteering along the ſhore until he arrived at la Plata, which he took to be a ſea of freſh water, on account of the vaſt breadth of the mouth of the river. He went on ſhore to obſerve

That the reader may not be at a loſs to know in what manner the licentiate Eſpinoſa came into the territories of the above cazique, we muſt obſerve, that upon the intelligence brought by the Indian boy, of Bezerra's misfortune, Peter Arias determined to revenge his people, and redeem thoſe who might have eſcaped the fury of the Indians; but ſenſible of the famine that prevailed in the colony, and the horror with which the Spaniards entertained all thoughts of entering Uraba, a country ſo fatal to many of their countrymen, he fell upon a ſtratagem to rouſe their courage, and animate them to another expedition. He pretended to declare war againſt the cazique Pocoroſa, a meaſure in which the colony readily acquieſced, imagining it would produce great wealth with little danger; and three hundred able-bodied men offered their ſervice to attend him on this enterprize. Theſe he put on board ſome veſſels, and ſailing weſtward to deceive his people till night, he then ordered the pilots to tack about, and hold their courſe for Uraba. Before day he ordered Hurtado to land with two hundred men at Caribana, after having in a ſtern manner declared, that no man ſhould inquire whither he was going, but implicitly obey the orders of his ſuperior officer. The town was attacked, and ſet on fire, and the Indians, who run out ſcorched, and half burnt, fell into the hands of the Spaniards, by whom they were put to the ſword. Thoſe however who eſcaped aſſembled in a body, and being joined by a great many from the adjacent country, handled their bows with ſo much dexterity, and let fly ſuch ſhowers of poiſoned arrows, that the Spaniards were forced to retreat precipitately to their ſhips, carrying with them ſome priſoners, who confirmed the boy's relation of the melancholy fate of Bezerra. Arias perceiving that his men were quite diſheartened, ſtood out to ſea, and after a voyage of ſixty leagues, landed at Acla, from whence he detached the licentiate Eſpinoſa to fall upon Pocoroſa. In the mean time he employed himſelf in erecting a fort at Acla, that the Spaniards might have a place of retreat, which he had ſcarce finiſhed when the bad ſtate of his health obliged him to return to Darien, leaving the command at Acla, to captain Gabriel de Rojas.

About this time he received a letter from the licentiate, ſoliciting a reinforcement of men, to enable him to revenge A.D. 1516. *Eſpinoſa's expedition.*

obſerve the inhabitants, fell into an ambuſcade, and was ſlain; upon which the ſhip returned to Spain, with a cargo of Braſil wood (1).

(1) Herrer. dec. ii. lib. ii.

the cauſe of Badajoz, puniſh the Indians who had ſhewn their enmity to the Spaniards, and recover the vaſt treaſures that were loſt in this unhappy expedition. Arias approved of the reſolution, and detached Valenzuela with one hundred and thirty men, to ſupport the licentiate, who was ambitious to demonſtrate that learning and education ſharpen the edge of valour, and unite conduct with courage. With this reinforcement he began his march againſt the Indians of Cemagre and Pocoroſa, who were aſſembled to the number of three thouſand men, to oppoſe his progreſs; but they no ſooner beheld the Spaniſh horſes than they fled in a panic, and were purſued by the large dogs, which mangled them in a ſhocking manner. Upon this advantage the licentiate marched to Cheru; and the better to ſurprize Nata, fell upon his town in the night; however, the cazique eſcaping, collected a body of Indians, and attacked the Spaniards with great ſpirit and reſolution, until the appearance of the few horſe under Eſpinoſa broke their courage, and made them take to their heels. At length, Nata perceiving that reſiſtance would be fruitleſs, came and made his ſubmiſſion, while the licentiate ſent Hurtado to ſeize the cazique Eſcolia, a ſervice which he performed. Having now ſecured a retreat, he advanced to the territories of Paris, who attacked him at the head of five thouſand men, with great obſtinacy, until the ſight of the horſes and dogs ſpread terror among the Indians, and obliged them to ſeek refuge in flight from thoſe animals, which they beheld with conſternation. Advancing to the country of the cazique Quenca, where he was told the gold taken from Badajoz was depoſited, he found the Indians in arms; but ſoothing them with aſſurances of friendſhip, he not only recovered eighty thouſand caſtellanos, but eſtabliſhed peace with the cazique; he afterwards went in queſt of the remainder of the treaſure to the province of the cazique Chicacotia, where he reſided during the rainy ſeaſon, though he was not ſo fortunate as to find the gold, the chief object of the expedition.

During the whole winter the Indian nations had been taking meaſures for revenging themſelves on the Spaniards, and entirely extirpating this deteſted race of mercenary foreigners. Juſt before Eſpinoſa was ready to begin his march, they aſſembled to the number of twenty thouſand men, attacked his quarters, and fought with more than uſual valour and conduct; but the Spaniards, who were now accuſtomed to the Indian manner of fighting, relieved each other ſo ſeaſonably, diſcharged their fire-arms and croſs-bows with ſo much regularity, plyed their ſwords ſo dexterouſly,

terously, and covered themselves from the arrows of the enemy, with such address, by their targets, that after an obstinate battle the Indians were defeated with great slaughter, and pursued in their flight by two hundred confederate Indians, who fought resolutely under the protection of the Spaniards; a proof of the manifold advantages which must have resulted from Balboa's measures, had they been duly prosecuted by the new governor. The licentiate having thus defeated all the schemes of the Indians, set out for Nata on the 9th of July, and proceeding to the territories of the cazique Escotia, detached Valenzuela to the province of Guerari, in search of proper materials for building canoes. In this country his men suffered greatly by famine, which obliged him to hasten his return to Acla, where he arrived, after a tedious march, and from thence proceeded to Darien. Here a division was made of the booty, which so enriched the colonists, that dissipation succeeded, and gaming arose to so great a pitch as to render a law necessary, that no man should hazard above ten pieces of eight within the space of twenty-four hours; for besides gold, Espinosa brought back two thousand prisoners, who were ransomed.

In the course of this expedition Bartholomew Hurtado and Hernandez Ponce, who were detached from the main body, proceeded to the northward, and discovered several islands, and a long range of the southern coast, as far as the bay of Osa, ninety leagues from Nata. Here a nation, called Chiuchires, opposing their landing, they were obliged to run fifty leagues down the coast, quite to the bay of St. Lucar, now the port of Nicaya, in the province of Nicaragua. The country was pleasant and fruitful; but finding that the Indians were little disposed to cultivate an intercourse, they returned to join Espinosa, who detached Hernandez Ponce to settle a kind of colony at Panama, on the side of the isthmus of Darien, opposite to Porto Bello.

Balboa's scheme for building ships in the South Sea.

While Espinosa was thus employed, Nunez de Balboa, to whom the colony owed the greatest obligations, remained not only unemployed, but was detained as a kind of prisoner by the governor Arias d' Avila, notwithstanding the instructions of the court, and the commission of adelentado, or lieutenant, with which he had been lately honoured. At last a reconciliation was effected, through the mediation of the bishop John de Quevedo, who had conceived the highest opinion of Balboa's merit; and to insure their friendship, by the strictest ties, the adelentado married the governor's daughter by proxy; for the young lady was at that time in Spain.

Spain. He now roſe in the governor's favour, and was ſoon appointed to ſettle a colony at the port of Acla, where Arias had built a fort, and left a garriſon under the care of Gabriel de Rojas. Balboa accordingly ſet out with eighty men, who voluntarily offered their ſervice, and arrived ſafe at Acla, where he made civil regulations, appointing regidores and other magiſtrates; he likewiſe laid out a town, and took all the neceſſary meaſures for executing his inſtructions to build brigantines on the South Sea, in order to purſue the diſcoveries which he had ſo happily began. The deſign was to prepare the timbers at Acla, which were to be carried over by land to the river de la Balſos, where the brigantines were to be built. To forward the project, Nunez procured a reinforcement of two hundred men from his father-in-law; and the timber being cut down, was carried with great labour to the place appointed, to the aſtoniſhment of all men, who believed the ſcheme was impracticable, becauſe there were at that time no beaſts of burden in the country. Balboa then divided his men into three parties, one to bring proviſions, the other to build the veſſels, and the third to tranſport the iron work, rigging, and other materials from Acla. Every thing went on with alacrity, but fortune was not propitious. All the pains he had beſtowed were loſt, worms having deſtroyed all the timber, an incident which obliged Nunez to begin his labour afreſh. He ſet about it without deſponding, and had almoſt completed his work, when a flood of the river carried the veſſels off the ſtocks, and buried them, together with the timber and other materials, in heaps of mud and ſand. All his conſtancy now forſook Nunez, and he began to ſink under diſappointment, and the preſſure of famine, when one Franciſco Compagnon offered to croſs the river upon floats in queſt of proviſion, the party allotted for this purpoſe having failed in their endeavours. Compagnon did all that induſtry, perſeverance, and courage, would execute, but he was unſucceſsful; and Nunez was reduced to the neceſſity of returning to Acla, after he had for ſome weeks ſubſiſted entirely upon roots and herbs picked up at random, and eat without any knowlege of their qualities. Here he was joined by the diligent Compagnon, who at length ſurmounted all obſtructions, and came attended by a great number of Indians loaded with proviſion, which encouraged Balboa to reſume his project of building ſhips. The timber was prepared at Acla, and tranſported as before to the river de la Balſos, where, at laſt, the veſſels were finiſhed, and launched, with incredible labour, after the workmen had combated all the difficulties

which

which fatigue, famine, and the inconvenient ſituation could throw in their way. He immediately embarked with as many men as the two brigantines could carry, and ſailing to the largeſt pearl iſland, employed himſelf in forming magazines, while the veſſels were employed in tranſporting the remainder of his party. While he ſtaid here he is reported to have received a letter from the archbiſhop of Seville, congratulating him on the diſcovery of the South Sea, and aſſuring him, that, if he followed the land to the weſtward, he would meet with warlike nations, who fought in armour, and uſed ſpears; but that if he ſteered eaſtward, the country would be found to produce much gold and cattle. This intimation is ſaid to have induced Nunez to coaſt along to the eaſtward, in which expedition he landed in ſeveral places, and took ſome priſoners, who told him that if he advanced he would find great abundance of the precious metal. Beyond Cape St. Michael, the ſailors obſerved a great number of whales, which prevented his going aſhore at Port Pinas, as he intended; but, proceeding to the territories of the cazique Chicama, he diſembarked his men to revenge the party under Gaſper Morales, who had been ſlaughtered in that country. The natives advanced to oppoſe the landing; but they were ſoon obliged to give way before the Spaniſh ſwords and muſquetry, then returning to the iſland which he had lately quitted, he ordered timber to be cut down for building two other veſſels, ſent for more pitch and cordage to Acla, and charged the meſſenger to get certain information whether Lopez de Soſa had been actually appointed governor of Darien, as was reported.

His reſolution to build two more brigantines, for a new expedition, occaſioned ſome ſuſpicion that Nunez deſigned to render himſelf independent on his father-in-law Arias d' Avila; and this ſuſpicion was propagated, until it at length reached the ears of that gentleman, who gave eaſy credit to the report, becauſe he was ſenſible of having injured Nunez. He is likewiſe ſaid to have received a letter from one Garabeto, a ſoldier, who overheard ſome expreſſions dropped by Nunez, which he miſunderſtood, or deſignedly miſinterpreted, with a view of gaining the governor's confidence. However this may be, it is certain that the animoſity between the father and ſon-in-law broke out with more violence than ever, though Arias artfully concealed his ſentiments until he got Nunez in his power, an aim which he effected by writing him a friendly letter, as if he was deſirous of conſulting him upon ſome affair of importance. Balboa was then deeply engaged in fitting out his little

little squadron; but he immediately laid aside his employment to obey the orders of his superior, set out for Darien, without suspicion, was imprisoned, tried, condemned, and beheaded, all in the space of a few days; for which act of inhuman tyranny Arias was never brought to any account: on the contrary, he was continued in the government, notwithstanding the proofs of his misconduct, and the signal services of the person whose blood he had so wantonly shed.

A.D. 1517.

Expedition of Cordova to Yucatan and Florida.

Previous to this melancholy event, the scarcity which prevailed at Darien, had occasioned an edict from the governor, declaring all persons who were desirous of pushing their fortune in other parts of the world, at liberty to depart. In consequence of this declaration, a hundred persons, above the vulgar rank, embarked for Cuba, where the new colony was reported to live extremely happy under the government of Velasquez. They were well received by that governor, who, soon after their arrival, proposed to them a plan of going upon discoveries towards new countries, lying upon each side of the entrance to the gulf of Mexico, of which the Spaniards at that time had scarce any knowlege. The proposal was embraced: Hernandez de Cordova, celebrated for his wealth, valour, and public spirit, offered to command the expedition, for which he fitted out two vessels, with all the necessary stores, at his own expence, and set sail from the Havannah, with one hundred and ten able bodied volunteers, on the 8th day of February. On the first of March they saw land, and descried a large town, about two leagues from the ocean. When they approached nearer the shore, two canoes full of men came on board, and were civilly received. The Indians were dressed in short cotton jackets without sleeves, which convinced the Spaniards, that they had made some little progress in the arts; though it was apparent that the dress, arms, ships, and beards of the Europeans were great novelties. Next day, the cazique, with twelve canoes, well manned, approached the ships, crying out Conez Cotoche, *come to my house*; whence the Spaniards gave the name Cotoche to this cape, which lies opposite to, and at no great distance from the western extremity of the island of Cuba. So pressing was the cazique in his instances, and such was the shew of friendship made by the Indians, that Cordova yielded to their intreaties, went on shore, and was surrounded by an army of Indians that poured out of a neighbouring wood. They were cased in armour of quilted cotton, armed with targets, wooden swords having flint edges, spears, slings, and bows, and adorned

adorned with plumes of feathers and a kind of paint, with which they coloured their faces. They began the attack with terrible ſhrieks and howling, to which they joined the diſcordant ſounds of divers inſtruments, and diſcharged a vaſt ſhower of darts and arrows. Cordova's men did not exceed twenty-five; but they made ſo brave a defence, and plied their fire-arms with ſo much dexterity, that the Indians, affrighted at the ſuppoſed thunder, were defeated, leaving ſeventeen dead, and ſeveral wounded, on the field of battle. Two of the priſoners afterwards became proſelytes to the Chriſtian faith, and were baptized by the names of Julian and Melchior. Near the field the Spaniards diſcovered three temples, built with ſtone and mortar, in which they found earthen idols and images of hideous aſpect. There were alſo pictures of women, and men in laſcivious poſtures, and ſmall idols made of wood, with plates, ornaments, and diadems of gold.

From this country Cordova proceeded to the bay of Campeche, called Quampech by the natives, where he watered. When the Spaniards were returning to their ſhips, fifty Indians, clothed in jackets, over which they wore long cotton mantles, interrogated them by ſigns, whether they came from the eaſtward, and what they wanted, inviting them to their town, at a little diſtance. The Spaniards, in compliance with this invitation viſited their town, where they entered ſome temples, which they found decorated with idols of exceeding deformity. Theſe were ſtained with blood freſh ſhed, as was ſuppoſed, from human victims, and filled with croſſes and other emblems of the Roman catholic faith, which occaſioned great aſtoniſhment. The people flocked round them in crowds, beheld the ſtrangers with ſigns of wonder, and often ſmiled, as if in admiration of the ſimplicity and uncouth appearance of the Spaniards. From the temples iſſued ten prieſts, covered with long white mantles, reſembling ſurplices, with long black hair plaited up, having in their hands little earthen fire-pans, upon which they burn gum copal, and perfumed the Spaniards, bidding them leave that country, if they valued their lives. They had no ſooner given this warning, than they ſounded their warlike inſtruments, which the Spaniards taking for a ſignal for the Indians to aſſemble, retreated to their ſhips, whither they were purſued by a few detached parties.

Having ſailed ſix days along the coaſt, the great ſcarcity of water obliged Cordova to put aſhore in a bay about a league diſtant from a town called Potonchau, where the Spaniards obſerved temples built with ſtone and lime, in the ſame

same manner as the former. Then they were accosted by several armed men, who having asked divers questions, went back to their houses, and soon returned with greater numbers, who began to attack the Spaniards with great fury: to attempt a retreat was dangerous, and nothing remained but the utmost exertion of their courage to oppose such a multitude of Indians. The whole night was spent in skirmishing; and in the morning Cordova perceived that he was surrounded by enemies, who were continually increasing, and pouring in showers of stones, darts, and arrows. Near eighty of his men were already wounded; and though they plied their fire-arms and swords with the greatest vigour and address, they run the utmost risk of being overwhelmed in the torrent of Indians that rushed upon them from all quarters. The general cry was Colachini! or *leader*; meaning that they should take aim at Cordova; which they did so effectually as to wound him in twelve different places; upon which he determined at all events to regain the shipping. He accordingly broke through the enemy with desperate resolution, got on board the boats, which were ready to sink with their numbers; the Indians pursuing with loud cries, and running into the water to wound the Spaniards with their spears. In this action Cordova had forty-seven men killed on the spot, and five more died of their wounds on board, a loss which occasioned his giving this bay the name of de Mala Pelea, on account of the unfortunate issue of the engagement with the Indians. Hence he steered for the coast of Florida, the crew almost perishing with thirst, and upon his landing to water, was attacked by Indians greatly resembling those of Yucatan, from whom he extricated himself with difficulty, and sailed to the Havannah, then called Port Carenas, without having made any acquisition of gold, or indeed any discoveries with respect to the native commodities of Yucatan and Florida, though the voyage was greatly celebrated on account of the earthen and wooden idols, the golden plates, the diadems, the manners, and the arms of the inhabitants, all which convinced the Spaniards that important consequences might result from this unfortunate enterprize (D).

Cordova

(D) A Spanish writer, who was upon this expedition, acquaints us, that the name Yucatan comes from *yuca*, of the root of which the Indians make cazabi bread, and *ilutly*, signifying the land where the Yuca grows; which was the constant answer made by the natives, when the Spaniards enquired after the root. Hence he deduces the compound Yucotta;

Cordova died of the wounds he received from the Indians a few days after his return to Cuba; but the account of the expedition, which he drew up on his death-bed, and transmitted to Velasquez, determined that gentleman to prosecute the discovery; for which purpose he equipped three ships and a brigantine, manned with two hundred and fifty volunteers, and appointed John de Grijalva to command in chief, assisted by Alaminos, who had been a principal pilot in Cordova's expedition. Grijalva's instructions were to barter for gold, contract alliances, gain the best account possible of the country, and some writers add, to settle a colony, if he could with convenience, though las Casas denies this last circumstance. The squadron sailed from St. Jago on the 8th of April, and in a few days fell in with the island of Cozumel, where the Spaniards saw a town, several temples built of stone, and one in particular, in form of a square tower, with windows, galleries, idols, and a large cross erected in the middle; concerning which Herrera relates a prophecy that has all the appearance of being fabulous. As the natives had fled to the mountains, and all endeavours to establish an intercourse with them proved fruitless, Grijalva reimbarked, and kept on his course along the coast, astonished at the great number of white towers, handsomely built of stone, which he saw upon the island and continent. It was this circumstance that occasioned his bestowing the appellation of New Spain upon the province of Yucatan, which was afterwards extended to all Mexico, and indeed the greater part of the Spanish dominions upon that side the equator. After eight days sail, Grijalva landed at some distance from the capital of Pontonchon's dominions; a cazique subject to the emperor of Mexico. The Indians opposing the disembarkation, an engagement ensued, in which Grijalva, with sixty Spaniards were wounded, and three killed, though the Indians were in the issue defeated, with the loss of two hundred men; in consequence of which victory he took possession of the town, which had been deserted by all the inhabitants. A.D. 1518.

He then proceeded to the river Tabasco, to which he gave the name of Rio de Grijalva, and landed with a few followers; but the Indians soon surrounded the boats with fifty canoes filled with armed men, adorned with plumes of

cotta; and by corruption Yucatan(1) Other etymologists(2) derive the name from an Indian town called Talaquitan, which the Spaniards pronounced Lucatan; whence comes Yucatan.

(1) Deuz. de Castello, p. 41. (2) Herrer. dec. ii. lib. i. c. 3.

feathers.

feathers. Grijalva, unwilling to come to blows, ſent the two Indians who had been taken by Cordova, and baptized by the names of Melchior and Julian, to acquaint the Tabaſcans, that his deſire was to eſtabliſh a friendly intercourſe with them, that they might prove mutually beneficial. This propoſal produced a parley, which was ſoon improved into a ſolid peace, by means of the beads, glaſſes, and other toys, preſented by the Spaniards, and conveyed by the Indians to their cazique, who ordered all manner of proviſion to be ſent to the ſtrangers. Next day he viſited Grijalva in perſon, and without heſitation went on board his ſhip, giving him as a preſent a complete ſuit of gold armour, a wooden helmet plated with gold, ſtudded with ſtones, reſembling emeralds, and beautifully wrought, ſeveral breaſt-plates, ſome of ſolid gold, and others of wood, plaited thinly with gold, coverings for targets of ſolid gold, ſix collars of beaten gold, bracelets, ear-rings, and pendants of the ſame, all of great value; which preſent Grijalva acknowleged by dreſſing the cazique in a ſuit of fine linen, a coat of crimſon velvet, a cap of the ſame materials, beads and glaſſes of different colours, ſciſſars, knives, and other trinkets, which the cazique prized above all the gold in Motezuma's empire (E); for he was a ſubject of that great monarch, as will appear in the ſequel. What moſt aſtoniſhed the Spaniards was the ingenious workmanſhip of the gold ornaments, and particularly of a ſhield, covered with feathers of beautiful colours, elegantly diſpoſed; which diſplayed both taſte and a progreſs in the fine arts. Many were diſpoſed to remain in a country that exhibited ſuch proofs of wealth and liberality in the inhabitants; but it was apparent, notwithſtanding the cazique's civility, that he was not at all inclined to favour the ſettlement of a colony; a diſcovery which determined Grijalva to embark, as he found the people were too powerful to admit of any attempts to eſtabliſh himſelf by violence. As he ſailed along the ſhore, the Indians were ſeen on the coaſt in a warlike poſture, with ſhields of tortoiſe-ſhell, which by the reflection of the ſun's beams made a brilliant and martial appearance. The country ſeemed to be extremely populous,

(E) Antonio de Solis cenſures Herrara for giving credit to this account of Gomara, an author whom he rejects upon other occaſions; yet we muſt confeſs we ſee nothing improbable in the relation, if we ſuppoſe that Montezuma had given orders to the governors to receive the Spaniards civilly; a conjecture corroborated by the opinion, that all the gold had been ſent from the city Mexico, as Yucatan produced none of the precious metal. Lib. i. cap. vi.

quite

quite to the river Guazacoalca, and in many places the natives held up flags of cotton, upon long poles, as ſignals to the Spaniards to land. This appearance at laſt tempted Grijalva to ſend Franciſco de Montejo aſhore, at the head of twenty ſoldiers, all the croſs-bow men and muſqueteers, with orders that if he found the Indians in a hoſtile diſpoſition, he ſhould give immediate notice to the ſhipping. It was afterwards found that an account had been ſent to Montezuma, and the court of Mexico, of the deſcent made by Cordova, of the actions at Cotoche and Potouchan, and of Grijalva's touching upon the coaſt; and that the emperor perceiving the Spaniards only wanted gold, had iſſued orders to his ſubjects to commence an intercourſe with them, and penetrate into their ultimate deſigns. When Montejo approached the Indians, they offered him fowls, fiſh, bread, and fruits, of different kinds, and perfumed him with the ſmoke of copal. Theſe civilities induced Grijalva to draw up cloſer with the ſhips, and land in perſon, attended by ſeveral Spaniards, who were curious to enquire into the manners of the people, and full of expectation of ſharing in the preſents of thoſe ſavages, who appeared to be equally wealthy and generous Grijalva no ſooner landed, than he was met by the governors, and received with the moſt profound reſpect. An exchange and traffic began, which, in the ſpace of ſix days, brought the Spaniards fifteen thouſand pieces of eight; profits that by no means correſponded with the extravagant hopes of the ſailors.

Grijalva continuing his voyage, met with ſeveral iſlands, to which he gave names from their ſeveral appearances. One he called Iſla Blanca; another la Verde; and another he denominated the Iſland of Sacrifices, becauſe he found that human victims had juſt been immolated at the ſhrines of certain idols, juſt before his arrival. Touching at St. Juan d'Uloa, he marched up with thirty men, to a temple filled with idols, where he found four prieſts clad in long black ſtoles with hoods, who had juſt done ſacrificing two boys, agreeable to their impious and inhuman ſuperſtition. The Spaniards were moved with horror and compaſſion upon ſight of the children, whoſe bodies having been ript open, the hearts were taken out, and offered at the altars of their falſe divinities. It was from this place that Grijalva diſpatched intelligence of his diſcoveries to the governor of Cuba, who was exceedingly incenſed that he had not founded a colony, notwithſtanding his inſtructions were expreſs, that he ſhould only trade, and make diſcoveries, if we may credit Herrera. A ſettlement had actually been propoſed by

Grijalva, and debated in council, but over-ruled by Montejo and Alonzo d'Avila, who were of opinion that a miſcarriage might prove fatal to them, as all attemps to build houſes and make ſettlements were contrary to their expreſs orders; an opinion which determined Grijalva to return to Cuba, after he had viſited the coaſts of divers Mexican provinces, before undiſcovered, and traded to a conſiderable value with the natives.

Pedro de Alvarado was the perſon ſent by Grijalva, with an account of the ſucceſs of the expedition to Velaſquez, who was tranſported at the ſight of the gold, and elated with diſcoveries upon which he hoped to build his fortune, and raiſe himſelf to independence on the admiral, Don James Columbus, called in Spaniſh Diego de Colon, his ſuperior in command. A rivalſhip had long ſubſiſted between theſe two gentlemen, which was the means of inſpiring Velaſquez with the firſt notion of Grijalva's enterprize, and now confirmed him in the reſolution of proſecuting diſcoveries which in all probability would raiſe his fortune and reputation above all competition. He was extremely offended that Grijalva, had not eſtabliſhed a colony in a country where he was ſo well received, without reflecting that Grijalva, in this particular, obeyed his orders, contrary to his own opinion. Before the return of this commander, he had begun to make preparations for another expedition, and already communicated his intention to the clergy of Hiſpaniola, in order to ſanctify it by their approbation, reſolving the direction ſhould be committed to a perſon of courage, diſtinction, and ability; but withal ſo obedient and pliable, as to entertain no other ambition than that of promoting the glory and intereſt of his benefactor and ſuperior. When Grijalva returned, the voice of the people recommended him to this truſt; but Valeſquez was ſtrongly prejudiced, though he could not be inſenſible to his merit, when he peruſed the written account delivered by that officer of his expedition, and heard his modeſt defence: however, though he determined not to beſtow the command on Grijalva, it was difficult to fix his choice amidſt the number of deſerving competitors. Antonio and Bernardino Valeſquez, both nearly allied to the governor, Balthazar Bermudez and Vaſco Porcallo, with other gentlemen of unexceptionable character, were all ambitious of conducting an enterprize which opened the proſpect of a fruitful harveſt in glory and riches; when at length Valeſquez was influenced by the inſinuations of his favourite Amador de Loris, the king's treaſurer, and the intimate friend of Hernand Cortez. This celebrated adventurer was popular, generous,

nerous, liberal, and intrepid: he now acted in the capacity of alcalde, had acquired a considerable fortune, and given proofs of his merit; but as he had formerly been at variance with the governor, nothing less than the powerful arguments of de Loris, and Valesquez's extreme anxiety about the issue of the enterprize, could triumph over the strong opposition made by the other candidates. In the end every difficulty giving way, Cortez was nominated to the command; and he prosecuted his preparations with so much vigour, that, in a few days after he received the command, he was ready to set sail upon the expedition.

SECT. III.

Cortez sails from Cuba, touches at Cozumel, arrives in Mexico, and performs a Variety of Exploits.

Account of Cortez.

HERNAN, Hernando, or Ferdinand Cortez, was a native of Medillin, a town of Estremadura, in Spain, the son of Martin Cortez, of Monroy, and donna Catalina Pizarro Altamarino; names which sufficiently bespeak the nobility of his parentage, at least by the mother. He was bred a scholar, and had spent two years at Salamanca; but a studious life not suiting his lively and active genius, he obtained his father's permission to engage in the service of his country, and learn the rudiments of the military art under the celebrated Gonzalvo de Cordova, who was then at the head of a Spanish army in Italy; but a dangerous illness which seized him just on the point of embarkation, frustrated this design, and turned his views towards the West Indies, where the Spaniards were reaping a plentiful harvest of wealth and glory. In the year 1504 he arrived at Hispaniola, in the nineteenth year of his age, and was particularly distinguished by Obando the governor, to whom he had been strongly recommended. After having gained the general esteem of the colony, he attended Valesquez, in quality of secretary, to the island of Cuba, where he soon acquired the reputation of a sound politician, an able commander, a brave soldier, a generous friend, and an agreeable companion. De Solis acquaints us, that his person was pleasing, his countenance engaging, his temper amiable, and his conversation entertaining; qualities which first attracted the notice, and engaged the affections of donna Catharina Suarez Pacheco. His engagements with this noble lady involved Cortez in many difficulties, and produced an altercation with Valesquez, which had almost

proved fatal to his life; though he afterwards recovered the governor's favour. When all differences were accommodated, Valesquez not only gave away the bride, but bestowed lands upon Cortez, and distinguished him by
A.D.1518. raising him to the office of alcalde of St. Jago, an employment usually conferred upon such as had exhibited incontestible proofs of merit. In these circumstances were our hero, when he was appointed to conduct the expedition to Yucatan and the coast of Mexico, by the title of captain-general of the fleet, and of the countries already discovered, or that should henceforward be conquered under his auspices. Sensibly affected with this mark of the governor's confidence, he received the charge with great expressions of respect and acknowlegement; though Herrera dates his ambition and ingratitude to his benefactor from this period (A). The preference shewn to Cortez disgusted all his competitors, and they seized every opportunity of raising scruples and exciting jealousies in the mind of the governor. They reminded Valesquez of the early proofs of ambition and ingratitude which Cortez had exhibited; they ripped up all the sores occasioned by their ancient animosity, and put the most invidious gloss on all the actions of this object of their malignity. They accused Cortez of the meanest hypocrisy, the most daring and presumptuous ambition; even in his courtesy and liberality they discovered an artifice, which they alleged was but too obvious to all who were not deceived by the affected semblance of virtue. In a word, they insisted that Cortez had not effaced the chagrin of his former sufferings and imprisonment; and they exhorted Valesquez to consider this circumstance maturely before it might be too late to repair an error that might prove fatal to his honour and to his life, as well as to the public service, and the interests of religion and his country. At first Valesquez received these remonstrances as the effusions of malice and disappointed ambition. He assisted

(A) The relations of Herrera and de Solis are extremely contradictory in this, and a variety of other particulars, although they appear to have consulted the same authorities. The former under the appearance of the strictest impartiality, taxes Cortez with the basest ingratitude; asserting that he threw off his obedience before Valesques entertained any suspicion of his fidelity, or the least notion of superseding him in the command (1); whereas de Solis, the admirer of Cortez, and indeed his panegyrist, vindicates the reputation of his hero, and throws the whole blame on Valesquez, in the manner recited in the text: at this distance of time we cannot pretend to ascertain the exact truth of those opposite asseverations.

(1) Herrara, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. 2.

Cortez

Cortez in his preparations, and took leave of him in the moſt friendly manner when he was ready to depart from St. Jago. This, at leaſt, is the relation given by Antonio de Solis; although Herrera, and other Spaniſh writers, affirm, that Cortez ſtole away privately in the night, upon ſome intimation that the governor intended to recall his commiſſion; and that upon Velaſquez's purſuing him in the morning, he manned a boat, met the governor in a poſture of defiance, and acquainted him in the moſt diſreſpectful manner, that he would pay no farther regard to his orders [b].

Cortez ſails from St. Jago.

On the 18th day of November the fleet ſailed from St. Jago; and arrived in a few days at the port of La Trinidad; where Cortez no ſooner publiſhed the deſign of the expedition than he was reinforced by a great number of volunteers, many of them perſons of the beſt faſhion on the iſland. He engaged ſo many adventurers to ſhare in his fortune by his obliging behaviour, that his diſappointed rivals found it no difficult matter to ſucceed in their deſign of ruining him with Valeſquez. The opportunity was favourable, and they preſſed their inſtances with ſo ſpecious an appearance of diſintereſtedneſs, that the governor at length yielded to their perſuaſion, and ſent two couriers, with letters to all his confidants, and expreſs orders to Franciſco Verdugo, chief alcalde of La Trinidad, to proſecute Cortez in a judicial way, and deprive him of the command. Cortez having received intelligence of what was tranſacting, aſſembled his friends and ſoldiers, informed them of the machinations of his enemies; he then deſired their advice in what manner he ſhould proceed, and to know how far he might depend upon the juſtice of his cauſe by the judgment they ſhould paſs on his conduct. There needed nothing more to engage the ſoldiers to make proteſtations of eternal attachment to his perſon and fortune. He found them united in his intereſt, and determined to defend him againſt ſo groſs an injury, even at the hazard of taking arms, and coming to an open rupture with the governor; upon which he viſited the alcalde, informed him of the danger to which he ſhould expoſe himſelf by obeying orders ſo iniquitous, and diſguſting to many perſons of diſtinction, who had engaged in the expedition. He already found it difficult, he ſaid, to reſtrain their fury within the bounds of obedience; and he could not be anſwerable for the conſequence, ſhould the alcalde proceed to the execution of the governor's orders. Verdugo was a perſon of ſenſe and candor; he was

The governor orders him to be diſpoſſeſſed of the command.

[b] De Solis, lib. i. cap. 10. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. 2.

The governor's orders diſobeyed.

ſenſible of the merit of Cortez, of the danger which would attend any attempts to ſuperſede him, and of the detriment which the public would ſuſtain from the diviſions which muſt infallibly enſue. He told him therefore, that he would not only ſuſpend the execution of his orders, but uſe his utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade Velaſquez from his reſolution, in which he was joined by all the other gentlemen in the town and fleet, who had any influence with the governor. All of them wrote to Velaſquez, and Cortez accompanied their remonſtrances with a letter from himſelf, complaining in the gentleſt terms, of the governor's diſtruſt, of the confidence he repoſed in his enemies, and the facility with which he liſtened to the calumnies raiſed by diſappointed ambition.

Cortez arrives at the Havannah.

Having taken all the meaſures which he thought neceſſary to his own ſecurity, he ſet ſail for the Havannah, but was ſeparated from the fleet in a ſtorm, and in great danger of being ſhipwrecked. All the other ſhips arriving at the place of rendezvous, and no account coming of Cortez for the ſpace of a week, the adventurers were divided in opinion, ſome regarding him as loſt, others adviſing that veſſels might be ſent in ſearch of him, and a few propoſing that a commander ſhould be appointed in his abſence. Of this laſt opinion was Diego de Ordaz, who, as the friend and confident of Velaſquez, thought he ſhould bid fair to be confirmed in this poſt if he were once nominated by the ſoldiers. In this project he was, however, diſappointed by the arrival of Cortez, who was received by the joyful acclamations of the ſoldiers, and the warmeſt teſtimonies of eſteem from Pedro de Barba, governor of the city. He ſet up his ſtandard, and was immediately joined by ſeveral gentlemen who had already approved their valour, a junction which gave great reputation to the expedition, and facilitated the equipment of the fleet. He ſent the artillery on ſhore to be cleaned and proved, gave orders for making a great number of cotton quilts, in the form of great coats, which were called eſcaupilles, as a defence againſt the arrows of the Indians, exerciſed his ſoldiers in the uſe of firearms and croſs-bows, taught them the ſeveral evolutions neceſſary in action, the method of advancing, retreating, forming into large and ſmall diviſions, charging; in a word, all the elements of the military art in the moſt conciſe method. Every thing was at laſt in great forwardneſs, and the day fixed for the departure of the fleet, when orders arrived to the governor of the Havannah to ſuperſede Cortez, and ſend him priſoner to St. Jago; but Velaſquez was no

A ſecond order for ſeizing and impriſoning him.

better

better obeyed on this than on the former occasion. Even the very courier, who had brought the order, gave Cortez notice, and he had informations from several quarters, that a design was on foot extremely injurious to his honour, and dangerous to his liberty. Cortez was highly incensed at this new attempt, because he thought he had given all reasonable security of his fidelity, and furnished no room for suspicion. Convinced of the implacable resentment of his enemies, he now began with less temper to think of providing for himself, and throwing off all obedience to the governor. When he reflected upon the indignities he had sustained, he blamed his own patience, and believed that the virtue of obedience might be carried to a criminal excess, as if arising from pusillanimity. This consideration determined him to come to an open rupture with Velasquez, from whom he had nothing to fear, as he was certain of the affections of his soldiers under his command. His first step was to remove from the Havannah Diego de Ordaz, whose fidelity and attachment he had reason to suspect ever since he had proposed himself as commander of the expedition. He then harrangued the soldiers, acquainting them with the new persecution to which he was exposed by the virulence of his enemies; upon which they made the same declarations as before, and became so tumultuous, that it was with difficulty he could prevent their flying to arms; nor could all his endeavours silence their clamorous zeal until Pedro Barba protested publicly, that he would not execute the orders of Velasquez, nor have any share in so flagrant an act of injustice and oppression; by which declaration the soldiers were immediately appeased, and their menaces converted into joyful acclamations. Barba accordingly excused himself to Velasquez for not interposing in an affair of such delicate consequence, remonstrating upon the impropriety of any attempts against an officer so beloved by his people; and representing, in the strongest terms, the commotions excited among the soldiers by the report of the injury intended to their commander.

He throws off his allegiance to the governor.

This difficulty being surmounted, Cortez divided his men into eleven companies, to be embarked one in each vessel, appointing captains to each, reserving to himself the command of the largest ship, the Capitana, bestowing the chief direction of the artillery on Francisco de Orosco, a soldier who had distinguished himself in Italy; and appointed for his chief pilot Antonio de Alaminos, the same person who had accompanied Cordova and Grijalva to the coast of Mexico, in the expeditions we have recited in the last section. He next drew up instructions for all his officers, in which

he provided against contingencies with such admirably sagacity, as stamped an impression of his prudence on the minds of his soldiers, and afforded a happy presage of the
A.D.1519. success of the expedition. On the 10th day of February he sailed from the Havannah, and was soon overtaken in a storm; during which he displayed every quality of a vigilant able commander, and was the chief instrument in saving one of the ships which lost her rudder. The island of Cozumel was the place appointed for the rendezvous of the fleet in case of separation; and here Pedro d'Alvarado first arrived. This officer had been detached in search of Diego d'Ordaz, towards the north coast; but missing his course, he steered for Cozumel, and landed near a small town, which he remembered since the voyage he had performed with Grijalva. Finding it deserted by the Indians who had fled farther into the country, and imagining that inaction in a soldier was want of virtue, he marched with a party of his men to survey the country, and arrived at another town, which was likewise abandoned. This he pillaged, seizing upon all the provisions he could find, destroying the idols in a temple, and despoiling them of all their gold ornaments, and whatever came in his way that appeared to be valuable, without once recollecting that he was injuring the service, by terrifying the Indians, giving them bad impressions of the Spaniards, and frustrating the design of Cortez, which was never to use violence, where he could accomplish his aims by good usage and persuasion. With this booty, and a few prisoners, he returned to the place of disembarkation, where he was joined next day by Cortez and the fleet.

Cortez arrives at Cozumel.

Upon relating his conduct, he was publicly censured by the general, and the prisoners were dismissed, after they had been informed by the Indian interpreter Melchior, of whom we have before made mention, how disagreeable the injuries done them were to Cortez, and how contrary to the general intention of the expedition, which was to cultivate friendship, and form alliances, with all the Indian nations. All the booty taken by Alvarado's soldiers was likewise restored, and some presents were made to the captives, in hopes that their favourable report of the behaviour of the Spaniards, might produce an intercourse and traffick.

Cortez encamped three days on the coast, lest his advancing farther into the country might give fresh disturbance to the natives, before the relation of the captives could work the expected effect. This interval he employed in mustering his army, which he found amounted to five hundred and eight soldiers, sixteen horsemen, and a hundred

dred and nine mechanics, pilots, and mariners. After the review he made an animating ſpeech to his little army, which had all the effect he could have deſired. "I have no deſign (ſays he) to diminiſh the danger of our undertaking. We are to expect bloody engagements, incredible fatigues, and ſuch multitudes of enemies, as will require the full exertion of all your valour to encounter; but the glory of conqueſt will be the greater. You have been accuſtomed to fight, and to endure hardſhips in thoſe iſlands which you have already ſubdued: our preſent undertaking is of greater importance; we muſt purſue it with proportionable vigour, and ſquare our courage and reſolution to the difficulty of our enterprize. We are but few in number; but union multiplies armies, and in our agreement conſiſts our ſtrength. We muſt, my companions, be all of one mind to reſolve, and act as one hand to execute; our intereſts are the ſame, and the glory of conqueſt ſhall be equally diſtributed among the deſerving. The valour of each individual muſt eſtabliſh the ſecurity of all in general. I am your commander, and will be as ready to hazard my life as the meaneſt of my ſoldiers. Let it be your care to merit my regard, and rather to follow my example than my orders. I find in myſelf courage able to execute the moſt difficult enterprize, and ſufficient to undertake the conqueſt of this new world; my heart even flatters me with the hope of atchieving this conqueſt, from I know not what extraordinary impulſe, the moſt agreeable of all preſages. In a word, let our profeſſions be ſucceeded by actions; and let not this confidence of mine be reckoned temerity, ſince it is ſo well ſupported by your known valour, from which I expect that all deficiencies in myſelf ſhall be ſupplied."

While he was thus exhorting and animating his ſoldiers, notice was brought that the Indians began to appear at a diſtance, in ſmall parties, unarmed; which pacific appearance, however, did not prevent Cortez from putting himſelf in a poſture of defence, and guarding againſt being ſurpriſed; but the men were ranged behind the lines, that they might not preſent a hoſtile appearance, or diſcourage the natives from advancing. This forbearance gradually drew them on, until ſome of the more reſolute ventured to entered the camp, where they were ſo kindly received, that they called to their companions to follow their example. The Indians now came in great numbers, mingled with the Spaniards, and beheld every thing with ſigns of wonder and amazement; though, upon the whole, they

ſeemed

ſeemed to have been converſant with ſtrangers. Next day Cortez was honoured with a viſit from the cazique, and a preſent, which he received with profound acknowlegements and teſtimonies of his great inclination to cultivate a perpetual friendſhip with ſo reſpectable a prince; to which compliment the Indian replied, that he accepted the friendſhip offered, and would preſerve it as a man who underſtood the value of the gift. It was during this viſit that Cortez accidentally got intelligence of certain Spaniards who were detained priſoners in Yucatan, ſince the former expeditions to that country. He had overheard one of the Indians, in the cazique's retinue, repeat the word Caſtilla, and ordering the interpreter to inquire into his meaning, was told, that his men very much reſembled certain priſoners in Yucatan, who ſaid they were natives of a country called Caſtilla. Upon farther inquiry, Cortez found, that the captive Spaniards were in the hands of certain Indians of the firſt quality, who reſided two days journey within the province. He expreſſed his reſolution to the cazique of ſetting them at liberty, and was adviſed to attempt it by ranſom; leſt, if any violence was uſed, their neighbours might be compelled to maſſacre them out of fear or reſentment: a caution which gave Cortez a high opinion of the good ſenſe and policy of the Indian prince. Accordingly Diego de Ordaz was ordered with his veſſel to the coaſt of Yucatan, with a letter from Cortez to the priſoners, and preſents for their ranſom, to which ſome Indians undertook to bring back an anſwer in eight days; but the time being expired, Ordaz returned, imagining that he had been deluded and cheated of the preſents, and that either no Spaniard was detained at Yucatan, or that no attempt had been made to procure his releaſe. This diſappointment was the ſource of real concern to Cortez; who, beſides the pleaſure of ſetting countrymen and Chriſtians at liberty, had entertained great hopes from the ſervices of the captives as interpreters, as it was probable they muſt have acquired the language of the country; but before he had quitted Cozumel, he was joined by the Indian meſſengers, who had very honourably diſcharged their commiſſion, though they were retarded by accidents, and now brought back with them the priſoner, whoſe name was Jerom de Aguilar.

Recovers a Spaniard detained priſoner in Yucatan.

According to Aguilar's account, he had lived near eight years among the Indians, after having been ſhipwrecked as he was paſſing from Darein to Hiſpaniola. He, and twenty more, having taken to the long-boat, were driven

on

on the coaſt of Yucatan, from whence they were carried in captivity to a country of Caribee Indians. The plumpeſt of his countrymen were ſacrificed to their idols, and afterwards feaſted upon by the ſavages, while his own leanneſs proved the means of his ſafety. He was cooped up in a cage to fatten againſt the next ſolemn feſtival, before which he fortunately made his eſcape. Having wandered ſeveral days, remote from all ſettlements, without any other nouriſhment than herbs and roots, he fell into the hands of certain Indians, who preſented him to their cazique, by whom, after ſome ſevere uſage, and trials of his patience and ability, he was raiſed to the higheſt offices, and the command of armies. He had obtained ſeveral victories over the enemies of the cazique, and acquired ſuch power and popularity, that at the time the Indian meſſengers arrived with his ranſom, he was in a condition to demand his liberty as the reward of his extraordinary ſervices.

While the Indian meſſengers were at the court of the cazique, treating for the releaſe of Aguilar, Cortez was not idle. He marched with his whole army to take a view of the iſland, rather with deſign to preſerve diſcipline, and keep the ſoldiers in action, than from any apprehenſion of an attack from the natives, who ſeemed extremely delighted with the behaviour of the Spaniards. He diſſuaded his men from offering violence, by repreſenting the poverty of the people, which could afford no temptation to break through the regulations of diſcipline and the laws of hoſpitality. He told them, that here they were to ſtamp that impreſſion of their characters which would ſtrongly influence the ſucceſs of all their future undertakings, as the reputation they acquired in Cozumel would ſoon be diffuſed over the continent; and he concluded with obſerving, that the fame of their integrity, humanity, and generoſity, would promote their intereſt, and extend their conqueſts, more powerfully than the ſword. He ſuffered them, however, to barter trinkets with the Indians in exchange for gold and proviſions, by which means the army was abundantly ſupplied with all the neceſſaries which the country afforded. Cortez, likewiſe, viſited the temple of the ſupreme idol, which was a human figure of a terrible aſpect; and, indeed, this circumſtance of deformity was common to all the divinities worſhipped by this ignorant people. The iſland is ſaid to have taken the name of Cozumel from this great idol, revered by all the adjacent nations, and particularly in Mexico, from the territories of which the iſland is ſituated only at the diſtance of a few leagues. The temple was crowded with Indians, in the midſt

midſt of whom ſtood a prieſt, almoſt naked, who ſeemed to be exhorting the audience, and preaching with an emphatic tone and action, which appeared extremely ridiculous to the Spaniards. Cortez took this opportunity of inſtructing the cazique in ſuch points of the doctrines of Chriſtianity as he imagined were beſt ſuited to his capacity. He demonſtrated to him the abſurdity of his own religion, and made ſo deep an impreſſion on the mind of this prince, that, inſtead of returning an anſwer, he deſired to conſult with the prieſt and people. But it was not ſo eaſy to ſatisfy the mind of the prieſt, who, perceiving that his intereſt was deeply concerned, made loud outcries againſt all innovation, and threatened the reformers with the vengeance of the gods, if they did not immediately deſiſt from ſo impious a deſign; however, the ſoldiers overturning the altar, and defacing the idol, the Indians began to wonder that the gods did not interpoſe; they beheld the heavens were ſtill ſerene, that the threatened vengeance was delayed, and ſoon changed their adoration into contempt for thoſe gods, who, not being able to vindicate themſelves, could afford but little protection to their votaries. The Spaniards, therefore, erected an altar, on which they placed the image of the virgin Mary, and fixed a croſs at the entrance of the temple, and, thinking they had, by this act exhibited full proofs of the truths of revelation, departed, leaving the natives in ſilent aſtoniſhment.

Deſtroys the idols of the iſlanders.

By the 4th of March, the troops being embarked, Cortez ſailed with his whole fleet directly for the coaſt of Yucatan, and, doubling Cape Catoche, arrived ſafe in the river of Grijalva, where he expected to meet with the ſame kind of reception from the Indians of Tabaſco, which the Spaniards had received in the late expedition. The gold which had been brought from that country made the ſoldiers extremely earneſt in their ſolicitations for leave to go on ſhore; and Cortez determined to comply with their requeſt, in hopes of eſtabliſhing a firm alliance with the natives. His intention, however, was only to make a ſhort ſtay in Tabaſco, his thoughts being wholly bent on proceeding to the capital of Mexico; the account of which, as given by Aguilar and the Indians, excited both his curioſity and ambition. As he proceeded to ſtem the current, a multitude of canoes was obſerved to line both ſides of the river, filled with men completely armed, and exhibiting marks of hoſtile intention. Cortez advanced in cloſe order, and anchored at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore. Then Aguilar found that he underſtood their language, and acquainted the general, that the cries of the Indians were menaces

Arrives at Tabaſco.

menaces and declarations of war. Aguilar was directed to advance in one of the boats, with pacific propofals; but he foon returned with an account, that the Indians were obftinate in their refolution to defend the mouth of the river. Cortez was averfe to a war, becaufe it could bring him no advantage, and would neceffarily retard his voyage; but perceiving that he was now engaged in altercation, he thought it might hurt him in the opinion of the foldiers, if he fuffered the infolence of the barbarians to pafs unpunifhed. However, after having made the neceffary preparations for forcing the enemy, he fent Aguilar a fecond time, with affurances, that he had nothing in view but friendly intentions and the mutual advantage of both parties; but thefe were anfwered by a fignal to attack. Cortez had drawn up his fleet of boats in the form of a crefcent, towards which the Indians advanced with the current; and, when they were within a proper diftance, poured fuch a flight of arrows as greatly embarraffed the Spaniards, provided as they were with fhields and quilted jackets; but, having fuftained the firft charge, they returned it with fuch vigour, as aftonifhed and broke the Indians, the canoes retiring with great precipitation, and leaving a free paffage for the boats to advance. Many were fo terrified with the fmoke, fire, and noife of the mufquetry, and with the death of their companions, that, imagining the heavens were falling, they plunged into the water. In confequence of this advantage the boats put to fhore, and the troops began to land in a fituation fo inconvenient, that the Indians recovered their fpirits, and renewed the attack, while the Spaniards were entangled in bufhes, briars, and marfhes, in which they funk to the knees. The flights of arrows fhot by the Indians increafed the difficulty, and rendered the circumftances of Cortez extremely critical; however, his valour and conduct at laft triumphed. By his voice and example he animated his men, and drew up one line, which fupported the attack until the reft were formed in battalia. Thefe were foon in a condition to cover the difembarkation of a hundred men, under Alonzo d'Avila, who had orders to attack the town of Tabafco. As foon as the landing was completed, Cortez fell upon the incredible multitude of his enemies with fuch impetuofity and addrefs, that they yielded to the fhock, allowed him to pafs the marfhes unmolefted, and concealed themfelves in bufhes and thickets. The party under d' Avila had likewife given them the alarm, and contributed to their defeat, as appeared by the fwarms who purfued him, and flew to the defence of the city, upon which they imagined

imagined he had designs. This diversion furnished Cortez with an opportunity of advancing to the assistance of the detachment; moving with such celerity, that he arrived at Tabasco before d'Avila, and, having joined that officer, gave immediate orders for an assault, before the Indians had time to recover from their panic, or to re-assemble their scattered troops. The town was fortified with long stakes, or pallisadoes, joined together in such a manner, that the Indians had room to discharge their arrows at certain intervals. It had no outworks; but at the joining of the circle, the extremity of one line covered the opening in the other, and composed a narrow serpentine street, defended by little wooden towers at the entrances. This was a commodious defence against such arms as were used by the Indians; and it even embarrassed the Spaniards, though it was no proof against artillery, and the refinements in the military art made by European nations. Yet no difficulties could resist the ardour of Cortez and his followers: they gained the foot of the rampart, under a cloud of arrows that darkened the sky, and kept up so perpetual a fire through the intervals, that the Indians, deserting their posts, gave the soldiers an opportunity of cutting open a passage in the wall, and pursuing them to the very heart of the town, where the Indians used their last efforts; but after a short resistance, they were defeated and dispersed: Tabasco became the reward of the conquerors. Nor would Cortez pursue them into the woods, that he might give his army time to recover from their fatigue, and the enemy an opportunity of suing for peace. In this action fourteen Spaniards were wounded, but none slain; whereas the slaughter of the enemy was considerable, and their wounded supposed to be still more numerous, though they carried them off; for it was a point of honour with the Indians, not to suffer those who had been maimed in action to fall into the hands of the enemy. However, the reduction of Tabasco was of no other value than as it furnished the troops with abundance of provision, the Indians having removed their families, and most valuable effects, before the action.

Reduces the capital, and defeats the Indians in divers engagements.

This night the Spaniards took up their quarters in three temples, situated near that part of the town where they had engaged; and Cortez kept as strict watch as if he had experienced veterans to deal with, and a general who knew how to profit by every opportunity. Next day the country appeared quite deserted, insomuch that round the whole circle of the horizon not a human creature appeared. The adjacent woods were searched, and found to be equally solitary and abandoned; yet Cortez, apprehensive of some stra-

ſtratagem, did not think it adviſeable to diſcontinue his uſual caution. The very extraordinary ſilence that reigned over the whole country raiſed his ſuſpicions, which were farther confirmed by the deſertion of Melchior, the Indian, whom he had carried with him to ſerve for an interpreter. In this uncertainty he detached Alvarado and Franciſco de Lugo, each with a hundred men, to examine the country more narrowly, with directions, if they found an army in the field, to return with all expedition to their quarters, in order to avoid engaging with unequal numbers. After little more than an hour's march, de Lugo was ſurrounded by a multitude of Indians, who attacked him with ſo much fury, that he was forced to draw up his men in a ſquare, preſenting a front every way; but as the enemy were continually increaſing, he muſt, in the end, have ſunk under the weight of numbers, had not Alvarado, upon hearing the noiſe of fire-arms, come ſeaſonably to his relief. This officer fell upon the rear of the Indians with great impetuoſity, and ſoon opened a paſſage to de Lugo. Still, however, there was a numerous body that oppoſed the retreat of the Spaniards to their quarters. Nevertheleſs, they attacked the enemy with ſo much reſolution, that they broke their way through, although continually expoſed to their arrows, and ſometimes almoſt borne down with numbers. Whenever the Spaniards faced about, the Indians retreated; and the moment they ſaw the ſoldiers reſume their march, renewed the attack with the ſame aſtoniſhing celerity. At laſt Cortez, who had been advertiſed of Lugo's diſtreſs by a Cuba Indian, diſpatched by Alvarado, came up with the remainder of the forces; and he was no ſooner diſcovered by the enemy, than they halted, giving the two captains leiſure to join the main body. Cortez, not caring to waſte his ſtrength in ſkirmiſhes, retreated to his quarters to take care of the wounded, of whom there were eleven; a number of great importance, conſidering the ſlender ſtrength of the whole army. Upon examining the priſoners who were taken upon this occaſion, it was found that the Indians grounded their obſtinacy upon the aſſurances of the deſerter Melchior, who aſſured them that the Spaniards were but a handful, that they were not immortal, and that their fire-arms were leſs dreadful than the Indians imagined. It was upon the ſtrength of his aſſeverations they had ventured to attack de Lugo; and Cortez afterwards learned that the barbarians, whom Melchior had perſuaded to take arms, revenged their miſcarriage on the adviſer of the war, by ſacrificing him to their idols. The priſoners alſo related,

that

that all the caziques of the adjacent provinces were ſummoned to the aſſiſtance of the lord of Tabaſco, and that next day a very powerful army was to be aſſembled, of which the body which fell upon Lugo was only a ſmall detachment.

Upon this intelligence Cortez proceeded to make the neceſſary preparations for giving the enemy a warm reception. The wounded were carried on board, the horſes landed, the artillery put in order, and ſuch ſpirits were infuſed into the troops, as preſaged a happy iſſue to the expected engagement. The general, committing the infantry to the care of Diego de Ordaz, marched with the horſe in the front, keeping pace with his artillery, which moved heavily and with great difficulty, becauſe the ground was boggy and uneven. In this order he advanced to the place where, according to the information of the priſoners, the enemies forces were to aſſemble. This was at the diſtance of two miles from his quarters; but perceiving not a veſtige of a human creature, he proceeded a mile farther, to a place called Cinthla, and there diſcovered, at a diſtance, the moſt numerous army he had ever beheld, ſtretching ſo far from right to left, that the eye could not take in both extremities. Their weapons were bows and arrows, the bow-ſtrings being made of the tendons of beaſts, or twiſted thongs of deer-ſkins, and their arrows armed with pointed fiſh-bones; for the Indians were all unacquainted with the uſe of iron. They uſed alſo long darts, which they managed according to occaſion, either as pike or javelin. Their ſwords were long and heavy, made of wood, and edged with flints: ſome had large clubs, pointed with flints, and great numbers uſed ſlings, with which they threw ſtones with amazing ſtrength and dexterity; but the ſlingers formed a ſeparate corps, detached from the main army. As to their defenſive arms, which were only wore by commanders and perſons of diſtinction, they conſiſted of quilted cotton armour, breaſt-plates and ſhields of wood or tortoiſe-ſhell, adorned with plates of gold or copper. All of them painted their faces, in the day of action, in the moſt frightful manner, with deſign to render themſelves terrible. Their heads were adorned with high plumes of feathers, which made them look remarkably tall, and gave them a very martial appearance. They had different kinds of warlike inſtruments, with which they animated the ſoldiers, and regulated their motions; ſuch as flutes of cane, large ſhells, and a kind of drums made of the trunks of trees, ſo hollowed, as to yield a very harſh diſagreeable ſound upon being beaten with

Indian weapons, and manner of fighting.

with a ſtick. The Indians had ſcarce any order of battle, except that a corps for the relief of the main army was always reſerved. This was the only precaution taken, there being neither lines formed, diviſions made, nor poſts aſſigned. Every man fought where he thought proper, and the whole engaged in ſuch a tumultuous manner, that they encumbered and overthrew each other, and frequently ſunk under their own weight and diſorder. Their firſt onſets were furious, and accompanied with cries, intended for the double purpoſe of animating themſelves and diſpiriting the enemy. The troops of every province were led by their proper cazique; and although there was a kind of ſubordination eſtabliſhed, it was generally laid aſide in battle, every man relying chiefly upon the ſtrength of his own valour and addreſs.

Such was the army that now ruſhed like an inundation upon the Spaniards, and ſeemed to cover the whole face of the country. Their attack began upon the infantry, while Cortez was taking poſt on an eminence, where his fifteen horſe and the artillery could do moſt execution. The Indians firſt ſhot their arrows, and then cloſed in with ſo much impetuoſity, that the Spaniards not being able to attack them with their fire-arms and croſs-bows, had recourſe to their ſwords, while the cannon made dreadful ſlaughter from the eminence, deſtroying whole companies at every diſcharge. Yet were the aſſailants ſo obſtinate, that, inſtead of retreating, they threw handfuls of duſt in the air to conceal their ſlain, and advanced with redoubled fury. Diego de Ordaz, who commanded the infantry, and behaved with the utmoſt gallantry, muſt have yielded to the infinite ſuperiority of numbers, had not Cortez ſeaſonably fallen upon the rear of the enemy with his horſe, breaking through the thickeſt crouds, cutting down, and trampling under the feet of his horſes thoſe naked wretches, who were ſeized with a panic upon the firſt appearance of ſo extraordinary an animal, taking the horſe and rider for different parts of the ſame creature. Diego obſerving the diſorder and panic of the enemy, preſſed in with ſo much vigour, that this great multitude fluctuated like the rolling of the ſea from the van to the rear, and at laſt broke and diſperſed, leaving eight hundred ſlain upon the field, with a multitude of wounded, whom they were not able to carry off, and more priſoners than the Spaniards thought proper to detain; for they contented themſelves with a few to ſet a negociation of peace on foot, and demonſtrate by this gentle treatment that the Spaniards harboured no unfriendly deſigns againſt the Tabaſcans. Of the Spaniards two ſol-

diers were killed, and ſeventy wounded, but not dangerouſly. Upon the whole, this was the greateſt victory ever obtained by the Spaniards in America; and juſtly raiſed the reputation of Cortez, who, during the action, diſplayed ſurpriſing courage, ſagacity, addreſs, activity, and every other quality of a great commander. In a word, the defeat of ſuch a multitude of Indians, amounting to forty thouſand, appeared ſo extraordinary, that the writers of thoſe days had recourſe to a miracle to gain belief, and relating that St. James the apoſtle, mounted upon a white horſe, fought for the Spaniards.

Next day after the battle, Cortez ordered the priſoners to be brought before him, among whom were ſome perſons of diſtinction. They diſcovered in their faces ſymptoms of the ſtrongeſt fear, imagining they were to be ſacrificed to the gods, agreeable to the inhuman practice of their own country. How great then was their ſurprize to find themſelves treated with the utmoſt reſpect, and ſet at liberty, with preſents, as if they had actually done ſome extraordinary ſervice to Cortez, who told them, that he knew how to forgive as well as to conquer. The humanity ſhewn upon this occaſion ſoon appeared to be true policy; for, in a few hours after the priſoners had been releaſed, crouds of Indians came to the Spaniſh quarters, laden with wheat, fowls, and other proviſions, hoping thus to facilitate that negociation which the cazique of Tabaſco now wanted to ſet on foot. Next day an embaſſy came with propoſals of peace; but Cortez refuſed giving audience, becauſe he was informed by Aguilar, that the perſons employed in this commiſſion were of the meaner ſort; whereas it was cuſtomary with the Indians to ſend men of figure and diſtinction upon embaſſies. He bid the interpreter acquaint the Indians, that if their cazique was deſirous of his friendſhip, he muſt ſolicit it with more reſpect and decency: believing that punctilio was neceſſary, and a ſcrupulous regard to his own dignity eſſential to keep up that exalted idea of his perſon and character, with which he had endeavoured to inſpire the Indians. It appeared in the ſequel that Cortez was right in his judgment. The cazique apologized for his error, and repaired it by ſending thirty perſons of better quality, adorned with plumes of feathers and jewels, and followed by a numerous train, with preſents of all manner of proviſion, who ſolicited an audience with great formality. Cortez then granted their requeſt, and, attended by all his principal officers, received them with great ſtate and gravity. The ambaſſadors advanced with profound ſubmiſſion, and perfumed Cortez with

with burnt gum anime, a resin exsuding from the tree called jetaiba, and other fragrant scents. Then they delivered their instructions, apologized for the last attack, expressed the cazique's great regard for Cortez, and intreated that a peace might be granted upon such terms as the Spanish general should think proper. Cortez, having made them sensible of the imprudence of the cazique's conduct, the vanity of all attempts to oppose the Spaniards by force of arms, the mutual benefit which would result from a friendly intercourse, and his sincere desire to cultivate the esteem of the Tabascans, granted their request; and, making them some presents of glass beads, and other trifles, dismissed the embassy, highly delighted with the success of their commission, and filled with sentiments of the deepest veneration for Cortez, whom they deemed little inferior to a divinity. On the day following the cazique in person, attended by a numerous train, honoured the Spaniard with a visit, and made him several presents of pieces of fine cotton, beautiful plumes of feathers, and some plates of low gold, more valuable for the workmanship than for the metal. This Indian was much caressed by Cortez, and the visit passed in ceremonies, compliments, and protestations of reciprocal friendship, all transacted by means of the interpreter Jerom de Aguilar. All the persons of quality in the cazique's retinue were treated with similar respect by the Spanish captains, and nothing appeared but signs of peace and joy, which they expressed by their countenances and embraces, to supply the want of language. When the cazique took his leave, he gave Cortez a proof of his sincerity, by ordering all his subjects to return with their families to Tabasco, and use their utmost endeavours to serve the strangers, and accommodate them with whatever they required. Some other testimonies of mutual regard passed, and the cazique made Cortez a present of twenty women skilled in dressing meat and baking bread of Indian wheat, among whom was one of superior quality and beauty, who was afterwards baptized by the name of Marina, and proved highly serviceable to the Spaniards in the course of the conquest (C).

After

(C) As we may find frequent occasion to mention this lady in the course of our relation, it will not be improper to make the reader acquainted with her parentage and adventures. According to Antonio de Solis, she was daughter to the cazique of Guazawalca, a province of the kingdom of Mexico, bordering upon that of Tabasco. By an accident which is variously related, she was carried away in her youth to Xicatongo, a

Cortez leaves Tabaſco, and arrives at St. Juan d'Uloa in Mexico.

After this interview Cortez embarked his troops, the pilots preſſing his departure, and ſet ſail on the Monday ſucceeding Palm Sunday, following the coaſt to the weſtward, and arriving in a few days at St. Juan d'Uloa, where two canoes, called in that country piraguas, filled with men, came out to viſit the fleet. The Indians ſpoke a language which Aguilar did not underſtand; but fortunately Donna Marina was no ſtranger to their tongue. She told the interpreter that thoſe Indians ſpoke Mexican, and deſired audience of the general in the name of the governor of that province. Cortez ordered them to be brought on board, and admitted to his preſence; when they acquainted him, that Pilpatoe and Teutile, the one governor, and the other captain-general of their province for the great emperor Motezuma, had ſent them to inquire with what deſign the commander of that fleet came upon the coaſt, and to offer him what ſuccour and aſſiſtance might be requiſite to enable him to continue his voyage. They were reſpectfully received by Cortez, who preſented them with ſome baubles, and then replied, that he came in a friendly manner to treat of ſome affairs of the laſt importance to their prince and all his empire; for which purpoſe he deſired an interview with the two governors, and hoped he ſhould meet with the ſame hoſpitable treatment which had been ſhewn to ſome of his countrymen the year before. Cortez then inquired minutely concerning the grandeur and wealth of Motezuma, the extent of his dominions and form of his government; and having obtained all the ſatisfaction it was in the power of the Indian ambaſſadors to give, he diſmiſſed them, extremely pleaſed with their reception. Next day he landed with ſeveral companies of ſoldiers, and ordered the horſes and artillery to be forthwith brought aſhore, intending to fortify a camp in caſe of a ſudden attack. Faſcines were cut for making entrenchments, and barracks built to ſhade the ſoldiers from

ſtrong place on the frontiers of Yucatan, kept by a Mexican garriſon. There ſhe was bred in a poor method, ill ſuited to her birth, until, by a freſh accident, either by ſale or captivity, ſhe became the property of the cacique of Tabaſco, who preſented her to Cortez. Of courſe ſhe underſtood not only the Mexican, but Yucatan language, and thereby proved highly uſeful as a check upon Aguilar. Beſides, ſhe ſoon acquired the Spaniſh tongue, and indeed manifeſted an admirable talent for attaining languages (1).

(1) De Solis, lib. i. cap. xxi.

intenſe-

intenſeneſs of the ſun's beams; while the cannon were ſo diſpoſed as to command all the ſurrounding country.

His tranſactions with the Mexican governors.

Teutile received Cortez's meſſage with great marks of reſpect, and immediately ſent a detachment of Indians to aſſiſt the ſtrangers in their work, and ſupply them with all manner of proviſion, by which means the Spaniſh ſoldiers were ſoon under cover in commodious habitations, very ingeniouſly wove with the boughs of trees, and covered with palm-leaves, by the Mexicans. Theſe workmen reported that general Teutile was at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, with which he had been employed in eſtabliſhing the emperor's authority in ſome parts of this province lately conquered, and that Pilpatoe was ſupreme civil magiſtrate: however, it was perceived, notwithſtanding all the external appearances of hoſpitality, that the great care taken to ſupply the Spaniards with neceſſaries was not unmixed with artifice and fear, ſuppoſed to ariſe from the report of their ſucceſs at Tabaſco. The forces of this province were inferior in number to thoſe which had been lately defeated; it was therefore the policy of the governors to have recourſe to civilities, in order to oblige where they were ſenſible they could not reſiſt. In a few days the two governors came with a magnificent attendance to viſit Cortez; and he received them with equal ſtate in the midſt of his officers and ſoldiers. The firſt compliments being over, Cortez deſired the interpreters to acquaint the governors, that, before he informed them of the motives of his voyage, he would comply with the duties of his religion, and recommend to the God of all other gods the ſucceſs of his propoſition; upon which the Indian chiefs were conducted into a part of the barracks, where an altar and croſs had been erected, that it might ſerve for the purpoſes of a chapel. Here maſs was celebrated, the Indians gazing and liſtening with an air of aſtoniſhment and devotion. When the ſervice was concluded, the governors were conducted to the general's quarters, and entertained with all the abundance and pomp which circumſtances would admit. The repaſt being over, he told them in a firm tone of voice, by his interpeters, that he was come to treat with the great emperor Motezuma, on the part of Don Carlos of Auſtria, monarch of the Eaſt, concerning affairs of great importance, not only to his own perſon and condition, but likewiſe to the welfare of all his ſubjects; for executing which purpoſes it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to appear before his royal preſence; and he expreſſed his hope that he ſhould be admitted with all the civility and reſpect due to the greatneſs of the king his maſter. This requeſt pro-

duced an extraordinary effect upon the governors; they changed colour, and ſeemed extremely concerned; but before they returned an anſwer, Teutile ordered a preſent which he had provided to be brought in, and immediately twenty or thirty Indians appeared laden with proviſions, fine cloaths, beautiful feathers, and a great box, in which were ſeveral pieces of gold plate curiouſly wrought. This preſent he delivered with a good grace; and perceiving it was well received, ventured upon making the following reply: that the ſmall preſent now offered was made by two ſlaves of the great Motezuma, who had given orders to entertain ſuch ſtrangers as might appear upon his coaſts with the utmoſt civility; but that Cortez muſt immediately think of purſuing his voyage, it being no eaſy matter to ſpeak with the emperor; and that they hoped he would regard as an obligation their having thus undeceived him, before he had loſt time, and been taught by experience the impropriety of his pretenſions. This anſwer was ſuch as Cortez expected from the heſitation of the governors; to whom he ordered the interpreters to declare, that ſovereigns never refuſed audience to the ambaſſadors of other princes; neither could their miniſters, without very poſitive orders, take upon themſelves to oppoſe ſo reaſonable a demand: that it was their buſineſs in this caſe to acquaint Motezuma with his arrival, for which purpoſe he was willing to allow the time neceſſary for the going and return of a courier; but he inſiſted upon their informing the emperor, that he came fully reſolved to gain admittance into his royal preſence, and poſitively determined not to leave his country with diſhonour to the monarch who had entruſted him with his commands. The governors ſeemed to be confounded at ſo bold a determination; but inſtead of oppoſing it, they contented themſelves with intreating the general not to move from his preſent quarters until the return of a courier from the emperor, offering to ſupply him with whatever might be neceſſary for the maintenance and convenience of his army.

Inſiſts upon an interview with Motezuma.

All this while it was obſerved, that ſome painters, who had come in the train of the Mexican chiefs, were employed in painting the ſhips, ſoldiers, arms, artillery, and every other peculiarity of the Spaniſh camp, upon cotton-cloaths prepared for the occaſion. Diaz de Caſtillo affirms, that all the different objects were diſtinguiſhed in landſcapes, ingeniouſly diſpoſed, and that all the portraits of the principal officers ſtrikingly reſembled the originals. To render the pieces more intelligible, and point out particulars, certain characters were placed over certain figures, to explain their

Ingenuity of the Mexican painters.

their signification; whence it may be inferred, that although the Mexicans could not convey all their ideas without the aid of painting, and having recourse to the images of material things, yet they were not wholly unacquainted with the use of letters, and the signs and elements, invented by other nations as types of their ideas. Teutile had given orders to have these pictures drawn for the emperor's better information; nor did Cortez make any opposition to the design; on the contrary, he went to see the artists at work, greatly admired their ingenuity, and exercised his men, in order to impart greater life and vigour to the painting. He ordered his soldiers to their arms, mounted his horse with his captains, and began a sham battle, which was matter of admiration to the Indians. The regular evolutions of the soldiers, the docile spirit and ferocity of the horses, the fire, smoke, and thunder of the musquetry, and the tremendous roaring of the cannon, produced such an effect upon the barbarians, that some fell down upon the ground with fear and astonishment, others fled with great velocity, and those of more courage and presence of mind seemed wrapped up in silent wonder, not devoid of terror and trepidation. However, they were encouraged by the assurances of the general, that these were only military amusements intended for pastime; and the painters resumed their work, inventing new figures and characters to supply what was wanting in their former descriptions. When the painting was completed, Cortez presented the governors with some small Spanish jewels, and several other curiosities, which he desired might be sent as a testimony of his esteem and reverence for Motezuma.

When the couriers set out with these dispatches, the governors took their leave, and halted with their retinues at a small distance from the Spanish quarters, to consult upon the necessary measures to be taken till the return of the emperor's commands. In consequence of their consultation, Pilpatoe pitched his camp in a convenient spot of ground for observing the motions of the Spaniards, under pretence that he was desirous of superintending the services of his people, and providing all the requisites for the entertainment of Cortez and his army; a scheme of dissimulation at which Cortez found it necessary to connive, that his troops might not be disappointed of provision. In seven days Motezuma's answer arrived, and was brought to Cortez by Teutile. The emperor sent him a rich present, which loaded the shoulders of a hundred Indians, and was composed of various kinds of fine cotton robes of elegant manufacture; plumes of feathers, mixed and disposed with so much

Motezuma sends a present to Cortez, but declines the interview.

much taſte, that, without the aſſiſtance of artificial colours or the pencil, they formed ingenious pictures in imitation of nature; a great number of bows, arrows, and targets of curious materials and workmanſhip; two large plates of a circular form, one of gold, finely emboſſed, repreſenting the ſun, and the other of ſilver, repreſenting the moon; a conſiderable quantity of jewels, pieces of gold, precious ſtones, gold collars, and pendants adorned with emeralds and rich pearls; golden images of frogs and inſects; grains of virgin gold as they came from the mines, of extraordinary ſize; and other ornaments of greater value, which excited aſtoniſhment in the Spaniards, who from hence conceived a mighty idea of the immenſe wealth and genius of a people whom they had before regarded as barbarians. Teutile having delivered this ſplendid offering, deſired the interpreters to acquaint Cortez, that the great emperor Motezuma ſent him theſe trifles in return for his preſent, and as a proof of the friendſhip he entertained for the king his maſter; but that he did not think it convenient, nor was it indeed poſſible at that time, to grant his requeſt of paſſing to the court of Mexico. The Indian endeavoured to paſſiate this refuſal, by urging the badneſs of the roads, the variety of ſavage nations who would take arms and obſtruct his journey, and the preſent poſture of the empire, with a multitude of other difficulties, which were evidently feigned only to conceal ſome deeper motives of the emperor's conduct. But Cortez, who was not to be diverted from his deſigns by ſpecious pretexts, having acknowleged the magnificence of the emperor's preſent, obſerved, that it was not his intention to be wanting in reſpect or obedience to Motezuma; but that he would not return with diſhonour to his prince, or forbear perſiſting in his requeſt with all the earneſtneſs due to the reputation of a crown honoured and reſpected by the greateſt ſovereigns in the world. Upon this point he expatiated with ſo much zeal, heat, and eloquence, that the Indian, afraid of giving offence by inſiſting upon his ſovereign's commands, only replied, that he would importune Motezuma a ſecond time, and exert his utmoſt influence to gain a point in which the general imagined his honour was concerned. Accordingly couriers were again diſpatched, with a preſent to the emperor more valuable than the former, Cortez acquainting the Indian chief, that he would expect the anſwer, without ſtirring from his preſent ſtation; though he ſhould be very much concerned if his imperial majeſty's delay ſhould oblige him to go nearer the court, for the greater conveniency of ſoliciting his requeſt.

Cortez perſeveres in his reſolution.

Mean

Mean while he diſpatched Montejo with two veſſels to run along the coaſt in queſt of a more commodious harbour for the ſhipping, and ſtation for the camp, as in the preſent ſituation the ſhips were greatly expoſed to the north winds, and the ſoldiers tortured with muſquitos, and ſcorched with the ſun beams, whoſe heat was doubled by reflection from a ſandy gravelly ſoil. The reſt of the men he kept in conſtant employment, in military exerciſes, cleaning their arms, and preparing ſuch materials as he imagined might prove uſeful in the progreſs of his deſigns.

The court of Mexico in great conſternation.

The court of Motezuma was thrown into confuſion and perplexity by the repeated inſtances of Cortez, and the firmneſs with which he inſiſted upon an interview with the emperor. In the firſt tranſports of his fury, Motezuma declared he would ſacrifice all the ſtrangers to his vengeance, for preſuming to diſpute his will; but on cooler reflection his courage ſunk, and his anger yielded to fear, grief, and deſpair. The paintings exhibiting the fire, thunder, and horſes of the Spaniards, inſpired him with equal aſtoniſhment and terror. All his miniſters and relations were ſummoned to attend the council, and public ſacrifices were made in the temples; ſteps which immediately diffuſed a tremor over the whole empire. The ſuperſtition of the people greatly contributed to extend the conſternation more rapidly and univerſally. Several prodigies, or rather natural phenomena, which their ignorance conſtrued into dreadful omens, were ſaid to appear about this time, and occaſioned a general deſpondence. One was a comet of extraordinary luſtre, that reſembled a pyramid, and vaniſhed at ſun-riſe. Another was a kind of meteor, or exhalation, in the figure of a fiery ſerpent with three heads, that roſe in the weſt about mid-day, and proceeded with a ſwift progreſſion until it was loſt in the clouds. One of the Mexican temples, taking fire by accident, was entirely conſumed. The very ſtones were ſuppoſed to burn, and liquify in a manner deemed altogether ſupernatural. The great Mexican lake overflowed its banks without any viſible cauſe, with a kind of bubbling, reſembling boiling water; but no uncommon heat was perceived. Many affirmed that they heard lamentable voices in the clouds, which predicted the overthrow of the monarchy; and the prieſts cheriſhed the ſuperſtitious fear of the people, by making the idols utter ſuch oracles as beſt ſuited their purpoſes. Portentous ſigns like theſe, occurring juſt at the period when a foreign invaſion happened, had ſuch an effect on the ſpirit of Motezuma and his council, that, on the arrival of the ſecond meſſage from Cortez, they gave all

up

up for loſt, and regarded the empire as already doomed to deſtruction. They deliberated, debated, and conſulted, but always broke up without having formed any reſolution. Some were for oppoſing the ſtrangers by force of arms, interpreting the omens as warnings to reſiſt the impending danger; while others out of fear extolled the valour of the Spaniards, the force of their arms, the irreſiſtible ſtrength of their horſes, and the terror of their lightning, of which the Tabaſcans had fatal experience. Between theſe opinions Motezuma at length determined to ſteer a middle courſe, chuſing not to offend Cortez either by a direct attack, or to acknowlege his own perturbation, by admitting him to his preſence. He therefore ſent him another preſent, and at the ſame time commanded him immediately to quit his dominions, hoping by theſe means either to engage or to terrify him into obedience. But ſhould the ſtranger ſtill continue obſtinate, he determined to raiſe a powerful army, that there ſhould be no cauſe to apprehend the ſame ill fortune that attended the ſpirited endeavours of the Tabaſcans: nor were theſe hopes preſumptuous, conſidering the wealth and power of this great monarch.

Another preſent ſent to Cortez.

At this period the empire of Mexico was in the zenith of its glory, having under its dominion almoſt all the provinces which had been diſcovered in North America, governed either immediately by Motezuma, or by caziques, governors, viceroys, or tributary princes, all of whom acknowleged his ſovereignty. In length it extended five hundred leagues from eaſt to weſt, and near two hundred in breadth from ſouth to north, containing within this compaſs ſome of the moſt fruitful, populous, and wealthy provinces in the world. It had grown from ſmall beginnings to this height of power in little more than one hundred and thirty years, though the foundation and progreſs of the monarchy are events involved in great obſcurity (E). At firſt they were governed by a prince of a warlike diſpoſition, who inured them to arms, implanted in their breaſts a ſenſe of military honour, and inſpired them with the deſire of making conqueſts: afterwards they formed themſelves into a more regular monarchy, veſting one of their number with the le-

Accont of Motezuma's parentage and character.

(E) At the cloſe of the conqueſt of Mexico by Cortez, we propoſe to treat of the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy, the ancient inhabitants of the country, the ſeries of princes, the riſe and progreſs of the capital, together with the manners, cuſtoms, religion, &c. of the people, touching only at preſent upon ſuch points as are neceſſary to elucidate our narrative.

giſlative

giſlative and executive power, and beſtowing upon him the title of king. The perſon upon whom their choice fell was the moſt celebrated in the country for his valour and ſtrength; for fortitude and bodily powers were the only qualities at that time in eſteem among a fierce, martial, and barbarous people. Where merit was equal, they beſtowed the crown on the blood-royal; but more regard was paid to courage than hereditary right, which had occaſionally been ſet aſide. Bloody wars had been waged for the regal title; but theſe, inſtead of ruining the people, ſerved only to extend the boundaries of the empire. At firſt juſtice ſupported the Mexican arms, and the efforts made to vindicate their liberty againſt the oppreſſion of the neighbouring nations proving ſucceſsful, whetted their ambition, and made them equally deſirous of trade and of conqueſt. Their power gradually increaſing, juſtice was laid aſide, tyranny took place, and the ſovereign held in bondage not only the provinces which he had reduced, but all his ſubjects in general.

Such was the ſituation of Mexico at the preſent juncture. Motezuma, a prince of the blood, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by extraordinary acts of valour during the reign of his predeceſſor. At his return to court from the wars, he found his reputation ſo conſiderable, that he begun to aſpire at the ſovereignty: but he reſtrained his ambition within the limits of prudence, and inſtead of attempting to dethrone the reigning monarch, fixed his whole attention upon ſecuring a proper intereſt againſt the next election. In the compoſition of this prince, policy and cunning were admirably blended with affability and great modeſty. He always payed the greateſt obedience and veneration to the ſovereign, as if he was deſirous of teaching his fellow-ſubjects the duty and reſpect due to ſo exalted a character. He affected ſuch compoſure in his diſcourſe and actions, and ſo much gravity in his countenance, that, before he aſcended the throne, the name of Motezuma was ſaid to have been extremely characteriſtical, and expreſſive of his diſpoſition, as in the Mexican language it implies a *ſolid, grave temper*, which ſome writers have tranſlated *ſurly, ſevere, and cruel*. Motezuma alſo obtained the reputation of being extremely religious, an excellent bait for the vulgar, who judge by appearances. To render his piety the more public, he built an apartment in the moſt frequented temple, to which he retired in ſight of the people, to offer up his pretended devotions. In a word, he became ſo popular,

pular, that, on the death of the king his predeceſſor, he was called to the throne, by almoſt the univerſal acclamations of the people. No ſooner was he poſſeſſed of the imperial diadem than his natural pride broke forth with a violence proportioned to the long reſtraint under which it had lain. The firſt action by which he manifeſted the violence he had offered to his natural diſpoſition while he continued in a private ſtation, was the diſmiſſion all the ſervants of the court, who were uſually compoſed of the middling claſs of people and the vulgar; inſtead of whom Motezuma ordered that he ſhould henceforward be ſerved only by the nobility and their children. The meaneſt employments in the kitchen were now filled by the quality of the country; while Motezuma ſhut himſelf up in his palace from his people and even his miniſters, except on extraordinary occaſions, imagining, that, like a divinity, he ſhould be revered in proportion as he became leſs familiar to the eyes of mortals. Thoſe who had the honour to be admitted into his preſence, were forced to paſs through ſuch an infinity of ceremonies and proſtrations as greatly exceeded the adoration due from one man to another. Perſuaded that the lives and happineſs of his ſubjects were entirely at his diſpoſal, he exerciſed horrid barbarities, merely to evince his power, and became the terror as well as the idol of his people. Taxes were laid on all the Mexicans, without regard to the public neceſſity, and with no other view than to demonſtrate that all belonged to the prince; and theſe were exacted with ſo much ſeverity, that the pooreſt beggar was not exempted from bringing ſomething to the treaſury. In ſuch a ſituation it cannot be expected that loyalty and attachment to the prince were the familiar qualities of the Mexicans; on the contrary, they deteſted Motezuma; but in general their diſaffection tranſpired only in low murmurs, which did not reach the ears of the monarch. A few more remote provinces, indeed, ventured to rebel, and thoſe of Mechoacan, Tlaſcala, and Tebeaca had never been conquered; but the vaſt power of the emperor ſoon reduced to obedience all thoſe who had ever acknowleged his ſovereignty; and as to the three provinces we have ſpecified, Motezuma ſaid it was not politic to conquer them, as he ſhould then be in want of priſoners to ſacrifice to the gods.

When the Spaniards arrived on his coaſts, this prince was in the fourteenth year of his reign, and every thing, as we may ſee, ripe for a revolution, the more eaſily to be executed

cuted as the prince who was the beſt general in his dominions had declined, from a jealouſy of the royal authority, to command his own armies. Some other circumſtances likewiſe contributed to accelerate the ruin of Motezuma, as we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the courſe of narration: it is here ſufficient to obſerve, that Cortez was no ſooner acquainted with the character of the prince, the diſpoſition of the people, and the ſituation of the empire, than he penetrated with a glance of his eye into all the conſequences, and already deemed himſelf conqueror of Mexico, though we ſhall ſee that there were ſtill manifeſt difficulties to encounter. He was revolving the ſcheme of this conqueſt, when Montejo returned with the ſhips he had diſpatched to find a better harbour for the ſhipping, and encampment for the forces. Accordingly, after having coaſted a conſiderable way to the northward, he had diſcovered the town of Quiabiſlan, ſituated in a fertile ſoil, with a fine harbour, and all other conveniences neceſſary for the fleet or army. Cortez was preparing to remove thither, when Motezuma's anſwer arrived, or rather his command to quit Mexico, the harſhneſs of which was ſoftened by ſome valuable preſents. General Teutile waited upon Cortez with the uſual ceremonies, delivered the orders of the court, and retired ſuddenly. But, being called back, he was told by the general, that the one of the principal points of the Spaniſh embaſſy was to enforce the tenets of the Chriſtian doctrine, to oppoſe the errors of idolatry, and propagate the true faith as the only means of eternal ſalvation; and that coming over to ſo remote a country upon a buſineſs in which religion and conſcience were concerned, he could not refrain from continuing his efforts, and perſevering in his applications, until he ſhould be favoured with an audience. Teutile hearing this declaration, ſtarted up haſtily, and told him with an air of confuſion and reſentment, that hitherto he had been treated with the utmoſt kindneſs by the great Motezuma, and ſhewn all the civilities required by the ſacred laws of hoſpitality; but he muſt lay the fault upon his own imprudent obſtinacy, if he ſhould henceforward meet with a different uſuage. So ſaying, he departed abruptly, without the ceremony of taking leave, or hearing any reply from Cortez; upon which that general, turned round with a ſmile to his people, ſaying, "We ſhall ſee the effects of this challenge; already we have had experience of the proweſs of the Mexicans; and for the moſt part it is obſerved that threats are the effects of fear. Theſe preſents from

from Motezuma may therefore be regarded as proofs rather of his weakneſs than of his generoſity." Perhaps he judged right in this particular; but his ſagacity is no excuſe for his injuſtice in attacking like a robber the dominions of a prince, by whom he was ſo courteouſly and liberally entertained. The truth is, there was a ſtrong ingredient of ſuperſtitious fanaticiſm in the character of the Spaniards, which ſanctified all the violence, cruelty, and injuſtice, that were committed in the courſe of this expedition. This kind of enthuſiaſm, is eaſily brought over as an auxiliary to the vileſt and moſt pernicious deſigns. It was this that perſuaded Cortez and his crew of pirates, that they acted for the ſervice of the God of Peace, in robbing, torturing, and maſſacring, thoſe miſerable Indians, who were thus conſigned to ruin, death, and eternal damnation, becauſe they did not profeſs a faith which they could not poſſibly know.

Mutiny in the Spaniſh camp quelled by the addreſs of Cortez.

Immediately after the departure of Teutile, Cortez gave order to double the guards in caſe of an attack, keeping himſelf the whole night in a poſture of defence. In the morning it appeared that all the Mexicans had withdrawn themſelves, even thoſe employed in ſupplying the camp with proviſions, a circumſtance which occaſioned ſome murmuring among the ſoldiers, that were artfully improved and cheriſhed by the enemies to Cortez, and the friends of Velaſquez. They dropt hints, reflecting upon Cortez as raſh and even inſane in pretending to maintain himſelf with a handful of men againſt the whole force of a potent empire. They inſinuated the neceſſity of returning to Cuba to refit the fleet, augment the army, and lay a proper foundation for the greatneſs of the enterprize. Intimations of this ſeditious humour ſoon reached the ears of Cortez; and nothing could be more maſterly than the manner in which he baffled all the deſigns of his enemies, and converted them to his own advantage. He employed his friends to inquire privately into the ſentiments of the army in general; and when he learnt that a majority were for ſeconding his projects and purſuing the enterprize, he ſuffered himſelf to be addreſſed by the malcontents, and even heard with the utmoſt patience a warm remonſtrance from Diego Ordaz, inſiſting upon the neceſſity of returning to Cuba. Cortez even carried his diſſimulation ſo far as to ſeem convinced by the arguments of Ordaz, and even publiſhed his declaration for preparing every neceſſary for the voyage; nay, he went ſo far as to reimbark great part of the troops: but

no

no ſooner was this reſolution ſpread through the army, than the ſoldiers whom his emiſſaries had gained over, and tutored in private, loudly complained that he had deceived them by promiſes of wealth and glory, which he was now going to abandon juſt as the path was made certain. They declared againſt returning to Cuba; adding, that if Cortez had not courage to proſecute the ſchemes he had projected, he might return with all thoſe that were of the ſame puſillanimous opinion; for they could eaſily find a general. The clamour increaſed, and was ſo dexterouſly managed, that it brought over many who had been perſuaded or forced to engage in the contrary faction. At length thoſe who had formerly declared for returning to Cuba, were now the moſt earneſt to remain in Mexico, inſomuch that the general's friends undertook to ſpeak to Cortez, to ſuſpend the execution of his order for ſailing. Accordingly, before this ardor cooled, they went, attended with a great number of ſoldiers, to the head-quarters, and acquainted the general that his reſolution to return had almoſt occaſioned a mutiny among the troops; they complained of his having relinquiſhed his projects without conſulting his officers; they repreſented the diſhonour of abandoning a great undertaking on the firſt appearance of difficulty; they reminded him of the cenſures incurred by Grijalva in a former expedition, for neglecting to make a ſettlement in the country he had diſcovered: in a word, they repeated as their own, with the greateſt heat and zeal, the very words which Cortez had privately dictated; mean while he liſtened with attention, and ſeemed to be drawn involuntarily into the very meaſures which he himſelf had propoſed; making his apology as if he had been wrongly informed that the army in general expreſſed a deſire of returning to Cuba. He now acquainted them that he would ſtay with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, as he found there was a ſpirit of honour that prevailed in the camp; but he would not retain ſoldiers againſt their inclination, and therefore he would give all thoſe leave to return who had not courage to encounter difficulties in the purſuit of fame and fortune.

No ſooner had Cortez uttered this reſolution, than the air reſounded with acclamations; ſome were really rejoiced, others put on the appearance of gladneſs to prevent the infamy of being thought cowards, and none was ſo hardy as to preſume oppoſing the making a ſettlement in Mexico; by which means Cortez once more reconciled the troops

troops to their duty, and effectually cruſhed for that time the endeavours of his enemies to ruin his reputation and fortune.

Ambaſſadors to Cortez from Zempoala.

Juſt as this affair was happily terminated, ambaſſadors arrived at the camp from the cazique of Zempoala, deſiring the alliance of Cortez and the Spaniards, the fame of whoſe magnanimous actions in Tabaſco had reached his dominions. The Zempoalan embaſſy was received with the utmoſt civility and reſpect, and Cortez gave the ambaſſadors to underſtand, that he accepted with pleaſure the proffers of friendſhip and alliance made by their maſter. He affected to conſider it as a providential event, that theſe propoſals ſhould arrive juſt as the Mexicans had withdrawn themſelves, and while his people were on the point of mutinying, as it would eſtabliſh his authority with the latter, and render him more able to reſiſt the attacks of the former. It augmented his ſatisfaction when he found that the cazique of Zempoala was the declared enemy of Motezuma, whoſe ſovereignty he refuſed to acknowlege, and that his dominions lay in his way to Quiabiſlan, the town diſcovered by Montejo, to which Cortez propoſed removing his camp. He alſo learnt from the ambaſſadors, that Motezuma was a cruel tyrant, equally feared and deteſted by his own ſubjects; that ſeveral provinces in the neighbourhood of Zempoala were ripe to throw off the yoke; and that the cazique their maſter, in particular, deſired nothing more than an opportunity of joining in a powerful league againſt the emperor.

Having diſmiſſed the Indian miniſters with preſents, and aſſurances that he would ſoon pay the cazique a viſit, he began forming his people into a regular corporation, and appointing magiſtrates, as a neceſſary previous ſtep to his ſettling a colony, though the troops were to be quartered in the province of Quiabiſlan. Accordingly he ſummoned a council of his principal officers, and made the following civil promotions. Alonſo Hernandez Portocarrero and Franciſco Montejo were appointed alcaldes; Alonſo d'Avila, Pedro and Alonſo d'Alvarado, together with Gonzalo de Sandoval, were conſtituted regidores; and Juan d'Eſcalante and Franciſco Alvenez Chico, were raiſed to the dignities of chief alguazils and procurators-general. Several other inferior officers were likewiſe made, and all enjoined by a ſolemn oath to the ſtrict diſtribution of juſtice and diſcharge of their duty. Upon the firſt meeting of the newly-formed council, the general, who appeared in

in the character of a private perſon in civil affairs, deſired admittance to make a propoſal which concerned the public good, and was of the laſt conſequence to the colony. He then informed them of the neceſſity there was to conſtitute a general, in order to inſure the obedience of the troops, on whom depended the ſecurity of the colony. He told them that he was not unacquainted with the defect in his own authority, as his commiſſion had been revoked by Velaſquez; he ſaid that to them it belonged to apply the proper remedies, and as they repreſented the king's perſon, to enlarge and confirm his powers, if they judged him worthy of that honour, or elſe to beſtow the command on ſome other perſon better qualified, to whom he would chearfully ſubmit for the common ſervice. "I from this moment, added he, reſign all right that may accrue to me from poſſeſſion, and ſurrender into your hands the title by which I have held it, that you may deliberate with all poſſible freedom upon the election. As my whole ſtudy is to promote the ſucceſs of this expedition, I aſſure you I can chearfully, and without offering myſelf the leaſt violence, take up a pike with the ſame hand which lays down the truncheon, and act with the ſame alacrity in the capacity of a ſoldier, as in the important poſt of a general; for if in war men learn to command by obeying, there are alſo certain caſes in which the having commanded evinces the neceſſity and propriety of obeying."

Having expreſſed himſelf to this effect, he threw upon the table his commiſſion, kiſſed the truncheon, and delivering it into the hands of the alcaldes, retired to his barrack. Cortez well knew upon whom the choice would fall, becauſe he had taken his meaſures before he put matters to the hazard. Accordingly, the council unanimouſly voted his re-election, and gave him his commiſſion in the king's name, until ſuch time as his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known; and they immediately communicated the new election to the ſoldiers, either to make trial how far it was agreeable, or elſe to ſtamp their own act with the general approbation. The rejoicings were extraordinary, and the council was thanked by the whole body of the army for their judicious choice, although in fact the whole was concerted by Cortez. A deputation afterwards waited upon the general, to acquaint him with the determination of the magiſtrates. From all theſe circumſtances we may collect that Cortez was not only a great ſoldier and able general, but a ſound politician, perfectly acquainted with

the human heart, and the means of rendering himſelf reſpectable.

Nevertheleſs, there were not wanting ſome perſons, dependents on Velaſquez, who endeavoured to give an invidious turn to this tranſaction, taxing Cortez with cunning and ambition, invalidating the authority of the council, and ridiculing the folly of thoſe who ſuffered themſelves to be deceived by ſo poor an artifice; but they ſoon had cauſe to repent of their temerity. Cortez, inveſted with his new authority, determined to apply remedies in time to the ſeditious humour, which, if not ſpeedily checked, might infect the whole community. Inſtead, therefore, of having recourſe to remonſtrances as on former occaſions, he reſolved to avail himſelf of his power, and to uſe rigour where patience might have proved ineffectual. He ordered Diego de Ordaz, Pedro Eſcudero, and Juan Velaſquez de Leon, to be ſeized, carried on board the fleet, and clapt in irons, a vigorous ſtep which ſtruck their adherents with ſuch terror, that all immediately returned to their obedience. The priſoners he likewiſe forgave at the interceſſion of his friends, upon their ſubmiſſion; and by this well timed act of ſeverity, not only nipped ſedition in the bud, but, by his clemency and affability, ſo effectually gained the friendſhip of the muniteers, that they ſtuck afterwards to his fortune in the worſt extremities, and approved themſelves the braveſt ſoldiers and faithfuleſt friends in his army.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Containing the Progreſs of the Spaniards in the Conqueſt of Mexico, their Wars with the Inhabitants of Tlaſcala, and afterwards their firm Alliance with that Republic.

CORTEZ having ſown the ſeeds of that colony which was afterwards to ſpring up with ſo much vigour, and eſtabliſhed his own authority upon the moſt ſolid baſis that circumſtances would permit, now entered upon meaſures for removing the fleet and army to Quiabiſlan; for which purpoſe it was neceſſary to ſend a party in ſearch of proviſion, which was now grown extremely ſcarce in the ſettlement. Alvarado was detached with a party for this purpoſe, and he ſoon returned with great quantities of Indian wheat, fowls, and ſuch other proviſion as the country afforded, after having penetrated as far as Cotaſta, without having pillaged a ſingle town or cabin. On his return, every thing was diſpoſed for the march of the troops. The fleet ſet ſail, and Cortez, with the army, proceeded by land, taking the road of Zempoala, and ſending out ſcouts to examine the country. On his arrival on the frontiers of the province, he found all the houſes and villages deſerted, a circumſtance which created ſuſpicion that the cazique's overtures of friendſhip were inſincere. Only the temples were left in their former ſituation, with their idols, inſtruments for ſacrificing, a few mangled limbs of human victims, and certain religious books, made of long ſkin, or varniſhed cloths, folded in ſuch a manner that every doubling formed a leaf, containing that kind of imagery, cyphers, or hieroglyphics, which had been uſed by the painters of Teutile. For the ſpace of two days, Cortez marched through this ſuſpicious ſolitude, expecting every moment to be attacked, when he was at laſt accoſted by twelve Indians laden with proviſions, ſent as a preſent by the cazique of Zempoala, with a ſecond invitation. This gave him ſome encouragement, though it did not entirely efface the doubts which he entertained about the cazique's fidelity. On the third day they approached Zempoala, and were met by twenty noble Indians; who complimented Cortez in the cazique's name, and apologized for their maſter's not paying his reſpects in perſon. Theſe conducted the Spaniards to the town which was the capital of the province, bearing the ſame name: the cazique came to the gate

Arrives at Zempoala, and contracts a friendſhip with the cazique.

gate to meet Cortez, ſupported on account of his ſurpriſing corpulency, by ſeveral noblemen, made them a ſhort and polite compliment, and ſoon gained the eſteem of the Spaniſh ſoldiers; who had at firſt given way to their mirth, occaſioned by his overgrown ſize, and ridiculous appearance. After having received the thanks of the general, he ordered the officers to be ſhewn their quarters in a large commodious ſquare, in which were many handſome apartments. Thoſe of Cortez, in particular, greatly ſurpaſſed any thing the Spaniards had ever beheld in America. But they could engage him to ſtay only one night, as he was in haſte to eſtabliſh his head-quarters in Quiabiſlan; however, before his departure, the cazique made him another viſit, and to render it the more acceptable, brought a rich preſent. He now demanded a private conference with Cortez, in which he complained of the tyranny of Motezuma, and intimated the deſire which many provinces had to throw off their bondage; but obſerved, that they were biaſſed by the great power of the emperor, and not very unanimous among themſelves. He expreſſed his wiſhes that Cortez would aſſiſt in recovering the liberties of the Mexicans; but ſaid, it was not his deſign to engage him in ſo difficult an enterprize, by the trifling civilities which it was in his power to beſtow; nor would it be conſiſtent with the laws of friendſhip to ſell, at ſo great a price, his inſignificant ſervices. Cortez diſcovered a mixture of art and generoſity in this harangue, which he anſwered in ſuch a manner, as impreſſed the cazique with the higheſt opinion of the Spaniſh nation and juſtice; and he declared, that he was under an indiſpenſible neceſſity of proceeding to Quiabiſlan, where the oppreſſed and injured might apply for his protection. This intimation he deſired the cazique would communicate to his friends, aſſuring them that Motezuma would ceaſe to tyrannize, ſhould he undertake their defence; a declaration favouring ſtrongly of the romantic ſpirit of chivalry; yet Cortez actually performed all that he promiſed.

Mean while, he took his leave, extremely well ſatisfied with his reception at Zempoala, and the diſpoſition in which he found the cazique; whence he drew preſages favourable to his great deſign. On his arrival at Quiabiſlan, he found the town deſerted, though naturally ſtrong; upon which the Spaniards took immediate poſſeſſion. In the temples they found a few prieſts, whom they gained by preſents and civilities; and from theſe they underſtood, that cowardice alone had occaſioned the cazique to abandon his town, and that the nobility, though more courageous,

rageous, had been influenced by his example: however, they ſaid, that as ſoon as they ſhould be informed of the friendly intentions of the ſtrangers, they doubted not but they would return to their habitations; and this was really the caſe; for that ſame night ſome families ventured to come back, and next day the town was fully inhabited. Then the cazique waited upon Cortez, and with him the chief of Zempoala, who undertook to apologize for his conduct, and the diffidence he had expreſſed of the Spaniards. They voluntarily introduced their complaints of Motezuma, and teſtified their ſincerity by the tears they ſhed in relating his cruelties. They pathetically repreſented the miſery of the people, and diſhonour of the nobility; and the cazique of Zempoala added, by way of climax, that, beſides raiſing his wealth out of the calamities of his ſubjects, Motezuma even invaded their houſes, and tore from them their wives and children, ſtaining with their blood the altars of his gods, after having ſacrificed them firſt to purpoſes more cruel and abominable. Scarce had the cazique finiſhed the recital of his grievances, when three Indians came in, with all the marks of horror and ſurprize in their countenances, and whiſpered to the caziques, who forthwith quitted the apartment in great confuſion, without the ceremony of taking leave. It was preſently known that ſix of Motezuma's commiſſaries for collecting his tributes, had entered the town with great retinues, and were then paſſing before the Spaniſh quarters. It was this incident which had thrown the caziques into ſo much diſorder; for they trembled at the ſeverity of thoſe officers, dreaded the indignation of Motezuma, and were grown puſillanimous in the courſe of ſubjection. Cortez went out with his captains to ſee the proceſſion, which was a ſpectacle altogether new to the Spaniards. The commiſſaries were carried in litters on the ſhoulders of Indians, attended by a great number of ſervants, and inferior officers, who cooled their maſters with fans made of beautiful feathers. Their dreſs was compoſed of fine plumes, pendants of gold and jewels in their ears, noſes, and lips, with cotton mantles adorned with gold and precious ſtones. They paſſed Cortez without paying him any marks of reſpect, and proceeded to the town-houſe, where they ſummoned the caziques, and ſeverely reprimanded them for preſuming to conduct ſtrangers into their towns, who were enemies to the great Motezuma. By way of atonement, for their preſumption, they demanded, beſides the uſual tribute, twenty Indians to ſacrifice to the emperor's gods.

He seizes upon the Mexican commissaries, and gains great reputation.

When notice of this inhuman demand was brought to Cortez, he sent for the caziques in the most private manner, and told them that he could penetrate into their most secret thoughts, and found they were disposed to yield obedience to the cruel sentence passed by the officers. He therefore charged them not to suffer such abominations, or any longer comply with the shocking demands of tributes in human blood; but, on the contrary, to assemble their people, seize upon their commissaries, and leave the Spaniards to maintain what was done by the advice of their general. The caziques were terrified at the boldness of this order, which, at first, they positively refused to execute; but Cortez repeating the injunction in a resolute tone, they assembled their townsmen, and seized upon the commissaries, to the great joy of the people, who were delighted at this spirited exertion, and the punishment which they expected to see inflicted on those instruments of tyranny and oppression. It was the intention of the caziques to execute them in the most ignominious manner; but finding Cortez averse to this measure, they desired, at least, to sacrifice them to their gods. Cortez ordered a Spanish guard upon the ministers; and as he did not approve entirely of commencing hostilities against Motezuma, nor thought it advisable, on the other hand, to desert that party of malecontents which was forming, he resolved to keep a middle course, suspend the effects of the resentment shewn by the caziques, and, without deserting his friends, make a merit with the emperor of having saved his officers from the intended punishment. With this view he ordered two of the prisoners to be brought to him, with the utmost privacy, at midnight. He told them, that he was studious to save their lives, and actually restored them to liberty; observing, that as they received this favour solely from his hands, they might assure Motezuma, he would endeavour to procure the release of the other prisoners, and to convince the caziques of their fault, in refusing obedience to the sacred orders of their prince. As for himself, he said, he was desirous of peace, and of shewing his reverence for so great a prince, by paying the due respect to his ministers and officers. The Indians seemed very sensible of the obligation; and after having returned thanks, set out under a Spanish guard, which saw them safe beyond the frontiers of Quiabislan, where they thought themselves out of danger of being retaken by the caziques. But Cortez carried his artifice still farther. Next morning, when the caziques acquainted him, in the utmost horror and confusion, that two of the prisoners had escaped,

eſcaped, he pretended to be extremely incenſed, and ſeverely reprimanded them for their want of vigilance and circumſpection, ordering that the remaining priſoners might be ſent on board the fleet, where he would charge himſelf with their impriſonment; by which expedient he not only gained the confidence of the two chiefs, but likewiſe opened the way to favour with Motezuma, by charging his officers to treat the priſoners with all poſſible kindneſs.

In this manner did Cortez purſue his ſchemes with the moſt refined policy, the good effects of which became immediately apparent. The juſtice, valour, and affability of the Spaniards, were exaggerated through all the neighbouring provinces. The caziques of Zempoala and Quiabiſlan acquainted all their friends and allies of the happineſs they enjoyed under the protection of the ſtrangers, being freed from impoſition, and ſecured in their liberties, by a people equally valiant, juſt, and generous. It was rumoured that the gods had come down to Quiabiſlan, darting lightning at Motezuma for his impiety; and this report gained ſo much credit, that it greatly facilitated the projects formed by Cortez. Above thirty caziques from the mountains, the lords of a ſavage people called Totonaques, paid their reſpects to the general, offered their troops to aſſiſt him in any enterprize, and ſurrendered themſelves wholly to his obedience, ſwearing fidelity and vaſſalage to the king of Spain. This was an important acquiſition, as theſe caziques ruled over rough, warlike nations, the inveterate enemies of Motezuma, and capable, according to Herrera, of bringing a hundred thouſand men into the field.

Town of Villa Rica founded.

It was at this period, that Cortez laid the foundation of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz; for hitherto the new corporation had travelled with the army. The general now pitched upon the plain between Quiabiſlan and the ſea, for the ſettlement, becauſe the land was fertile, abounding in wood and water, and very contiguous to a good harbour. The workmen were diſtributed according to their ſeveral profeſſions, and the Indians aſſiſted with equal diligence and dexterity. The houſes began to riſe, and the compaſs of the town was marked by a ſtrong mud wall, which formed a ſufficient defence againſt the weapons of the country. The principal officers of the army laboured with the diligence of the meaneſt ſoldiers; and even Cortez applied his hands and ſhoulders to the moſt ſervile occupations, by way of encouraging the people by his example, and ſhewing them, that whatever promoted the public good was honourable and praiſe-worthy.

While he was thus buſied in the arts of peace, an embaſſy, compoſed of Motezuma's two nephews, aſſiſted by five ancient caziques, as counſellors, and attended by a magnificent retinue, arrived with preſents from Mexico. The emperor, upon hearing of the reception given to the Spaniards by the chiefs of Zempoala and Quiabiſlan, was ſo highly enraged, that he gave orders to raiſe a numerous army, to take ſignal vengeance on the perfidious caziques, and ſacrifice the Spaniards to his gods; for while his anger predominated, he doubted not but he ſhould, without difficulty, be able to ſeize upon Cortez and his whole army. However, upon the arrival of the commiſſaries releaſed by Cortez, the ſcene inſtantly changed, and thoſe orders were revoked. The priſoners expatiated upon the valour, courteſy, and generoſity of the Spaniſh general, whoſe views were wholly pacific, and declared his reſpect for the great Motezuma was equal to that of the moſt faithful of his ſubjects. This remonſtrance appeaſed the indignation of the haughty ſovereign, who reſolved once more to try the effects of a negociation recommended by preſents; and to give more weight to the embaſſy, he appointed the young princes, his nephews, to wait upon Cortez. The preſent was delivered to the general, together with the emperor's thanks for the civilities ſhewn to his officers. Complaints were made of the rebellious ſpirit and preſumption of the caziques; and Motezuma's wiſhes expreſſed that Cortez would interpoſe for the releaſe of the other inferior officers. Finally, Motezuma earneſtly requeſted the Spaniards would withdraw their protection from his rebellious tributaries, relinquiſh the fruitleſs hope of being admitted to the royal preſence, and make the neceſſary preparations for evacuating the Mexican dominions. This laſt point was the main object of the embaſſy, and the princes laboured it with great zeal and addreſs, but to little effect, as Cortez had already fixed his reſolution. He received the ambaſſadors with great reſpect; but before he gave his anſwer, cauſed the four priſoners to be brought into his preſence, and returned them to Motezuma, telling the ambaſſadors, that he hoped the error of the caziques was fully repaired by the reſtitution which he now made; and declaring, that he found himſelf under the neceſſity of protecting them, in return for the many civilities beſtowed on him. He exhorted the ambaſſadors to admoniſh their prince to reſtrain his officers from demanding more from the ſubjects than was required by the ſovereign himſelf, and adding, to the oppreſſion of heavy taxes, the barbarity of human ſacrifices: he aſſured them, that neither the caziques

An embaſſy from Motezuma.

ziques of Zempoala and Quiabiſlan, nor thoſe of the mountains, who were entirely at his devotion, ſhould act in any thing prejudicial to the royal authority; and that for the reſt, he would explain himſelf when he had the honour of being admitted into Montezuma's preſence, aſſuring the ambaſſadors, that no dangers or difficulties could terrify Spaniards who were accuſtomed to ſeek glory amidſt the greateſt hazards. This reſolution he ſignified in ſo firm a tone of voice, that the ambaſſadors did not chooſe to reply, though they appeared diſſatisfied. He gave them ſome preſents, and diſmiſſed them, in full confidence, that, notwithſtanding their diſappointment with reſpect to the principal object of their journey, they could not but make their report favourable to the character of the Spaniards. Beſides, the equality upon which he treated with Montezuma, gave him great credit with the Indians, who were perſuaded that none but a deity, with ſo ſlender a force, durſt preſume to oppoſe ſo mighty a prince, who was even glad to purchaſe his friendſhip with preſents, although he diſdained to bend his knee to his idols; and theſe ſentiments were confirmed by the prodigies and omens which had made ſo deep an impreſſion on this credulous people.

Prudence and penetration were, indeed, no leſs neceſſary to Cortez than valour; he was obliged to guard againſt the ſnares laid by his friends, as well as to oppoſe the open attacks of his enemies. The cazique of Zempoala was the inveterate enemy of the chief of the neighbouring province of Zempazingo; and he thought this a proper opportunity of taking vengeance, and enriching himſelf with plunder. He told Cortez, that a body of Mexicans were quartered in Zempazingo, and that they deſolated his fields, and ruined his country, on account of his attachment to the Spaniards. Cortez believed the feigned relation, and accordingly marched with a corps of Spaniards and Indians to attack Zempazingo; but finding the town deſerted, and meeting with ſome prieſts, the deceit was diſcovered. He then reproved the cazique of Zempoala for ſeducing him by falſities, to be the mean inſtrument of his private revenge, and the tool to gratify his avarice: he contracted a friendſhip with the cazique of Zempazingo, reconciled the two chiefs, and gained the eſteem of both parties, by the equity and ſteadineſs of his conduct. On his return to Zempoala, the cazique endeavoured to efface his fault, by a preſent of eight of the moſt beautiful virgins in his province. One of them was his niece, and her he preſented to Cortez, deſiring he would take her for his wife, and diſtribute the reſt among his officers; an honour which

which Cortez declined, on account of his religion, taking this opportunity to perſuade the cazique to abjure idolatry, and embrace the Chriſtian religion: a point which he laboured to little purpoſe, although he proceeded ſo far as to pull down the images in the temple, erecting croſſes in their ſtead, together with the other emblems of the Roman catholic religion. Upon this circumſtance all the Spaniſh writers expatiate with great zeal, praiſing the piety of Cortez; though we cannot reconcile Chriſtianity with the ambitious ſchemes he had projected, and the unjuſt attack made upon the dominions of a prince from whom he had received no injury. Whatever the piety of Cortez might have been, it is certain that the propagation of the Goſpel was by no means the motive of the Spaniſh court for extending her conqueſts in America; and the vaſt treaſures brought from thence into Spain evince, that the pious ſubjects of the moſt catholic king laboured more aſſiduouſly in the gold and ſilver mines of Mexico and Peru, than in the vineyard of ſalvation.

Cortez receives a ſlender reinforcement of Spaniards, and diſpatches meſſengers to Spain.

Upon the return of the Spaniards to their new ſettlement at Vera Cruz, they were joined by Franciſco de Sancedo, who had left Cuba with one officer and ten men, to join Cortez, and attach themſelves to his fortune. This ſupply gave great pleaſure to the general; but it was conſiderably abated by the intelligence which Sancedo brought, that Velaſquez, the governor, had remonſtrated to the court upon the deſertion of Cortez, and obtained a commiſſion from the king, appointing him lieutenant not only of the iſland of Cuba, but ſole director of all the diſcoveries and conqueſts which ſhould be made on the continent, with power to beſtow employments, and equip expeditions, in whatever manner he ſhould think proper. It was, therefore, neceſſary for Cortez to vindicate his own conduct to the court, and efface any bad impreſſions which might probably remain from the miſrepreſentations of Velaſquez. He likewiſe thought it incumbent upon him to have his commiſſion immediately from the king, and wholly independent on Velaſquez; for which purpoſe he determined to diſpatch Portocarreo and Montejo to Spain, with an account of his proceedings. He laid his intention before the community of Vera Cruz, and obtained a letter, ſigned by all the magiſtrates, giving a ſhort relation of the ſucceſs of the expedition, the provinces already brought under the obedience of his catholic majeſty, the ſettlement made at Vera Cruz, the riches, fertility, and great plenty of this new world, the progreſs of the Goſpel, and the diſpoſitions that were making for bringing the powerful empire of the tyrant Motezuma under ſubjection,

jection, by means of his own diſaffected ſubjects. In this letter were mentioned the violent conduct of Velaſquez, with a full vindication of the meaſures taken by Cortez, the ſtrongeſt encomiums upon his conduct, his valour, prudence, clemency, juſtice, and every quality that conſtitutes the general and ſtateſman. Great praiſe, likewiſe, was beſtowed on the courage and conſtancy of all the other captains and ſoldiers engaged in the expedition. In a word, his majeſty was intreated, in the name of the town and magiſtrates of La Vera Cruz, to confirm the authority of Cortez, and cheriſh, by his countenance, an infant colony, that promiſed to produce the greateſt wealth and honour to his royal diadem. To this letter Cortez added another from himſelf, in which he entered more minutely upon his juſtification, and gave ſtrong aſſurances of his well-grounded expectation of bringing the empire of Motezuma under his majeſty's obedience. With theſe diſpatches were ſent all the gold, jewels, and other preſents and effects, which the colony had acquired ſince their arrival in Mexico, either by gift, conqueſt, or traffic, the ſoldiers chearfully giving up their ſhares, that the offering made by their general might appear with the more ſplendour. The beſt ſhip in the fleet was got ready for this voyage, and the two envoys ſet ſail for Spain on the 16th of July, with ſtrict injunctions to paſs through the channel of Bahama, if poſſible, in order to avoid being intercepted by Velaſquez, and, on no account, to touch at any part of the iſland of Cuba.

Scarce had Cortez finiſhed this important buſineſs, when he was alarmed by the diſcovery of a conſpiracy to deſtroy the whole ſcheme, by giving intelligence to Velaſquez of the courſe of the ſhip, and the contents of the diſpatches. De Solis alleges, that the project was laid, to ſeize upon the ſhip, and carry her off, with all the diſpatches, to Cuba. Be this as it may, Cortez had no ſooner made diſcovery of the contrivance, than he ſeized upon the conſpirators, two of whom were, after a regular trial, condemned to death, and two others to be ſcourged. All the reſt were pardoned, except the chief mariner, who was ſentenced to loſe one foot, as a juſt puniſhment, which, however, would not render him incapable of ſervice. A.D. 1519. *He diſcovers a conſpiracy.*

Cortez having taken theſe neceſſary ſteps, turned his thoughts towards employing his ſoldiers upon ſome greater enterprize than had hitherto been undertaken; but he firſt reſolved to deſtroy the fleet, to cut off all poſſibility of retreating, and to convince the ſoldiers that their only ſecurity conſiſted in their valour and perſeverance. This

ſcheme

scheme he communicated to some of his friends, by whom it was approved. It was then referred to the council, and obtained their approbation; and the measure was so well conducted, that even the mariners and pilots were satisfied with the prudence of the resolution, upon a presumption that the ships would necessarily sink for want of repairing. Accordingly, they were all burnt, Cortez only reserving the rigging, and a few boats for fishing; a measure equally bold and politic, immediately after which preparations were made for advancing farther in the country. A general muster being taken, the army was found to consist of five hundred foot, fifteen horse, and six pieces of cannon; a very inconsiderable force for the reduction of a vast empire. Of this slender corps, a hundred and fifty men and two horses were left for the defence of the settlement, under the conduct of Juan de Escalante, an officer in whose valour and abilities Cortez placed the greatest confidence. The cazique of Zempoala had provided two hundred Tamenes, or Indian porters, to carry the baggage; and had, besides, augmented the army with a body of troops, out of which Cortez selected four hundred men that appeared the most strong and desperate, among whom were near fifty of the principal nobility of the province. To the cazique he recommended, in the strongest terms, obedience to Escalante, the governor of Vera Cruz, who, he assured him, would not fail to protect him from all insults and injuries during his absence, provided that his behaviour should merit his favour and regard.

He begins his march for Tlascala.

Just as the troops were beginning their march, Escalante sent advice to the general, that a squadron had been seen off Vera Cruz, but would not bring to, though he made them signals of peace. Such intelligence was not to be disregarded; accordingly, Cortez set out from the army for the settlement, and found, upon his arrival, that one of the vessels had come to an anchor, and some men were landing, who approached without any symptoms of fear. It soon appeared that this was a notary, attended by witnesses, to prove his notification to Cortez, that Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, had, by virtue of the king's commission, equipped a squadron, consisting of three ships and two hundred and seventy men, under the command of Alonso de Pinada, to make discoveries; and that they had already taken possession of the lands near the river Panuci, where it was intended to establish a colony, about twelve or fourteen leagues to the westward. Garay, therefore, required that Cortez should not attempt to make any settlements that way. To this intimation, the general answered,

anſwered, that he was a ſtranger to forms of law; but if the captain would favour him with an interview, every thing ſhould be adjuſted in the manner moſt beneficial to the public, as they were both ſubjects of the ſame prince, and mutually obliged to promote his ſervice. On the notary's refuſing to go back with this meſſage, and inſiſting, in a diſreſpectful manner, upon a direct anſwer, Cortez ordered him and his companions to be ſeized, and had afterwards the good fortune to take priſoners three more of the ſhip's crew, who enliſted without ſcruple, in his ſervice, as did the notary and his companions; a reinforcement of ſome conſequence at that juncture. He then returned to Zempoala, giving himſelf no uneaſineſs about Garay's attempts, and congratulating himſelf that it was no armament ſent by Velaſquez to obſtruct his projects. He began his march with a body of Spaniards in the van, and another of Indians in the rear; the charge of the artillery being committed to the ſtrongeſt of the Tamenes, and the baggage diſtributed among the reſt. In this order he paſſed through ſeveral towns belonging to the mountaineers, in all which he was kindly received; yet he was expoſed to every inconvenience which ſcarcity of proviſion, inclemency of weather, bad roads, mountains and precipices, could throw in his way. The cold was exceſſive, and the ſhowers of rain were hard and frequent, inſomuch that the ſoldiers, deprived of the means of ſhelter, kept themſelves warm by continual marching. Cortez at laſt gained the top of the mountains, from whence he could diſcover ſome villages at a little diſtance, to which the army proceeded with alacrity, and met with refreſhment, that ſoon effaced the memory of all their paſt labours. They were now on the borders of Zocothlun, a large and populous province, the cazique of which reſided in the capital of the ſame name, ſituated in the valley, at the foot of the mountain. Cortez gave him notice of his arrival by two Zempoalans, and received an invitation from the cazique to lodge in his city, where, however, upon his arrival, the ſoldiers met with ſuch indifferent entertainment, as ſatisfied the general that he was invited rather from motives of fear than affection. When the cazique viſited him, it appeared that he was the mere tool of Motezuma, employed to inſpire his enemies with dread, by exaggerating his power. Cortez penetrated into his deſigns, and fruſtrated them, by acquainting the chief, that he was ſufficiently informed of the emperor's power; but, though his intentions were pacific, he did not fear the whole ſtrength of Mexico. "I ſhall never, ſays he, draw

Encounters difficulties.

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my ſword without juſt provocation; but when it is once drawn, every thing ſhall be deſtroyed with fire and ſword; nature will aſſiſt me with her prodigies, and heaven with its lightning. I come to aboliſh human ſacrifices, and to vindicate the cauſe of a tremendous Being, who is ſhocked at the barbarous ſuperſtition and ignorant idolatry of Motezuma, which you reverence as part of his grandeur." The impreſſion which this bold ſpeech made on the cazique was perceivable; he not only accommodated the ſoldiers with better lodging and proviſion, but ſhewed an awful reſpect for the meaneſt Spaniard, as if he believed him a ſuperior being; for what could he imagine of a handful of men, who ſet at defiance what he believed to be the greateſt power on earth, but that they were ſomething ſupernatural? As a difficulty aroſe about the route which Cortez ſhould take, the cazique recommended Cholula, becauſe the country was fertile, and the inhabitants, who were more diſpoſed to commerce than war, would grant him an undiſputed paſſage; whereas, he with great earneſtneſs diſſuaded him from the road of Tlaſcala, as the people of that province were of a bloody, warlike diſpoſition. This advice, however, was oppoſed by the Indians that attended Cortez. They affirmed that Cholula was a very populous city, the inhabitants of which were inſidious and treacherous; beſides that, it was generally filled with Motezuma's troops. As to the Tlaſcalans, they affirmed, he had nothing to fear, ſince they were bound by the ſtricteſt ties of amity and alliance with the Zempoalans and Totonoques, and waged continual war with Motezuma. What they ſaid was agreeable to the general's own ſentiments; and chuſing rather to confide in approved friends than in the cazique, who appeared ſo much attached to Motezuma, he gave orders for the army to march ſtrait for Tlaſcala, on the frontiers of which he ſoon arrived. Then he halted at a town called Xacozango, upon hearing that the province was in arms, but the deſign was kept ſecret, in order to obtain more certain intelligence of the ſtrength and diſpoſition of the people.

Cortez learned that the province of Tlaſcala was populous and extenſive, its frontier being about fifty leagues in compaſs. The country was rough and mountainous, the towns were built on eminences difficult of acceſs, and the inhabitants brave, hardy, and accuſtomed to arms. At firſt the government had been monarchical; but the independent ſpirit of the Tlaſcalans not brooking ſubjection to an individual, threw off the yoke, and after having lived ſome time in a ſtate of anarchy, formed themſelves into a regular

regular common-wealth, under the direction of a ſenate and magiſtrates, whoſe juriſdictions were limited to certain towns. The republic was now in the zenith of her power and glory, having for a ſeries of years foiled all the power of Motezuma, and eſtabliſhed liberty on the moſt ſolid baſis, in conſequence of alliances formed with ſeveral provinces for their mutual defence. In particular, the Tlaſcalans were ſtrictly confederated with the Otomies, a people deemed ſavage even in this barbarous country, fierce in war, and cruel in conqueſt. This information determined Cortez to addreſs the Tlaſcalans with an embaſſy, to requeſt a free paſſage through the territories of the republic; and he choſe for this employment the Zempoalan nobles, who had adviſed the road of Tlaſcala, that their credit might be intereſted in the iſſue of the negociation. Four of theſe, perfectly inſtructed by Cortez, ſet out to execute their commiſſion, diſtinguiſhed by all the badges of embaſſy uſual among the Indians. Entering the city of Tlaſcala, they were lodged in the calpiſca, the apartments deſtined for the reception of foreign miniſters, and next day admitted to an audience of the ſenate. The members of this aſſembly were ranged on low chairs, made of one piece of wood, called yopales. At the entrance of the ambaſſadors, they roſe up and welcomed them with a kind of reſerved civility, and important gravity. The Zempoalans, having paid their reſpects to the ſenate, walked leiſurely up to the middle of the hall, where they kneeled down, and waited for leave to ſpeak; which being granted, the orator of the embaſſy delivered himſelf to the following effect: "Noble republic, potent and valiant Tlaſcalans, the cazique of Zempoala, and the lords of the mountains your friends and confederates, ſend you health; and wiſh you abundant crops, and the death of your enemies: they give you to underſtand, that certain invincible men are arrived among them from the Eaſt, who ſeem to be divinities; for they ſail upon great palaces, and command thunder and lightning, the peculiar arms of Heaven. They ſerve another God, ſuperior to our gods, who deteſts tyranny and ſacrifices of human blood. Their captain is ambaſſador from a very potent monarch, who, from motives of piety, is impelled to reform the abuſes of our country, teach us the knowlege of the true God, and reſcue us from the oppreſſion, tyranny, and cruelty of the bloody Motezuma. Having already delivered our provinces from bondage, and placed us in a ſtate of liberty, he deſires to paſs through your republic in his

He ſends an embaſſy to Tlaſcala.

his way to Mexico; and to be informed in what the tyrant has offended you, that he may add your cauſe to the others which juſtify his undertaking. We know his valour, juſtice, generoſity, and pacific intention, and therefore come, in the name of the caziques your allies, to requeſt and exhort, that you will admit theſe ſtrangers as the friends and benefactors of your confederates. On the part of their captain, we can aſſure you that his diſpoſitions to the republic are friendly, and that he only demands a free paſſage through your country, after you ſhall be perſuaded of the ſincerity of his good-will, and that his arms are the inſtruments of juſtice, reaſon, and religion, which vindicate the cauſe of Heaven; mild and good in their own nature, and terrible only to the wicked." The ambaſſadors having finiſhed their harangue, retired to their ſeats, and were anſwered by the eldeſt ſenator in the name of the reſt, that the propoſition of the Zempoalans and Totonoques was grateful to the republic; but that the anſwer to the captain of the ſtrangers required mature deliberation: with which anſwer the ambaſſadors retired to the calpiſca, while the ſenators ſhut themſelves up to diſcuſs the propriety of granting the demand made by Cortez.

Diviſions in the ſenate of Tlaſcala.

On this point they were ſoon divided in opinion, whence enſued very warm diſputes. Some were for attacking the ſtrangers, and deſtroying them as enemies to the country in general; others adviſed granting their demand, and attaching them, by civilities, to the republic; while a third party ſteered a middle courſe, and propoſed they ſhould not be moleſted, provided they continued their march without entering the dominions of Tlaſcala. After abundance of altercation, Magiſcatzin, one of the oldeſt ſenators, and a perſon of great authority, deſired to be heard. He mentioned the tradition of their anceſtors, and the revelations of their prieſts, that a race of invincible men, of divine origin, who had power over the elements, ſhould come from the Eaſt, to ſubdue their country. He compared the reſemblance which the ſtrangers bore to the perſons figured in the tradition of Mexico, their dominion over the elements of fire, air, and water; he reminded the ſenate of the prodigies, omens, and ſignals, which had lately terrified the Mexicans, and indicated ſome very important event; and then declared his opinion, that it would be raſhneſs to oppoſe a force apparently aſſiſted by Heaven, and men who had already proved, to the ſad experience of the Tabaſcans, that they were invincible. In a word, he ballanced the danger of a refuſal againſt the advantages which might reſult from granting the requeſt of the ſtrangers;

gers; and declared his opinion, that they ought not only to be allowed a free paſſage, but diſtinguiſhed by all the reſpect and honour which the republic had power to beſtow.

The ſentiments of this ſage met with great applauſe, and all the ſenate were inclined to follow his advice, when Xicotencal, a young ſenator of great ſpirit, valour, and reputation in arms, roſe up, and anſwered him in the following ſtrain. "I pay all due reſpect to the authority and opinion of Magiſcatzin; but you will not think it ſtrange, conſidering my age and profeſſion, if I have notions leſs refined, and politics more daring. When we talk of war, we are often deceived by that which we call prudence; for whatever reſembles fear is not virtue, but paſſion. It is true, there is an expectation among us of thoſe oriental reformers, ſuſtained by a prophecy ſlow in its completion. It is not my inclination to diſcredit a tradition that has become venerable by the conſent of ages; but tell me, I pray you, what ſecurity have we that theſe are the promiſed ſtrangers? Is it the ſame thing to come from the Eaſt as to come from the celeſtial regions, which we conſider as the birth-place of the ſun? The fire-arms and great boats, which you call ſea-palaces, may be the effects of human induſtry, which are admired for their novelty; and, perhaps, they may be the deluſion of ſome inchantment, like the deception of the ſight, which we call juggling in our diviners. Was what they did in Tabaſca any more than their defeating an army ſuperior to themſelves in number; and ſhall this be thought wonderful in Tlaſcala, where greater actions are daily performed by natural means? May not the great benignity they have uſed towards the Zempoalans be an artifice to gain that people? at leaſt, I ſhall deem it a ſuſpicious ſweetneſs to pleaſe the palate, and cover the internal poiſon; as it is perfectly conſiſtent with what we already know of their pride, avarice, and ambition. Theſe men, if they be not, in fact, ſome monſters thrown up by the ſea on our coaſts, rob our people, live at diſcretion, guided by no other law than their own will, and given up to the delights of this country, deſpiſe our conſtitutions, and endeavour to introduce innovations equally dangerous to religion and government. They deſtroy our temples, as appears from their conduct at Zempoala; pull in pieces our altars, and blaſpheme our gods; and is this the race you call celeſtial? If the Zempoalans and Totonoques have received them into their friendſhip, it was without conſulting our republic; conſequently we are under no ties, by the laws of nations, to follow their example. They advance

Xicotencal's ſpeech.

under no other protection than the want of reflection, which deserves to be punished as presumptuous. These prodigies and signals, so magnified by Magiscatzin, rather persuade us to treat them like enemies, as being constant harbingers of calamities and miseries. Heaven, with its prodigies, does not give us notice of what we wish, but what we are to fear; for those felicities never come accompanied by terrors; nor does Heaven light comets to lull us to sleep, but to awake us to a sense of our danger. My opinion therefore is, that we assemble our forces, and crush them at one blow; for they come into our power, marked by signals in the Heavens, purposely that we may look on them as oppressers of our country, and revilers of our gods; and that, in establishing the reputation of our arms by punishing those intruders, the world may perceive that it is not the same thing to be immortal in Tabasco, and invincible in Tlascala."

Resolution of the senate to oppose Cortez.

The speech of Xicotencal was received with loud acclamations, and soon effaced every trace left in the minds of the audience by the more cautious advice of Magiscatzin; it was congenial to the warlike humour of the people, full of fire, spirit, and resolution, and therefore his advice was adopted as the most honourable suggestion. They resolved, therefore, that Xicotencal should assemble a body of forces, to measure his strength with the strangers, without engaging or hazarding the whole power of the republic. If he overcame the enemy, the reputation of the republic in arms would be increased; and if he should be defeated, there was room to treat of peace, by laying the blame upon the Otomies, and declaring it was a disorder occasioned by their ferocity. In consequence of this determination, the Zempoalan ambassadors were detained, a circumstance which raised suspicions in the mind of Cortez that the embassy was ill received, and obliged him, after having stayed eight days in his encampment, to draw nearer the city of Tlascala. He accordingly passed a strong wall which joined two mountains, and had been raised at a vast expence of labour by the ancient inhabitants, against the invasions of their enemies. It was happy for Cortez that the Tlascalans had not thought of defending this post, either because they chose to give battle in the open plain, or had not so soon expected his approach. He had not marched far beyond the wall, when a party of the Tlascalans was discovered with plumes, which denoted that an army was in the field. These he drove before him by a detachment of six horse, obliging them to join another party. Then reinforcing the advanced detachment, he charged the enemy with

with ſuch vigour, that they began to retire, when five thouthouſand Tlaſcalans ruſhed, with loud ſhouts, from the buſhes in which they had concealed themſelves, juſt as the infantry ſeaſonably came up to ſupport their ſlender body of cavalry. The Indians attacked with the utmoſt fury; but they were ſo much diſconcerted by the firſt diſcharge of the fire-arms, that they retreated in confuſion, and the Spaniards purſued them with great ſlaughter. Cortez, however, ſuſpecting that this could not be their whole force, and that it was rather a ſtratagem than a flight, reunited his corps, and advanced with the utmoſt caution, in order of battle, to an eminence, from whence he diſcovered the whole Tlaſcalan army, compoſed of near forty thouſand men of different nations, under the command of Xicotencal, general of the republic. The experience which the Spaniards had gained at Tabaſco prevented their being diſcouraged by the vaſt ſuperiority of the enemy; they marched down the hill with perfect compoſure, formed on the plain, brought down their artillery without hurry or confuſion, and diſpoſed every thing for attacking the Tlaſcalans, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of victory. Xicotencal had, indeed, ſhewed his dexterity, by diſpoſing his troops in ſuch a manner as to ſurround the Spaniards. Then he contracted the circle with incredible diligence, and diſcharged ſuch quantities of darts, ſtones, and arrows, as almoſt covered the little army of Cortez. Being ſenſible, however, by the terrible ſlaughter of his troops, of the inferiority of the Indian miſſile weapons to the fire-arms of the enemy, he cloſed, in order to try the effects of his pikes and ſwords. In this particular the Indians were not more upon an equality; they fought with great courage and impetuoſity, but they fell in heaps, either by the ſword, or the vollies diſcharged among them from the artillery. It was their policy to conceal their ſlain or wounded; yet it was apparent their numbers were diminiſhed, and their fury abated, for they fell back to a greater diſtance, though they ſtill continued the engagement. Cortez, who had all this while fought in the form of a ſquare, preſenting a front to every ſide, now conſulted his officers, whether he ſhould not force his way through the enemy, to a place where he might extend his line, and fight to more advantage? which propoſal they approving, he formed his men into a column, puſhed on with irreſiſtible fury, and, after an obſtinate engagement, entirely broke and routed the enemy, chiefly by means of the horſes, which the Tlaſcalans beheld with equal aſtoniſhment and terror. In the purſuit, one Nicrón, a Spaniſh horſeman, engaged himſelf too far, was ſurrounded, and

He defeats the Tlaſcalans in ſeveral engagements.

taken priſoner by the Indians, after they had killed his horſe. They ſevered the animal's head, which was placed as a trophy on the point of a ſpear, and carried in triumph to the ſenate; but Nicron had the good fortune to be reſcued by his companions. By this accident the Tlaſcalans were encouraged to rally, and renew the charge with redoubled vigour, that might have proved fatal to the lives of many Spaniards, had it continued; but, fortunately, Xicotencal had ordered a retreat to be ſounded, on diſcovering that moſt of his officers were ſlain, apprehending that he ſhould not be able to govern ſuch a multitude of ſoldiers by his own authority. Thus the Spaniards remained maſters of the field, though the Tlaſcalans likewiſe claimed the victory, only becauſe they were not completely defeated, and had taken what they deemed an ineſtimable prize, the head of a Spaniſh horſe, which was greatly admired, and ſacrificed with the utmoſt ſolemnity in one of the temples. On their ſide the ſlaughter was very great, but the killed and wounded were carried off the field with the utmoſt diligence; while Cortez ſuſtained no other loſs than that of one horſe, and nine ſoldiers ſlightly wounded.

The route being thus laid open, Cortez marched to a village in the way to Tlaſcala, of which he took poſſeſſion without oppoſition, and then refreſhed his ſoldiers with abundance of proviſion, which the enemy had left behind; but it was obvious that the road to Tlaſcala would ſtill be diſputed, and that the republic, by no means, acknowleged herſelf conquered. The death of ſo many great officers and caziques occaſioned various opinions in the ſenate; but ſtill Xicotencal maintained a majority, who were for trying the fortune of Tlaſcala in another engagement, notwithſtanding the loud clamours raiſed by Magiſcatzin's party againſt the general's vanity and raſhneſs. Xicotencal, on the other hand, animated his drooping countrymen by the trophy of the horſe's head; he deſired a reinforcement, and promiſed to give a good account of the enemy, with ſo much confidence, that the ſenate was ready to enter into the meaſures dictated by his revenge, when an auxiliary cazique arrived with ten thouſand men, and infuſed freſh ſpirits into the republic. Cortez would have made propoſals of peace; but he could find no Zempoalans who would undertake the commiſſion; for their countrymen had juſt eſcaped from confinement, upon notice that they were to be ſacrificed in a few days to the gods of Tlaſcala. The general having ſeized upon ſeveral villages in the way to the capital, returned to the camp with great quantities of proviſions, and

a number

a number of priſoners, from whom he had intelligence, that Xicotencal was encamped at the diſtance of two leagues, and diligent in recruiting his forces, which would, in a day or two, be much more numerous than in the former engagement. Though ſenſible, that if victory depended upon numbers, the Spaniards would have no chance with the Tlaſcalans, he releaſed all the priſoners, ſaying, he would augment Xicotencal's army, to ſhew the republic how little he feared her utmoſt ſtrength; a ſtep which gave the enemy the moſt extravagant ideas of his valour and generoſity, and contributed greatly to his future ſucceſs; beſides, by this expedient he increaſed his own ſtrength, having no occaſion to employ troops to guard the priſoners. He charged thoſe whom he releaſed, to tell Xicotencal, that he was concerned for the loſs which the republic had ſuſtained in the battle; but the ſenate was to blame for treating them in a hoſtile manner, who had only pacific deſigns. Notwithſtanding this cauſe of diſpleaſure, he would ſtill, he ſaid, enter upon a negociation as if nothing had paſſed; but inſiſted upon Xicotencal's diſarming, unleſs he wanted to be utterly deſtroyed, and deſired that the name and misfortunes of Tlaſcala ſhould be made a terror to all the neighbouring nations.

It was imagined this bold meſſage would intimidate the Indian general; but it produced the very contrary effect, and ſo roufed his reſentment, that he cauſed the priſoners to be mutilated for their preſumption, and ſent them back with an anſwer, that Cortez ſhould ſee him in the field at the firſt riſing of the ſun; for his intention was to carry him and all his people, alive, to offer them up as ſacrifices to the gods of the republic. This notice he gave him, that he might prepare himſelf; ſaying, that he was not accuſtomed to leſſen the glory of his victories by taking the enemy at a diſadvantage. With theſe menaces Cortez and Xicotencal irritated each other, while both made the moſt vigorous preparations for terminating the war by one deciſive blow. The Spaniſh general kept ſtrict guard during the night, and next morning advanced half a league to an advantageous poſt, where he determined to wait for the Tlaſcalans, in ſuch a diſpoſition as the experience of the preceding engagement dictated to be neceſſary. His flanks were ſecured by the artillery; and orders were iſſued with reſpect to the times and diſtances when the cannon ſhould be diſcharged to moſt advantage. Cortez took poſt at the head of the cavalry, that he might ſuperintend the whole action, ſuccour thoſe who were hard preſſed, and move with more facility and velocity to the different parts of his

army, as occaſion might require. In a ſhort time the enemy's van appeared, and the ſcouts returned with advice, that an army was in motion which covered the whole country. It conſiſted of fifty thouſand men, the whole ſtrength of the republic united to that of her allies. The golden eagle of Tlaſcala, which is only brought forth upon the moſt extraordinary occaſions, was diſplayed aloft in the middle, and every circumſtance declared that the engagement would be bloody and deciſive. When the Indian army approached within a proper diſtance, the artillery poured ſuch deſtruction upon their ranks, that they reeled back, and ſeemed divided between the different paſſions of ſhame, fear, and reſentment; but the latter prevailing, they advanced in a tumultuous manner, and were ſaluted with ſuch vollies from the muſquetry and croſs-bows, as put them a ſecond time in ſuſpence whether they ought not to leave the field to the enemy. Xicotencal, however, animated them by his voice and example, to ſuch a pitch of deſpair, that they puſhed each other on to deſtruction, the rear ranks trampling upon thoſe in the front, and ruſhing like a torrent with ſuch violence, that they broke the Spaniards and Zempoalans; ſo that it required the utmoſt abilities of Cortez to rally his forces, and withſtand ſo furious a charge. He flew to every part, exhorted, intreated, and animated with ſuch ſucceſs, that the Spaniards, ſummoning up their whole fortitude and valour, dealt deſtruction on every ſide, while Cortez, with the cavalry, bore down all before him. All at once, the enemy were obſerved to be in the utmoſt confuſion, their troops moving to different parts, dividing and bearing upon each other, until the rear-guard retired in a tumultuous manner, and thoſe who were engaged in front were left to find their ſafety in flight. Cortez ſuſpected ſome ſtratagem, and therefore purſued with caution; but he ſoon learned from the priſoners, that the proud and paſſionate Xicotencal had affronted one of the moſt powerful of his allies, who, reſenting the injury, drew off his troops, and with them the bulk of the confederate army; a receſſion which obliged Xicotencal to leave the field, and an indiſputable victory to the Spaniards. Their loſs was inconſiderable, only one ſoldier being killed, and twenty ſlightly wounded; their triumph was complete; yet were the ſoldiers aſhamed and mortified that they ſhould have been broken, and put in diſorder by barbarians; a circumſtance which touched them ſo nearly, that they returned to their quarters, melancholy and diſheartened, as if they had been defeated. This circumſtance was productive of much diſſenſion, the

ſoldiers

soldiers blaming each other, and some charging the whole fault on Cortez. They declared they would not sacrifice themselves to gratify his humour, but would repair to Vera Cruz, leaving him alone to pursue the dictates of rash ambition. Notice of the seditious disposition of the soldiers was no sooner brought to Cortez than he assembled the whole army, placing the most discontented near his person, and laid before them his present circumstances, as if he had desired their counsel and advice. He represented all they had to hope from advancing, and to fear if they retreated; he painted, in such lively colours, the shame of abandoning the fruits of so many glorious victories, and he placed every object in so favourable a point of view, that all murmuring ceased, and one of the most mutinous told his companions aloud, "That the general instructed them in what they ought to do, while he was only asking their advice: it is not possible for us (said he) to retreat, without sacrificing our hopes, our glory, and our lives." All were convinced of the rectitude of the general's opinion; and it was resolved, with loud acclamation, to prosecute the enterprize. *He appeases a mutiny of his troops.*

Matters went otherwise at Tlascala, where nothing appeared but confusion, disorder, and dismay. The second defeat of the army occasioned a general consternation. The common people cried out for peace; and the nobility, had they been unanimous, were unable to carry on the war without their assistance. It was the opinion of the more timid, that they ought to retire with their families to the mountains; of the more superstitious, that the Spaniards were deities, and ought, as such, to be worshipped; of the more resolute, that another engagement should be hazarded; and of the more prudent and moderate, that peace should be solicited, and the Spaniards gained by kindness, since they could not be conquered by numbers nor valour. Consultations were held in the senate, the result of which were, that the Spaniards indeed were not gods, but that their actions were so extraordinary and supernatural as to display the influence of magical powers; for which reason it would be proper to consult the magicians of the republic. Those impostors declared without scruple, that, in consequence of profound study, and deep observation of their circles, they had fully discovered the source of those supernatural acts of valour which were performed by the strangers. They alleged, that the Spaniards were the children of the sun, produced by his own active quality in the mother earth of the oriental regions, impregnated by his spirit; and their greatest inchantment was the presence of their *The Tlascalans consult the magicians, and are again defeated.*

their father, whoſe warm influence communicated to them a force ſuperior to human nature, and rendered them immortal while his beams ſhone upon them; but that upon his returning to the Weſt, the influence ceaſed, and his children remained diſheartened, weak, and withered, like the herbs of the field, and reduced to the mortal condition of other men: for which reaſon they propoſed that the ſtrangers ſhould be attacked in the night, and deſtroyed before the riſing ſun again rendered them invincible.

It is no wonder the ſenate of Tlaſcala ſhould acquieſce in this propoſal, which ſo agreeably coincided with their own ſentiments. Orders were immediately diſpatched to Xicotencal, to begin his attack on the Spaniards after ſunſet, with the utmoſt privacy, and cut them all off before morning. This general, whether he entertained any opinion or not of the advice of the ſorcerers, chearfully followed his inſtructions, becauſe he deſired nothing more than an opportunity of fighting, to wipe off his former diſgrace. Accordingly, he ſelected ten thouſand of the moſt deſperate ſoldiers in his army, and advanced under cover of the night, with profound ſilence, towards the Spaniſh intrenchments. Cortez, however, was upon his guard; the centinels on the out-poſts brought advice that the enemy were in motion, and every thing was diſpoſed for their reception, without noiſe or confuſion. The Indians were ſuffered to aſcend the wall which he had drawn round the camp, before any intimation was given that their deſign was diſcovered; and then ſuch a ſhower of bullets was poured from the cannon, ſmall-arms, and croſs-bows, as made dreadful havock, and convinced Xicotencal of the deluſions of the ſorcerers; but this diſcovery ſerved only to animate his courage, and drive him on to deſperate efforts. The aſſault was made in three different quarters, the whole body of Tlaſcalans ruſhing upon the Spaniſh defences: their efforts were indeed extraordinary, conſidering how unacquainted they were with the methods of forcing intrenchments; they climbed upon each other's ſhoulders, and aſcended the walls, without ſeeming in the leaſt affected by the ſlaughter of their companions. For ſeveral hours the battle raged with unparalleled fury; when at length Xicotencal, convinced by the carnage of his troops, that perſeverance could ſerve no other purpoſe than that of procuring the deſtruction of his army, ordered the ſignal to be made for retreating. This was no ſooner obſerved by Cortez, than he detached a party to harraſs his rear, equipped with little bells, that, by the novelty of the noiſe, diffuſed the utmoſt terror among the enemy. In the

the purſuit great numbers were ſlain; and this complete victory was obtained at the inconſiderable expence of one Zempoalan killed; an event deemed miraculous, conſidering the multitude of darts and arrows that were found within the intrenchments.

The people deſire peace, but Xicotencal is obſtinate.

It was now obvious to the Tlaſcalans that their ſorcerers were miſtaken, and deſpondency enſued. The Spaniards were found to be proof againſt ſtrength and ſtratagem, equally invincible in the middle of the night, as when the ſun was in its meridian. The common people grew more clamorous for peace; the nobility were diſſatisfied and divided; the ſenators aſhamed and ſilent; and the magicians were immediately puniſhed, as if this laſt diſgrace had been wholly owing to their impoſture. Two or three of them were ſacrificed at the altars, to appeaſe the ſuppoſed indignation of the gods, who afflicted the republic with ſuch heavy calamities, and the reſt were ſeverely reprimanded, and delivered over to contempt. The majority inclined to peace, and applauded the prudence and foreſight of Magiſcatzin, who had predicted all that happened; even the moſt incredulous believed the Spaniards were actually the celeſtial beings mentioned in their prophecies. Orders were immediately diſpatched to Xicotencal to ſuſpend hoſtilities, and keep on the defenſive, until he ſhould be made acquainted with the farther reſolution of the ſenate, and the ſucceſs of the pacific negociation which they propoſed eſtabliſhing. To this order Xicotencal refuſed obedience, anſwering with arrogance, "That he and his ſoldiers were the ſenate, and would ſupport the honour of the republic, which was now deſerted by thoſe who were called fathers of their country." Diſappointment having rendered him quite frantic, he reſolved upon another aſſault in the night; but took his meaſures with unuſual caution. Obſerving that the neighbouring peaſants carried proviſions to the Spaniſh camp, which they exchanged for beads, bells, and other trinkets, he detached forty ſoldiers diſguiſed like thoſe ruſtics, and ſent them, loaded with fowls, and other proviſion, to Cortez, ordering them to mark exactly the nature and ſtrength of the fortifications, and obſerve where they might be forced with the leaſt difficulty; a ſtratagem which ſufficiently demonſtrates that this barbarian was poſſeſſed of ſagacity, and a truly military genius, although the ſcheme proved abortive. The curioſity of thoſe ſpies giving ſuſpicion, they were ſeized, and put to the torture, until they confeſſed the whole project: they declared, that an aſſault was that very night to have been made by twenty thouſand Tlaſcalans, at different quarters

quarters of the camp, agreeable to the directions they were to have given, after having inſpected the works. Cortez, who was at this time indiſpoſed, gave the neceſſary inſtructions for reſiſting the enemy, and then deliberated on the puniſhment of the delinquents. He ordered that fourteen of the moſt obſtinate ſhould be puniſhed with the loſs of their hands or fingers, and diſmiſſed in that manner, with a meſſage to Xicotencal, importing, that he ſent his emiſſaries back again, to acquaint him with the ſituation of his fortifications, and that he was waiting impatiently for the aſſault. The Indian army, in full march, was ſtruck with the bloody ſpectacle, and Xicotencal was particularly concerned at the diſcovery of a ſtratagem, on which he founded his laſt hopes. He perſuaded himſelf, that the ſecret thoughts of his people, of whoſe fidelity he was confident, muſt have been obtained by the aſſiſtance of ſome divinity; and juſt as he was revolving this thought in his own mind, ambaſſadors arrived from the ſenate, with orders for him to reſign his command, on account of his inſolence and diſobedience. All his officers were, beſides, prohibited, on pain of death, any longer to obey his directions: and this accident, ſo immediately ſucceeding the diſcovery of ſo deep laid a ſcheme, not only broke all Xicotencal's reſolution, but rendered the army extremely averſe to the proſecution of a war attended only with diſgrace and misfortune. The ſoldiers, therefore, diſperſed with great expedition, and took the road of Tlaſcala, leaving their general to return, attended only by his friends and relations, and to appear before the ſenate, to anſwer for his laſt act of diſobedience.

The ſenate ſues for peace.

Mean while the Spaniards continued in ſuſpence, not knowing whether they were to expect an enemy. The whole night they remained in arms, without venturing to take any reſt, until their ſcouts brought word next day that the Tlaſcalan camp was removed to a greater diſtance. On the third day the joyful news arrived, that the hoſtile army was broke up; news that was ſoon confirmed by the appearance of ambaſſadors from the ſenate, with terms of pacification. They apologized for the conduct of the republic, laying the blame of the war upon the Otomies, and other fierce allied nations, whom the ſenate had not been able to reſtrain. Although Cortez was ſenſible of the falſity of this excuſe, he ſuppreſſed his reſentment, and only deſired the ambaſſadors to acquaint the ſenate, that their propoſals of peace were extremely agreeable to him; though the ſenate ſhould conſider it as no ſlight proof of his goodneſs, that he did not purſue the dictates of revenge,

venge, and impoſe laws upon them as a conqueror. Nevertheleſs, before he laid himſelf under any obligations, he ſaid, he would ſee how they perſevered in their reſolution to merit his friendſhip, and employ the intermediate time in appeaſing his captains, and endeavouring to prevail upon them to drop their juſt indignation. In a word, he would ſuſpend the puniſhment with an uplifted arm, and leave it to the diſcretion of the ſenate, either to procure pardon, or ſuſtain the blow which muſt put an end to the exiſtence of the republic of Tlaſcala.

By this anſwer, Cortez intended to check the pride of the ſenate, and particularly of the friends of Xicotencal, who might poſſibly grow inſolent, on the preſumption that the Spaniards were greatly weakened, before they would grant peace ſo readily. He was alſo deſirous that the fame of his victories might have time to ſpread over Mexico, in order to be aſſured what effect it might produce at the court of Motezuma, whence he ſhould be enabled to ſquare his conduct to the republic with more advantage to himſelf. This meaſure demonſtrated the great foreſight of the Spaniſh hero; for every thing fell out juſt as he expected. Motezuma, who had regular accounts from his emiſſaries of what was tranſacting at Tlaſcala, was ſo much ſtruck with the wonders reported of Cortez, that he was reſolved to ſend him an embaſſy, to compliment him on his conqueſts over the republic, and engage him, by freſh preſents and civilities, not to approach nearer to his capital, at the ſame time that the ambaſſadors were inſtructed to throw all poſſible obſtruction in the way of the expected pacification between him and the Tlaſcalans. Five Mexicans, of the firſt quality, were appointed to execute the purpoſes of this embaſſy, and they arrived in the camp ſoon after the departure of the republican ambaſſadors. They were received with great ceremony and reſpect, heard attentively, and thanked for Motezuma's preſent, which was valued at a thouſand pieces of eight; but Cortez deferred giving his anſwer until they ſhould have an opportunity of ſeeing the Tlaſcalan miniſters: a precaution which anſwered more important purpoſes than the general expected; for the Mexicans were not long in the Spaniſh quarters, before they betrayed their whole inſtructions, by the indiſcreet manner in which they aſked queſtions about the negociation with the republic.

Xicotencal comes ambaſſador to Cortez.

All this while the ſenate was exhibiting proofs of their inclination to acquire the friendſhip and eſteem of the Spaniards, who were plentifully ſupplied with all manner of proviſion by the peaſants, at the expence of the republic; ſtrict

ſtrict orders being iſſued, not to receive the ſmalleſt return or reward for what they required. Xicotencal, in perſon, attended by fifty gentleman of his family, arrived at the quarters, in the name of the ſenate and republic of Tlaſcala; this nobleman having requeſted the commiſſion from motives of public ſpirit, and an earneſt deſire to ſave his country. He had tried the efforts of arms, as long as prudence dictated to him that the Tlaſcalans ought to rely upon their own valour; and now he was ambitious of promoting a peace, becauſe he believed it not only ſalutary to the republic, but the only means by which he could merit the good opinion of Cortez, whom he eſteemed, and even adored, as a hero, inſpired and aſſiſted by the gods. He appeared with the bold, open air of a ſoldier, paid his reſpects to the general, took his ſeat, told his name, confeſſed himſelf the ſole author of the war, and the general of thoſe forces who had endeavoured to deſtroy the Spaniards; but, ſtruck (he ſaid) with their valour and magnanimity, he now came, with the merit of ſubmiſſion, to put himſelf in the hands of the conqueror; hoping, by this acknowlegement, to obtain pardon for the republic, whoſe name, power, and authority he had to ſue for peace, with all poſſible deference, and to accept it upon the terms which the Spaniſh general ſhould think fit to impoſe. "I aſk this (ſaid he) once, twice, thrice, in the name of the ſenate, nobles, and commons of Tlaſcala, intreating you, with all earneſtneſs, to honour the city with your preſence, where you ſhall find quarters provided for your men, and all the reſpect and ſervice that can be expected from thoſe who are brave, and ſubmit to intreat and obey. I only pray of you, not as a condition of the peace, but as an act of your own generoſity, that the inhabitants may be well uſed, and our gods and wives preſerved from the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers."

Cortez was delighted with the noble freedom of the Tlaſcalan warrior, and expreſſed his ſatisfaction in his countenance: however, leſt Xicotencal ſhould miſtake the motive, and aſcribe it to the joy with which he received the propoſals for peace, he anſwered with the utmoſt gravity, by the interpreter, "That the republic was highly blameable for declaring ſo unjuſt a war, and Xicotencal no leſs faulty in proſecuting it with ſuch uncommon obſtinacy: however, that as the Spaniards were averſe to blood, except in caſes of extreme neceſſity, and ſenſible of the valour of the Tlaſcalans, they granted the peace he deſired, out of reſpect to the gallant efforts they had made in their own defence, though upon a miſtaken principle.

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He said, he would favour the city with a visit, and take care that no violence or extortion should be committed by the soldiers;" adding, that he would give the senate timely notice of his march, that proper quarters might be provided. Xicotencal, who considered this hesitation as a purposed delay, until Cortez should be better convinced of the sincerity of the Tlalcalans, shewed his concern at the suspicion, and cried out with vehemence, "You have reason, great teules (or *gods*), to chastise our sincerity with your distrust; but if it be not be sufficient to gain your credit when the whole republic of Tlascala speaks to you by the lips of her captain-general, and these gentlemen of my retinue, who are the principal persons in the commonwealth, I and my attendants will remain as hostages in your hands, and even submit to imprisonment, during your residence in our city." This offer, however, was refused by Cortez, who told him, that the Spaniards wanted no other security than their own valour; that he had no doubts of the sincerity of the republic, whose interest it was that the peace should remain firm and secure; and that he would proceed to Tlascala as soon as the proper dispositions could be made for quitting his present situation, and dispatching the ambassadors of Motezuma.

Endeavours of the Mexicans to break off the negociation.

When the Tlascalans were gone, the Mexicans used their utmost address to persuade Cortez, that no confidence ought to be placed in the protestations of a barbarous, perfidious people, who only wanted to draw him into an indolent security, the more easily to destroy him and his whole army: but when they found him resolute, they used intreaties, and requested, with the utmost submission, that he would defer his visit to Tlascala for the space of six days, until they could inform Motezuma of what had passed, and receive his farther instructions. Cortez thinking it necessary to maintain the respect due to so great a monarch, assented, in hopes of removing those difficulties which had hitherto obstructed his request of being admitted to the court of Mexico. At the expiration of the time limited, the ambassadors returned, and with them six gentlemen of the royal family, magnificently attended, having a present still more valuable than any of the former. They expatiated on the great Motezuma's profound respect for the prince whom the Spaniards obeyed, whose grandeur was sufficiently apparent from the valour of his subjects. They represented, that the emperor found himself inclinable to cultivate the friendship of their monarch, by paying him a yearly tribute, dividing with him those riches in which he abounded, because he held him in great veneration,

neration, as the offspring of the ſun, or at leaſt the lord of thoſe happy regions where light is produced: but that two previous conditions were neceſſary to this agreement. The firſt was, that no peace ſhould be concluded with the Tlaſcalans; and the ſecond, that Cortez ſhould lay aſide all thoughts of marching to Mexico, as, by the laws of the empire, the ſovereign could not ſuffer himſelf to be approached by ſtrangers. They concluded with an invective againſt the perfidy of the Tlaſcalans; magnified the danger into which Cortez was plunging headlong through his own credulity; and remonſtrated on the little reaſon which the Spaniards would have to complain of the moſt fatal conſequences, after having ſo repeatedly ſhut their ears to the moſt ſalutary admonitions.

From the whole of this diſcourſe, the fear of Motezuma rather than his eſteem or veneration for the Spaniards, was very apparent. Cortez deferred his anſwer, only telling the ambaſſadors, that it was neceſſary they ſhould take ſome reſt after ſo long and fatiguing a journey. He was willing they ſhould be witneſſes to the peace concluded with the Tlaſcalans, and prevented from returning before that event was placed on the moſt ſecure baſis, leſt Motezuma, enraged at his reſolution, ſhould begin to put himſelf in a poſture of defence. Hitherto he knew no preparations had been made, the court relying wholly upon the force of preſents, and the exaggerated repreſentations of the imperial power; and it was his buſineſs to keep up this infatuated negligence and ſecurity, which had taken poſſeſſion of Motezuma and his council. Yet, though the delays were neceſſary to Cortez, they proved extremely irkſome to the Tlaſcalans, who were reſolved, as the laſt proof of their ſincerity, that the whole ſenate in a body ſhould wait upon him at his quarters. In a word, they determined not to return until they ſhould have conducted the general to their city, and broke off the negotiations with the Mexicans; both ſides being inſpired by a mutual jealouſy of their ancient rivals, which Cortez knew how to improve to his own advantage. The appearance of the ſenate was ſolemn and numerous; they were all adorned with plumes and other ornaments, conveyed in litters, ſupported by the ſhoulders of inferior officers; Magiſcatzin, that venerable ſage, who had always favoured the Spaniards, holding the moſt diſtinguiſhed and honourable rank. Next to him came the father of Xicotencal, blind with old age, but vigorous in his intellects, and extremely reſpected on account of his good ſenſe and experience. Such was the curioſity of this old man to become acquainted with Cortez, that

that he advanced before his companions, desired to be led near the captain of the strangers, embraced the general with marks of extraordinary esteem, and then felt him all over, as if desirious of supplying the want of sight by this exertion of another faculty. The ambassadors being seated, this blind sage addressed himself to Cortez in a sensible speech, in which he apologized for the late acts of hostility, solicited his friendship, and assured him of the sincerity of the republic in her proposals of amity. He touched upon the negotiation with the ambassadors of Motezuma, and their endeavours to frustrate the pacific designs of the senate; and exhorted Cortez not to pay any regard to the insidious suggestions of the tyrant, their inveterate enemy; concluding with offers to put the liberties of Tlascala into his hands, and earnest intreaties that he would take up his quarters in the city: a request urged with so much importunity by the whole body of the senate, and such appearances of candor and sincerity, as were not to be longer resisted. Cortez, therefore, answered the senate with the utmost civility, making presents to each, and passing his word, that as soon as he could assemble the people from the villages necessary for conducting his artillery, he would set out for Tlascala, admonishing the senate, and indeed exerting his authority, to oblige them to return, as he could not lodge them with the conveniency due to their rank, quality, and friendship. With this promise they departed; and scarce had the sun appeared next morning, when the Spaniards found five hundred Tamenes, or carriers, at their quarters, so officious to do them service, that they disputed who should have the honour of bearing the heaviest burdens. Every thing being now in readiness, the Spaniards began their march with that order and caution which were constantly observed by this little army. On every side the fields were crouded with spectators, and the air was filled with cries of joy and loud acclamations. The senate came a considerable way out of the city to meet the Spaniards, with all the pomp observed in public solemnities; and having paid their compliments, surrounded the person of the general, and conducted him to Tlascala. When they entered the city, the rejoicings became louder and more tumultuous, human voices being mixed with the harsh music of the Indian flutes, horns, and drums, and the croud so great, that the officers of the senate found the utmost difficulty in clearing a passage for the procession. Women strewed flowers in the streets, and some of greater resolution pressed through the concourse, and put garlands into the hands of the soldiers, while the priests, in their sacrificing

Cortez makes his public entry into Tlascala.

September 23 1519.

ſacrificing habits, perfumed them with incenſe. The quarters aſſigned were extremely commodious, the whole Spaniſh army being lodged in contiguous ſquares. Cortez carried with him the ambaſſadors of Motezuma, and lodged them, at their deſire, under his own protection, as they ſeemed apprehenſive of ſome violence from the Tlaſcalans. Every day brought freſh teſtimonies of the real eſteem in which the Tlaſcalans held the Spaniards; though they ventured to complain of their going armed, as if they ſtill entertained ſuſpicion of the ſincerity of the republic. Cortez excuſed this neceſſary caution, by aſſuring them it was the cuſtom of his country, and that arms conſtituted part of the dreſs and equipage of a ſoldier, which he never laid aſide in the moſt peaceable times, becauſe they inured him to fatigue, obedience, and vigilance. In a word, during the ſpace of twenty days, which the Spaniards continued in Tlaſcala, not a ſingle act of offence paſſed on either ſide, and the baſis of a firm alliance was laid between the two nations. This connexion proved of ſo much conſequence to the future conqueſt, that to this day the inhabitants of this province enjoy a variety of privileges and exemptions, in reward of their friendſhip and fidelity.

Deſcription of the city and province.

In thoſe days the city of Tlaſcala was poor, but populous; poor with reſpect to gold and ſilver, though the inhabitants enjoyed moſt of the conveniences of life without the luxuries. They were ſo abſtemious and ſtrongly attached to liberty, that they eat all their food without ſalt, rather than carry on any intercourſe with Motezuma. The town was built upon four eminences, ſtretching in length from eaſt to weſt, and naturally fortified by rocks, precipices, and ſteep aſcents. Theſe hills were divided into four wards, each governed by a cazique, under the authority of the ſenate, which was the ſupreme legiſlative and executive power. They were united and joined by ſeveral ſtreets, lined with thick walls, that ſerved as a defence where the natural ſituation was not thought ſufficiently ſtrong. The houſes were low, conſiſting only of one floor, the roofs flat, and decorated with galleries. The ſtreets were narrow and crooked, and the whole contrived more for ſecurity, than convenience. The circuit of the province was about fifty leagues, the country ragged and mountainous, but extremely fertile in the valleys, all of which were finely watered. The adjacent provinces were all ſubject to Motezuma; but the republic was divided from them by rough high mountains, as if nature had provided a barrier for the defence of the liberties of this warlike people. The Totonoques, Otomies, and other fiercer mountaineers, who had

preſerved

preserved their freedom, were in strict alliance with the republic; which, besides the capital we have described, possessed many other towns and large villages. From the earliest infancy the Tlascalans were addicted to arms and superstition; and their valour was distinguished over all Mexico. Such was the abundance of Indian wheat in this province, that from thence it was called Tlascala, or *the land of bread.* It also produced great abundance of delicious fruits, game, and that valuable commodity cochineal. With all these blessings of plenty and security, Tlascala had its inconveniences: it was exposed to great tempests and dreadful hurricanes, as well as to the inundations of the river Zahul, which frequently destroyed the harvest, and even the towns of the Tlascalans, unless they happened to be situated on high eminences. To these we may add the want of salt.

Such was the character of this republic, at the time it was conquered by Cortez, and connected by ties of perpetual amity to his interest. We have been the more particular in describing this commonwealth, because the Tlascalans were extremely instrumental in all the future conquests made in New Spain, by which name the empire of Mexico began at this time to be distinguished.

After Cortez had remained some days at Tlascala, and convinced the Mexican ambassadors of the solidity of the peace, he thought proper to dispatch them with respectful compliments to Motezuma, without relinquishing his pretensions to visit the court of that prince. He then made preparations for advancing towards that capital, while the Tlascalans endeavoured all in their power to put off the time of his departure, by amusing the Spaniards with festivals, public entertainments, dancing, and feats of dexterity and agility. At last, the day for his departure being appointed, a dispute arose, whether they should march through Cholula, a populous city, attached to Motezuma, or take a longer and less convenient route where he should run less risque of being betrayed. Cortez himself was disposed to the former; but the Tlascalans used all their influence to dissuade him from the resolution. Mean while new ambassadors, with another present, came from Motezuma, and by their behaviour determined Cortez in his sentiments. They told him their monarch had now condescended to suffer himself to be visited by the Spaniards; and that he had provided quarters for them at Cholula, and every thing which could render the journey agreeable and easy. This sudden change in Motezuma's counsels and behaviour, afforded suspicion that some deep stratagem was

intended; however, this only ſerved to confirm the general's reſolution of going by Cholula, leſt his betraying any ſymptoms of fear might inſpire the enemy with courage; and that he might likewiſe have an opportunity of trying his ſtrength with Motezuma, before he found himſelf incloſed in the heart of his empire. The Tlaſcalans were certain that treachery was at the bottom of Motezuma's affected kindneſs, and therefore renewed their inſtances; but Cortez, who affected being ſuperior to all their cunning and ſtrength, laid before them ſuch arguments in ſupport of his opinion, that they acquieſced.

Cortez prepares to march for Cholula.

Before Cortez began his march, he received freſh hints of ſuſpicion that the people of Cholula were but little diſpoſed to his ſervice; and he took notice to the Mexican ambaſſadors of his ſurprize, that they had not favoured him with an embaſſy, if they entertained the friendly ſentiments which they (the Mexicans) pretended; as even thoſe caziques, who never expected him into their country, had ſhewn him this piece of reſpect. The apology which the ambaſſadors made ſerved rather to confirm than remove his ſuſpicion; they aſcribed the conduct of the Cholulans to inadvertency, and endeavoured to repair the omiſſion by giving them notice of the Spaniard's remark; in conſequence of which, four Indians came to Tlaſcala, in quality of ambaſſadors, but of ſuch mean rank, that Cortez refuſed admitting them to an audience. When Cortez drew out his troops to begin their march, he found an army of Tlaſcalans in the field, whoſe officers had orders from the ſenate to obey his command, and attend him not only to Cholula, but as far as Mexico; where they ſuppoſed he would meet with the greateſt dangers and difficulties. This body of troops was very conſiderable. Some writers affirm, it amounted to one hundred thouſand men: certain it is, that the flower of the republic's forces was called forth on this occaſion; and that, although Cortez declined the obligation, he expreſſed his ſenſe of this proof of the affection of the Tlaſcalans by the moſt endearing expreſſions. He repreſented to the ſenate the inconvenience that would ariſe from the march of ſo large an army, eſpecially as his deſigns were pacific; and deſired he might be attended by a ſmall body of their troops, which did not exceed ſix thouſand. The firſt day's march brought Cortez within a league of Cholula, and he encamped all night in the fields, rather than expoſe his troops to the danger of ſtratagems in the dark, in a place with which he was entirely unacquainted. Next morning, as he drew near the place, an embaſſy, of better appearance than the former, came

out

out to meet him, bringing a present of all kinds of provision, and excusing the caziques for not waiting upon the general at Tlascala, under pretence that it was an enemy's country. They offered him quarters, and expressed the great joy which it gave the inhabitants of Cholula, to have an opportunity of entertaining strangers so amiable for their generosity, and renowned for their valour; and every appearance, as they advanced, seemed to declare the sincerity of their professions. As he approached the city, the priests met him with a numerous attendance of unmarried people; the road was lined with a multitude, who expressed their satisfaction by their acclamations; and, except that the people of Cholula objected against admitting their enemies, the Tlascalans, into their city, there was not a circumstance passed, but what tended to confirm the Spaniards in the opinion, that animosity had dictated the unfavourable description of the Cholulans, which they had received at Tlascala. Those friendly republicans voluntarily removed all difficulties, by offering to take up their quarters without the gates, in a place whence they might quickly come to the defence of their friends, since they resolved, contrary to all advice and reason, to be duped by appearances. The Spaniards made their entry amidst a prodigious concourse of the inhabitants, who rent the sky with acclamation, strewed the ground with flowers, and exhibited every possible demonstration of the most cordial friendship; but in less than two days their treachery was discovered by a fortunate accident, which probably saved the Spaniards from utter destruction. Donna Marina, who had attended Cortez in all his adventures since his arrival on the continent, contracted an intimacy with an ancient Indian lady in the the town, of considerable distinction. This matron bemoaned Marina's captivity, and endeavoured to persuade her to forsake those abominable strangers, and take refuge in her house. This proposal created suspicion in the breast of Marina. That she might dive to the bottom of the mystery, she complained of the hard usuage she had met with from the Spaniards; accepted her friendly invitation, and perfectly gained her confidence. At length her new protectress acquainted her that it was absolutely necessary she should escape from the Spanish quarters, for that the time appointed for the destruction of the strangers was near. Motezuma, she said, had prepared twenty thousand men, at a small distance; to make sure of the design; six thousand chosen men, of that body, had already been privately introduced in small parties into the city; abundance of arms had been distributed among the inhabitants; and

He enters that city, discovers a conspiracy, and punishes it with severity.

quantities of ſtones carried up to the tops of the houſes, to be hurled down on their devoted heads. Deep trenches had alſo been cut acroſs the ſtreets, with ſharp ſtakes fixed in the bottom, covered over at the top with earth on ſlight ſupporters, for the deſtruction of the Spaniſh cavalry. She added that Motezuma had given directions, that all ſhould be put to the ſword, except a few which he ordered to be ſent alive to Mexico, to gratify his curioſity, and ſacrifice to his gods; and that he had preſented the citizens with a gold drum, curiouſly emboſſed, to encourage them to the enterprize.

This intelligence was of the utmoſt importance, and Marina loſt no time in communicating it to the general. Under pretence of carrying off her jewels and valuable effects, ſhe went immediately to his quarters, laid the whole before him, and returned ſoon enough to have the old lady ſeized, without the ſmalleſt diſturbance or raiſing the leaſt ſuſpicion that the conſpiracy was detected. Upon farther examination, and threats of puniſhment, the woman not only confirmed the intelligence of Marina, but added a variety of other particulars, which would have ſet the truth of the fact beyond all diſpute, had it not likewiſe been aſcertained by a variety of other circumſtances taken notice of by the Tlaſcalans and Zempoalans, who had obſerved the inhabitants removing their families and effects in the night. Upon this diſcovery, Cortez reſolved to take ſignal vengeance, but ſtill to appear to the Mexican ambaſſadors in his quarters, as if he entertained no ſuſpicion of Motezuma. Beſides, he fell upon a ſtratagem to render his revenge more complete, and at the ſame time leſs hazardous. Suppreſſing every ſign of the diſcovery he had made, he ſent for the caziques of the city, and publiſhed his march for next day, demanding the neceſſary proviſions, tamenes to carry his baggage and artillery, and two thouſand men to accompany him, in his expedition, in imitation of the Tlaſcalans and Zempoalans. The armed men were ſent with the greateſt readineſs, becauſe the caziques imagined, that, by introducing thoſe concealed enemies among the Spaniards, they ſhould be able to uſe them to advantage when occaſion offered; and Cortez accepted them, as he wanted to divide the enemy, and to have in his power a part of the traitors, whom he deſigned to chaſtiſe. Notice at the ſame time was ſent to the Tlaſcalans, to hold themſelves ready to act upon the firſt diſcharge of the fire-arms, and advance to the city, bringing with them all the people they found in arms. The ambaſſadors of Motezuma were given to underſtand, that the conſpiracy was diſcovered,

overed, though Cortez pretended to believe that the court had no ſhare in it; and they were laid under a gentle conſtraint, to prevent their having any communication with the Cholulans, until he had completed his project of revenge. As to the two thouſand Cholulans ſent to attend him on his march, they were divided into ſmall paries, under pretence of being incorporated with the Spaniards, and then confined under a guard in different ſquares. Having thus made his diſpoſitions, and iſſued out the proper inſtructions, Cortez mounted his horſe, and ordering the city-caziques to be brought before him, told them, that now their baſe deſigns were diſcovered, their perfidy ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed. In order to juſtify himſelf, he ordered them to be confronted by donna Marina, the old Indian lady, and certain prieſts, from whom he had extorted a confeſſion. He then fell upon the Indians that were kept in the ſquares, and put all to the ſword, except a few, whoſe agility enabled them to eſcape, by climbing over the walls. At the ſame time the Tlaſcalans entered the town agreeable to the ſignal, and made dreadful havock among the inhabitants.

Nor were the Cholulans idle; perceiving they were now engaged in open hoſtilities, they called in the remainder of the Mexican army, and joining in a large ſquare, in which ſtood three or four large temples, they filled the towers and porches with ſoldiers, and threatened a reſiſtance, which could only be ſurmounted by ſetting fire to the temples, and playing upon them with the artillery. Theſe expedients were practiſed by Cortez, while the Tlaſcalans attacked the rear of the enemy; by which means the Cholulans were entirely ſubdued, after ſeveral thouſands of their people, and of the Mexican ſoldiers, had periſhed. The ſame methods were taken at the other temples, to which the inhabitants had fled as to the ſtrongeſt defences. Afterwards they ranged through the whole city, and drove out both inhabitants and Mexicans, until they gained entire poſſeſſion, and blood ceaſed to flow for want of enemies. More than ſix thouſand dead bodies were found in the ſtreets and temples; the conſpiracy was entirely defeated; the Cholulans were ſeverely puniſhed for their treacherous project; the valour of the Spaniards was believed to be ſupernatural; and the Tlaſcalans were not only pleaſed with the deſtruction of their enemies, but enriched with plunder, eſpecially ſalt, to them the moſt ineſtimable booty, which they immediately ſent home in great quantities. It is much to the honour of Cortez, that he had no ſooner ſurmounted the danger, than he gave proofs of his clemency. The priſoners and Motezuma's ambaſſadors being

called before him, he represented to them the crimes of which the Cholulans had been guilty, as an apology for the rigour of the chastisement; then assuring them that he had laid aside his resentment, he published a general pardon, released all the prisoners, and made it his request that the people should return to their former habitations and employments, as if nothing extraordinary had happened. He likewise obliged the Tlascalans to restore all the booty they had taken, excepting the salt, and behaved with such moderation, that the Cholulans returned to the city with their families, opened their shops, and resumed their several occupations. It was one of the chief objects that engaged the attention of Cortez to engage the affections of the nations he had conquered, to efface their mutual animosities, and unite them all in his own alliance and interest. By his address he subdued, in a few days, the ancient enmity subsisting between the Tlascalans and Cholulans, and set on foot a treaty of alliance, which was confirmed by both nations, with every circumstance of solemnity. This mediation was of the greatest consequence to him, as it opened the way for supplies from Tlascala, and also for a retreat, should circumstances turn out contrary to his expectation.

He reconciles the Tlascalans and Cholulans.

Having thus acquitted himself as a wise politician, he permitted several Zempoalans to return to their own country, and charged them with letters to Juan Escalante, governor of Vera Cruz, acquainting him with his progress, and advising him to strengthen the colony by new fortifications. He likewise sent a present to the cazique of Zempoala, recommending to his care the Spaniards that were left in his district; then he resolved to proceed in his march, when another embassy arrived from Motezuma. That prince being desirous to efface all the suspicions which the Spaniards might entertain that he was concerned in the conspiracy of Cholula, ordered the ambassadors to thank Cortez for having chastised that treacherous people as they deserved; and expatiate upon the emperor's indignation at their perfidy, with protestations, every syllable of which the Spaniards knew to be false, though they prudently concealed their sentiments. The message was accompanied with a magnificent present, intended to lull Cortez into security, and draw him into another snare, of which he had notice in his march from the cazique of Guajozingo. The Mexicans had placed a great number of men in ambush on the farther side of the mountain of Chalco, over which the Spaniards were obliged to pass. They stopped up the royal road which leads to the province

Avoids a snare laid by the Mexicans.

of

of that name, with great ſtones and trees, and opened and ſmoothed another, to ſeduce Cortez into an impracticable paſs, where his ſoldiers would be intangled in precipices, and diſabled from defending themſelves againſt the intended attack. Cortez was incenſed at the intelligence; but he reſtrained his reſentment. When he reached the place where the two roads divided, he aſked Motezuma's ambaſſadors, who were near his perſon, what thoſe two roads meant? and they anſwered, "that the beſt was levelled for the conveniency of his troops, the other being craggy and difficult." To this intimation Cortez replied, "You are but little acquainted with my people: they will march in this way that you have blocked up, for no other reaſon than its difficulty; for the Spaniards, whenever they have it in their option, always incline to that which is attended with moſt difficulty and danger; ſo ſaying, he ordered the Indians to advance, and clear away all the obſtacles which had been raiſed to his paſſage; leaving the ambaſſadors in admiration at his ſagacity, and fully perſuaded that his reſolution was guided by ſome divinity. This artful uſe Cortez made of his intelligence to keep up the reputation of his foreſight, avoid the ſtratagem laid by Motezuma, and yet ſeem as if he entertained no diſtruſt of that monarch. As to the Mexicans, in ambuſcade, they no ſooner perceived the Spaniards taking the royal road, than they retreated with as much conſternation as if they had been actually defeated in battle; by which means the Spaniards were left to proceed without farther moleſtation.

Theſe accumulated diſappointments broke the ſpirit of the haughty Motezuma. He fluctuated between contending opinions and paſſions, and at length gave himſelf up to the moſt cruel devotion, ſacrificing hecatombs of wretched human beings at the altars of his gods, to appeaſe their ſuppoſed reſentment. The contradictory oracles uttered by his idols diſtracted his imagination, ſome admoniſhing him to open his gates to the ſtrangers, that he might thereby ſecure them all for a ſacrifice; while others adviſed him to keep them at a diſtance, and endeavour to deſtroy them without endangering his perſon. The laſt diſappointment drove him almoſt to madneſs, and ſilenced his oracles and counſellors, who now left him to be directed by the magicians and ſorcerers; a ſet of impoſtors who were in the higheſt reputation in Mexico. The ſociety of necromancers were ordered to take the field, and by their inchantments either to deſtroy the Spaniards, or at leaſt to confound their counſels and ſtupify their intellects in ſuch

a manner that they should become an easy conquest. The magicians, either confident of their own power, or afraid to own their incapacity, assembled in numerous companies, and set out against the Spaniards. They were in the army which fled from Chalco; and finding all their circles and arts ineffectual, returned to Mexico in despair. They declared to Motezuma that the powers whom they consulted had appeared to them, with assurances that nothing could resist the Spaniards, for the gods had deserted the Mexicans, and taken part with the strangers. Motezuma hearing this declaration, exclaimed, "What can we do if our gods forsake us? Let the strangers come, and the heavens fall upon us. To hide our heads, or turn our backs on misfortune, would be dishonourable. I only lament the old men, women, and children, who cannot defend themselves." From this period the emperor and the whole court began to make preparations for entertaining the Spaniards, believing that their prophecies were now fulfilled, and that the strangers were actually the orientalists mentioned in their traditions, who were to conquer the country with the assistance of the gods; an opinion that was corroborated by the astonishing actions of the Spaniards, and the marvellous signs and prodigies which had lately appeared in the heavens. In this persuasion the Indian emperor dispatched to Cortez another splendid embassy, headed by his own nephew Caminatzin, lord of Tezeuco. We know not whether the success of the Spaniard was more owing to the fanaticism of his own troops, or the superstition of his enemies.

At this time Cortez had descended without impediment from the mountain of Chalco, and advanced through a beautiful country, amidst groves and gardens, that spoke the bounty of nature, and the force of culture, as far as Amemeca, where he halted. Here he received the compliments of the neighbouring caziques, who appeared exceedingly reserved before the Mexican ambassadors, but in private declared freely their detestation of the royal tyrant, whom they taxed with cruelty and oppression. They declared with tears, that they were forced to surrender their women as a tribute to his lust, and that of his ministers, who chose and rejected them at pleasure: nor were the mothers arms a security for their daughters, nor the nuptial bed any security to their wives. The army was encamped at Amemeca when prince Caminatzin arrived, attended by four of the first grandees of Mexico, carried in a chair of state, covered with plumage of the most beautiful colours finely disposed, and supported on the shoulders

Receives an embassy from Motezuma.

ſhoulders of ſome officers of his family. On his alighting, troops of Indians ran before to clear and ſweep the way, and Cortez went to receive him at the door of his apartment. After the firſt compliments at meeting, the prince took his ſeat with an eaſy majeſtic air, and began with welcoming Cortez, and the Spaniſh captains, to the Mexican dominions: he acquainted them with the amicable diſpoſition with which Motezuma expected their viſit, and how much he deſired to eſtabliſh a firm and laſting friendſhip with the powerful eaſtern prince, whom they acknowleged as their maſter, and whoſe power Motezuma was obliged to confeſs, for certain reaſons which they ſhould learn from his own lips. He concluded with apologies for the difficulties which Cortez would be ſtill obliged to encounter in his way to Mexico, owing to the ſcarcity of proviſions, and the late barrenneſs, which had left the people deſtitute; but he ſpoke in ſuch a manner as if he would have diſſuaded the Spaniards from the journey, at the ſame time that he ſeemed to invite them to the capital. Cortez penetrated into the deſign of this remark, and anſwered as he had always done upon ſimilar occaſions, by repreſenting the pleaſure which the Spaniards had in ſurmounting difficulties, the importance of his own embaſſy, and how much it would tend to the mutual advantage of the monarchs their ſovereigns, that he ſhould be admitted to a perſonal interview, which he now accepted from Motezuma, by the report of his ambaſſador and kinſman, with the moſt profound acknowlegements.

Such an anſwer convinced the prince that all attempts to divert him from his deſign would be to no purpoſe; he therefore waved the ſubject. Having received ſome preſents from Cortez, he accompanied the army to Tezeuco, the capital of his dominions, and then repaired to Mexico to report the iſſue of his embaſſy. The Spaniards were highly delighted and aſtoniſhed at the ſight of this beautiful city, the ſecond in Mexico for extent, and the firſt for antiquity. The buildings extended along the borders of a ſpacious lake, in a delightful ſituation, where the great cauſeway of Mexico began; over which Cortez purſued his march without ſtopping at Tezeuco, his deſign being to reach Iztoapalapa, from whence he could march with eaſe next day to Mexico. At this place the pavement was twenty feet in breadth, built with large ſtones, cemented with lime, and adorned with ſome works that anſwered the double purpoſe of ſtrength and ornament. The cazique of Quitlavaca came out with a great retinue to meet Cortez, deſiring he would honour his town with a viſit, an invitation

tion which he did not care to refuſe, notwithſtanding he had ſome ſuſpicion of treachery, and the place lay out of his way. To Quitlavaca the Spaniards gave the name Venezuela, or Little Venice, becauſe, like that famous city, it roſe out of the waters; and here Cortez propoſed making ſome ſtay, both that he might not diſoblige the cazique, and that he might have an opportunity of obſerving the ſituation of the lakes, cities, and cauſeways, with every thing which could either forward or obſtruct his march, ſhould the Mexicans reſolve to cut down the bridges. Quitlavaca commands a proſpect of the greater part of the lake of Mexico, than which nothing can be more beautifully diverſified with cities, towns, paved ways, and veſſels in perpetual motion. Trees and gardens ſeemed to float upon the water, and to grow, as in their proper element; a ſight which at the ſame time raiſed the aſtoniſhment of Cortez, and roufed his ambition. The army was abundantly ſupplied with proviſion, and well accommodated with quarters; the people entertained the Spaniards with chearfulneſs, and every action was performed with that eaſy civility which ſhewed that they partook of the manners of a court, and were improved by their vicinity to the capital. It was a peculiar encouragement to Cortez, that the caziques of the whole country through which he paſſed, expreſſed the ſame ſentiments with reſpect to Motezuma: they deteſted his tyranny, but they dreaded his power; and although they ſhewed their inclination to break their fetters, and wanted nothing but confidence and encouragement to declare themſelves the auxiliaries of the invader; yet, ſo habituated were they to ſlavery, that they could ſcarce elevate their hopes to the pleaſing proſpect of liberty.

As Cortez had altered his route to oblige the cazique of Quitlavaca, he was under the neceſſity of again proceeding to Iztoapalapa, in his way to Mexico. Accordingly he reſumed his march at the head of four hundred and fifty Spaniards, and above ſix thouſand Indian allies, and without any remarkable adventure reached Iztoapalapa before the evening. The manner of building, the elegance of architecture, richneſs of furniture, number of houſes, and populouſneſs of the place, ſurpriſed the Spaniards. It contained above ten thouſand habitations, many of which were ſuperb edifices; either riſing out of the waters, or fronting the lake. The cazique of this and ſome other towns came out with numerous retinues, and preſents of fruit and proviſions, to meet Cortez, and accompanied him in his entry amidſt the loudeſt acclamations. The Spaniards were lodged in the palace, and the Indian auxiliaries in courts and ſquares, covered with cotton awnings, to protect them from the

the weather. In the palace were magnificent apartments, adorned with paintings on cotton, and roofed with cedar, curiouſly carved. The town was watered with a number of fountains, conveyed through a variety of aqueducts from the neighbouring mountains, and adorned with ſeveral pleaſant, large, well cultivated gardens.

Cortez arrives at Mexico.

Cortez having ſufficiently amuſed himſelf with the beauties of Iztoapalapa, and informed himſelf of the ſtrength of the place, and diſpoſition of the inhabitants, proceeded early next morning for Mexico, that, after having paid his compliments to Motezuma, he might have leiſure to reconnoitre the city, and fortify his quarters. About half way he was met by four thouſand perſons of diſtinction, ſent to receive, and conduct him to the capital. Near the city was a ſtone fortification, ſecured by a tower on each ſide, which took up the whole breadth of the cauſeway, and obliged the troops to make a circuit to gates which opened in another part of the cauſeway, terminated by a draw-bridge, which defended the entrance of the city with a ſecond fortification. The Mexican nobility paſſed over the bridge, then falling back to each ſide, made a lane for the Spaniards, who diſcovered a large ſtreet with uniform buildings, having windows and battlements crouded with ſpectators. Soon after appeared the firſt troop of the royal proceſſion, conſiſting of about two hundred noblemen richly dreſſed in the ſame uniform, adorned with large plumes. Theſe filing off to each ſide, diſcovered through the avenue they made a more numerous and brilliant company, in the midſt of which was Motezuma, carried on the ſhoulders of his favourites, in a chair of burniſhed gold, under a rich canopy of green feathers, beautifully interwoven. This canopy was ſupported by four lords of the firſt diſtinction, and preceded by three great officers with golden rods in their hands, which they waved as a ſignal of the emperor's approach, that all might proſtrate themſelves, without preſuming to behold the ſacred perſon of their ſovereign. When Motezuma deſcended from his chair, Cortez alighted from his horſe, and approached him, while Indians were employed in laying carpets on the intermediate way, to prevent the royal feet from touching the ground. The emperor's look was lofty and majeſtic; and he was ſupported by two nephews that walked bare-foot, in token of reſpect and humiliation. Motezuma's apparel conſiſted of a fine cotton mantle, adorned with jewels in ſuch abundance, that it appeared rather an incumbrance than an ornament. It was thrown careleſsly on his ſhoulders, and ſwept the ground

ground behind. On his head he wore a light gold crown, reſembling a mitre, and his feet were caſed in ſhoes, or rather ſandals, of beaten gold. His ſtature was of the middle ſize, his age about forty, his conſtitution rather delicate than robuſt, his complexion fair for the climate, his noſe aquiline; his eyes were lively and piercing, and his features regular and handſome. He condeſcended to ſalute Cortez with a reſpect which he had never before ſhewn, bending his body ſo low that he touched the ground with his hand, while the general made the moſt profound reverence in the manner of his country; which, however, was thought extremely impolite by the imperial attendants. Cortez approaching him, threw round his neck a chain of cut glaſs, in imitation of diamonds, which he had reſerved as a preſent for the firſt audience; the princes who ſupported Motezuma were ſhocked at this familiarity, and were going to interpoſe, but Motezuma checked them, and was ſo pleaſed with the chain, that he placed it among his jewels of ineſtimable value. This preſent he compenſated with a curious collar of red ſhells, ingeniouſly ſet and adorned with eight crabs of beaten gold, which exactly imitated nature. This was reckoned among the moſt valuable of the royal jewels; and the emperor, with his own hands, ſuſpended it round the general's neck, to the great admiration of all the Indians, who now began really to believe that the ſtranger was ſome celeſtial being, to whom the emperor paid ſuch veneration. The ſpeech made by Cortez was conciſe and energic; the anſwer returned by Motezuma was ſhort, diſcreet, and full of dignity; after which he ordered the Spaniards to be conducted to their quarters, then re-aſcended his chair, and returned to his palace.

SECT. V.

Containing an Account of Motezuma's Pomp, Wealth, Government, Power, and at laſt of his Impriſonment by Cortez, with divers other Particulars, which occurred in the Courſe of his Confinement.

A.D.1519. IT was on the 8th day of November that Cortez made his public entry into Mexico. He was lodged with all his forces in one of the royal palaces, a ſuperb edifice, fortified with ſtrong walls, and flanked with high towers. Some of the apartments deſigned for the ſuperior officers were hung with ingenious cotton paintings, furniſhed with hand-

handſome wooden chairs, carved each out of one block of timber, and beds with bottoms of palm mats, and bolſters of the ſame materials. Cortez immediately diſtributed guards, placed his artillery, and took equal care to make the lodgings of his ſoldiers commodious, and their quarters ſecure. A ſplendid banquet had been prepared, by order of the emperor, in the principal apartments of the Spaniſh quarters, and great abundance of leſs delicate proviſion for the ſoldiers. After dinner Motezuma honoured the general with a viſit, and they conferred together in private. "Your ears have been abuſed, ſaid this Indian monarch, as well as mine. You have been told that I am immortal, that my power and perſon are equal to thoſe of the gods; that fortune rains down her favours upon me; that the walls and coverings of my palaces are of gold; and that the earth bends beneath the weight of my treaſures. You have alſo been told that I am cruel, tyrannical, oppreſſive, proud, unjuſt, and a ſtranger to mercy. All theſe aſſertions are equally falſe. This arm (uncovering a ſcar) will ſhew that I am mortal. My riches, indeed, are great, but they have been magnified by fame and flattery; from theſe inſtances you may judge that my bad qualities have been likewiſe exaggerated. Suſpend, therefore, your judgment until you know whether that which they call cruelty and oppreſſion be not neceſſary chaſtiſement. With reſpect to yourſelf, ſome report, that you are wicked, malicious, revengeful, covetous, proud, and the ſlave of your paſſions; but I ſee that you are of the ſame form and compoſition as the reſt of mankind; though you are diſtinguiſhed from us by ſome accidents ariſing from the different nature of different countries. You are courteous and affable; brave and religious; your reſentments are founded upon reaſon; you bear hardſhips like true ſoldiers. In a word, you are men like ourſelves, but endued with ſuperior qualities; and as to the wild beaſts you command, which report hath ſo magnified, they are only a kind of deer, tractable and docile, with ſuch an imperfect degree of knowlege as may be attained by brutes. We muſt, therefore, forget, on both ſides, all paſt miſinformations. We are not ignorant that the great prince whom you obey, is deſcended from our ancient Quezalcoal, lord of the ſeven caves of the Navatlaques, and lawful king of thoſe ſeven nations, which gave beginning to the Mexican empire. By ancient tradition, we know that he departed from theſe countries to ſubdue regions in the Eaſt, leaving a promiſe that in time his deſcendants ſhould return to new model our laws, and reform our government. The marks by which you are diſtin-

Motezuma's ſpeech to Cortez.

distinguished, correspond with our tradition and prophecies, and the prince of the East, who sends you, manifests in your exploits the greatness of so illustrious a progenitor: we have, therefore, determined that all things shall be done to his honour; of which resolution I now advertise you, that you may truly declare whatever you have to propose, and ascribe to so noble a cause this excess of my goodness.

Cortez's answer. Cortez perceived the drift of his speech, and answered it with equal address. He acknowleged that the fire-arms which the Indians mistook for lightning and thunder, were the invention of human genius; but he left Motezuma, from this very circumstance, to judge of the superiority of the Spaniards in point of contrivance and understanding. He told him that the horses were not deer as he imagined, but animals of a more generous nature, martial, and ambitious of emulating the glory of their masters. He made a politic use of the absurd tradition so firmly mentioned by the emperor, and owned the original which the Indians bestowed on the catholic king, believing that this acknowlegement would give greater weight to his embassy; he touched upon the impious religion of the Mexicans, and gave a short sketch of the principal tenets of the Christian faith; telling Motezuma, that to reform the abuses of the most absurd idolatry, was the main object of his commission from the king. But Motezuma patiently heard all his arguments without the least appearance of conviction; and when the general had done speaking, rose up from his seat, expressing himself to this effect: "I accept, with due acknowlegement, the friendship you propose from the descendant of the great Quezalcoal; but all gods are good: yours may be so in your country; mine are so in mine. Let each enjoy their attributes undisturbed: repose yourselves now; you are in your own house, where you shall be served with all the regard due to your valour, and to the great prince whom you obey." He then presented Cortez with some pieces of gold, cotton cloth, and plumes, and distributing also some jewels of lesser value among the other Spaniards, withdrew to his own palace.

Cortez visits Motezuma in his palace. Cortez desired leave to return his visit next day, and his request was readily granted. He went attended by his captains, and six or seven favourite soldiers, including Diaz del Castillo, the earliest historian of this conquest, who had already begun to collect materials for his work. The streets were crouded with people, and the Spaniards, amidst the acclamations, heard the word Teule, or *divinity*, frequently repeated, to their great satisfaction, because it shewed

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in what eſtimation they were held by thoſe ſimple Indians. The appearance of the royal palace ſufficiently demonſtrated the great magnificence of the ſovereigns of Mexico. The pile was of ſuch extent that it had thirty gates, which opened to as many different ſtreets; and the front, which occupied the whole ſide of a ſpacious parade, was built of finely poliſhed jaſper of different colours. Over the great gate the imperial arms were pompouſly blazoned. Cortez was received by the officers of the court with great ceremony. Being conducted through three extenſive ſquares, he at laſt arrived at Montezuma's apartments, where there was equal reaſon to admire the grandeur of the rooms, and the richneſs of the furniture. The floors were covered with a variety of different mats of beautiful workmanſhip and texture, the walls with cotton hangings finely painted, and interwoven with the ſkins of rabbits; and the moſt interior apartment was adorned with a kind of tapeſtry, made of the plumage of birds, formed into pictures with great ingenuity, and diſpoſed in the moſt pleaſing order of colours. The roofs were all of cedar and other ſweet-ſcented woods, with different foliages and relievos, that diſcovered taſte and genius in the artiſts. The cielings were attached to beams ſupported by the preſſure of the lateral on the central parts, a mechaniſm which diſplayed more genius in the architects than might have been expected among ſuch a rude and ignorant people. The grandeur of the palace, the ceremonies, the crouds of attendants, their quality, and the profound ſilence obſerved by ſo numerous a train, all impreſſed the imagination with the moſt exalted idea of the power of Motezuma, and the importance of the Mexican empire.

That prince was ſtanding in the midſt of all theſe enſigns of his authority, when, obſerving Cortez, he advanced to meet him, laid his arms familiarly on his ſhoulders, and favoured the reſt of the Spaniards with a gracious look, and ſmile. The viſit was long, and the converſation ſuch as might be ſuppoſed to paſs among friends upon a perfect equality. Motezuma diveſted himſelf of all the pomp of majeſty, and condeſcended to queſtion Cortez about the nature, politics, and curioſities of the eaſtern countries. All his interrogations evinced ſtrong ſenſe, and extenſive underſtanding. He then touched upon the obligations of the Mexicans to the deſcendents of the firſt monarch, and expreſſed his particular ſatisfaction that the prophecies concerning the reformations to be made by ſtrangers, were completed in his time; a compliment that ſavoured more of politeneſs than ſincerity. Cortez artfully turned the converſation

verſation to the topic of religion; but all his arguments on this head proved fruitleſs; except with reſpect to the cuſtom of producing diſhes of human fleſh on the emperor's table, which Mozetuma ordered to be diſuſed. But as to the point of human ſacrifices, he ſaid he could ſee no impiety in offering to his gods thoſe priſoners of war who were already condemned to die; nor did he at all approve of that maxim laid down in ſacred writ, to love our enemies. Yet he ſeemed to approve of the benevolence and humanity of the Chriſtian religion in general. Nevertheleſs, he conſtantly returned to his old aſſertion, that his gods were as good in Mexico, as the Chriſtian gods were in the Eaſt. The truth is, he knew the royal authority was in a great meaſure founded upon the ſuperſtition of the people, and their reverence for the prieſts, with whom it would be dangerous to have any altercation upon a topic in which their intereſt, influence, and characters, were ſo deeply concerned. He dreaded their diſpleaſure, and the contempt of his vaſſals, in caſe he ſhould relax in his zeal for the worſhip of his gods, out of compliſance to the ſtrangers; and the Spaniards corroborated theſe ſentiments by an incident which fell out about this time.

Motezuma ſhews his temples to the Spaniards.

Motezuma, willing to diſplay the magnificence of his chief temple to the Spaniards, aſked Cortez one day to accompany him thither, with ſome of his principal officers, and favourite ſoldiers. When they came to the entrance, Motezuma ordered them to halt, and advanced in perſon to know of the prieſts if it was lawful to bring into the preſence of their gods men who refuſed to worſhip them? This queſtion was anſwered in the affirmative, provided they would behave with proper reſpect. Immediately all the gates of this ſuperb edifice were ſet open, and Motezuma took upon himſelf the office of explaining the uſes of all the different veſſels, inſtruments, and utenſils. The Spaniſh ſoldiers gave a looſe to their mirth in ridiculing the Indian worſhip; and Cortez himſelf, tranſported with an unſeaſonable fit of zeal, exclaimed, "Permit me, ſir, to fix the croſs of Chriſt before theſe images of the devil, and you ſhall ſee whether they deſerve adoration or contempt." This propoſal enraged the prieſts, and reduced Motezuma to great perplexity; agitated as he was, between his reverence for religion, his dread of the prieſthood, and his regard to the Spaniards, and the rights of hoſpitality. "You might, at leaſt, ſaid he, have ſhewed this place the reſpect due to my perſon:" a reproof which equally ſhewed his good ſenſe and politeneſs, though the Spaniſh writers aſcribe it to the terror with which the ſtrangers had inſpired

ſpired him. It would appear, however, from their own confeſſion, that Cortez regarded it in another light; for he no ſooner recollected himſelf, than he reſolved to avoid converſing for the future on the ſubject of religion, and accordingly laid aſide his zeal to make converts.

Deſcription of the city of Mexico.

The great city of Mexico, anciently known by the name of Tenuch-chitlam, is ſituated in an extenſive plain, ſurrounded by high mountains, from which a number of ſtreams rolling down into the valley, form different lakes, and particularly two of a larger ſize, where the valley is deepeſt. Between theſe two great lakes were ſluices, by which the defect of water in the one was ſupplied from the redundance in the other: and it is reported, that the waters had different qualities, the uppermoſt being clear and ſweet, abounding with fiſh; and the lower impregnated with nitre, from the quality of the ſoil at bottom. It is certain that ſalt was made in the latter, though it could poſſibly have no communication with the ſea. All the lakes together contained a ſpace of near thirty leagues in circumference, and their banks were adorned with about fifty different cities and towns, which afforded a moſt delightful and romantic proſpect. In the middle of the ſalt water lake ſtood the city of Mexico, which, at the time we are ſpeaking of, is ſaid to have contained not leſs than ſixty thouſand families. It was joined to the land by dykes and large cauſeways, erected at a prodigious expence, giving an air of grandeur, and great convenience, to this capital. That over which the Spaniards marched pointed to the ſouth, and was two leagues in length; another extended to the northward above a league; and a third led to the weſt, nearly of the ſame length. All the ſtreets were broad, and ſtraight; and ſome of them were bordered with canals, admitting ſmall veſſels and canoes, with which they were perpetually crowded. Bridges were likewiſe laid over, for the greater diſpatch of buſineſs, and eaſe of carriage. In general, the ſtreets conſiſted of earthen banks, faced with ſtones, raiſed with prodigious labour in the midſt of the waters; the whole forming the moſt agreeable appearance. Nothing could be better contrived for all the purpoſes of commerce or pleaſure.

The city was divided between the vulgar, and the court and nobility, the former poſſeſſing the diſtrict called Tlatelulco, where the buildings were low, mean, and much crowded: the other diſtrict was larger, and occupied by the nobility, filled with the buildings of the court, and other public edifices, faced with ſtone, and of good architecture. Both diſtricts were accommodated with parades,

Great fair of Mexico.

where an infinity of merchandize was daily exposed. At certain days in the year, a fair was held in Tlatelulco, to which all the merchants and traders in the empire resorted. On this occasion, one of the largest squares in the world, was filled with tents pitched so close, that there was scarce room left for the buyers to pass each other; nevertheless, all business was carried on with the utmost regularity, and nothing like confusion appeared. Here might be seen jewellers and goldsmiths, who sold toys of the most curious workmanship. Here were rows of painters, who exhibited the figures of animals, and landskips composed of feathers, so nicely arranged, as exactly to imitate nature. To this fair were brought all the different kinds of cotton manufactures made in the empire, whether plain or painted, with abundance of other commodities, which we cannot pretend to particularize; sufficient it is to observe, that the Mexican artists here constantly exhibited the most extraordinary proofs of their ingenuity and patience. Traffic was carried on by an exchange of commodities, and goods of small price were bought chiefly with maize or cocoa. The Mexicans had no standards of weight; but they had measures for space and quantity, and a kind of arithmetic by which they adjusted the price of commodities: but as we shall have occasion to treat afterwards of the manners and customs of those people, we shall omit, in this place, every thing not relative to the state of the kingdom at the time it was visited by Cortez. For the greater dispatch of business, and preservation of order, a board of justice was appointed, not only to decide all disputes which might arise among the merchants who frequented this fair, but likewise to take care that all the commodities exposed for sale, were marketable. Inferior officers were continually employed in going about to prevent frauds in contracts, suppress tumults, and preserve the peace; and such was the dread in which these magistrates were held, that seldom any irregularity or disturbance ever happened. It was not, therefore, without reason, that the Spaniards beheld with astonishment the opulence and good government of this empire, and the industry, address, and genius of the inhabitants, whom they nevertheless termed barbarians.

Great temple.

Nothing added more to the beauty and magnificence of the city of Mexico than the great number of stately temples with which it was adorned. The great temple, in particular, dedicated to the god Vitzlipuztli, was stupendous. The part of the building that first presented itself was a square, the wall of which was of hewn stone, sculptured

ſculptured on the outſide with the figures of ſerpents intertwined, that gave a very horrible aſpect to the portico. Within this incloſure, at a little diſtance, was the place of worſhip ſtill more dreadful, adorned with the heads of men who had been ſacrificed to the gods. Every ſide of the great ſquare had a gate, over which were four ſtatues of ſtone, which ſeemed to point the way back to thoſe who came to public worſhip in an improper diſpoſition. Round the walls were the habitations of the prieſts, who were extremely numerous; and yet there remained an area large enough to contain ten thouſand dancers upon public feſtivals. In the centre of this ſquare ſtood a tower, which terminated in a half pyramid of ſuch dimenſions, that the flat upon the top was forty feet ſquare, to which they aſcended by a hundred and twenty ſtone-ſteps of a beautiful ſtair-caſe. The pavement was of jaſper, a kind of ſerpentine balluſtrade encloſed it, and both ſides were covered with a ſtone reſembling jet, joined with red and white cement, that produced a pretty effect. Near the ending of the ſtair-caſe were two marble ſtatues, which ſupported two candleſticks of enormous ſize, and admirably well expreſſed the weight of the burden, by the ſtraining of their arms. A little farther was the ſtone on which was extended the wretched human victim to be ſacrificed to the gods, and emboweled; and beyond this ſtood a chapel of excellent workmanſhip and materials, covered with a roof of precious wood. Here was placed the idol, behind a curtain, on the high altar. It had ſome reſemblance to a human figure, of a terrible aſpect, was ſeated on a kind of throne, ſuſtained by a blue globe, repreſenting the heavens, from the ſides whereof came forth rods, headed like ſnakes, which the prieſts placed on their ſhoulders, when they expoſed the god to view. The idol held in the right hand a twining ſerpent, and in the left four arrows, which were worſhipped as a celeſtial preſent. Oppoſite to this was another chapel of the ſame ſize and figure, the habitation of an idol called the partner and brother of the former, who divided with him the ſpoils of war. The ornaments of both chapels were ineſtimable; all the walls were hung, and the altars covered with jewels and precious ſtones, ſet in feathers of beautiful colours. Every part of the town had its temple, which was the repoſitory of the principal riches of that diſtrict to which it belonged; and the idols of Mexico amounted to two thouſand, There was hardly a ſtreet without its tutelary deity, nor any calamity incident to nature without its altar, to which man had recourſe for a remedy. Only one good effect reſulted from the ſuperſtition

of the people, namely, the beauty which all theſe temples, reared by ignorance, added to the city.

Pleaſure-houſes of Motezuma.

Beſides the royal palaces and temples, there were other buildings that greatly contributed to the decoration of Mexico, namely, the pleaſure-houſes of Motezuma. One of them a moſt magnificent ſtructure, with vaſt galleries, ſupported by pillars of jaſper, was converted into an aviary. Here were aſſembled all the birds which New Spain produced of value, either on account of their voices or plumage. The number of theſe birds was ſo great, that above three hundred perſons were conſtantly employed in feeding and cleaning them; and from their feathers were made the moſt beautiful paintings in Motezuma's collection.

Motezuma had another houſe of ſuch extent, that it contained an apartment capable of holding his whole court. There huntſmen reſided, with an infinity of birds of prey, kept in cages, among which were the king's hawks, no way inferior to thoſe of Europe. The Spaniſh writers have deſcribed the royal eagle of a monſtrous ſize, and voraciouſneſs ſcarce credible. In another ſquare of the ſame houſe were kept the emperor's wild beaſts, lions, tygers, bears, and among others the Mexican bull, not unlike the wild bull of Bohemia, or buffalo, called urus by Latin writers. It was cuſtomary with the Mexicans, from the remoteſt antiquity, to eſtimate the grandeur of a prince by the number of wild beaſts in his poſſeſſion; whence we may judge of the number maintained by Motezumo, who was abſolutely the greateſt prince, in all reſpects, that ever ſwayed the Mexican ſceptre.

The peculiarity of Motezuma's humour appeared in the collection he had made of the deformities and monſters of human nature. Here were dwaſs, giants, hump-backed, crooked men, perſons who had uncommon marks in their features, or defects in their eyes, and others whoſe minds were as deformed as their bodies. Parents were frequently known to diſfigure their children, that they might be maintained at the king's expence.

Arſenal or armoury.

But of all the public buildings belonging to this great prince, none was more curious, or worthy of obſervation, than the armoury. It was divided into two departments; the one, where the arms were made; and the other, where they were arranged in the moſt beautiful manner, after they were entirely finiſhed. The ſeveral artiſts had ſhops aſſigned them, agreeable to their employments; and theſe were under the direction of ſuperintendants, who kept an exact account of the quantity and kinds of arms. From the magazine were diſtributed arms to the troops as occaſion required,

required, and the empty ſpaces were filled up by new weapons of every denomination. To all theſe houſes were annexed extenſive gardens, laid out with great taſte and magnificence; and in each of theſe was a large piece of ground, wholly occupied by medicinal plants, and herbs, for all kinds of wounds, pains, and infirmities, in the knowlege of which conſiſted the whole ſkill of the Mexican phyſicians. It would be endleſs to deſcribe all the public buildings of this great city, and inſtitutions of the magnificent Motezuma; but there is one which we muſt not omit, on account of its whimſical nature. This was called the Houſe of Sorrow, to which the emperor retired upon any public or private misfortune. There was a horror in the very appearance of the building: the walls, roofs, and ornaments, were all black, and light was admitted only through narrow chinks, juſt ſufficient to diſcover the gloominеſs of the place. Here Motezuma uſed to ſpend his time in ſolitude during the period of mourning. The Mexicans alleged that he converſed with the gods; and the Spaniſh writers, no leſs credulous and ſuperſtitious, ſuſpected that all his intercourſe in this place muſt have been with the devil, who delights in darkneſs.

In the country Motezuma likewiſe had a great number of ſeats, where he ſometimes partook of field-diverſions, and chiefly of hunting, in which he extremely delighted. He frequently went with the nobility to a large and pleaſant park, ſurrounded with a fine canal, where they brought the game of the neighbouring mountains, among which generally came ſeveral lions and tygers, which the Mexican hunters fought with great courage and addreſs. Motezuma himſelf would ſometimes engage in this diverſion, and let fly a dart or a javelin; but this he always did with reſerve, not for want of courage, but becauſe he was of opinion, that the dangers of war alone became the grandeur of a monarch.

Grandeur of Motezuma's private œconomy.

Agreeable to the external magnificence that appeared round the court of Motezuma, was his private œconomy, where all was ſplendid, ceremonious, and great. When this prince aſcended the throne, he augmented the number, quality, and brilliancy of his court, into which none were admitted but nobility of the firſt diſtinction. He excluded the common people, againſt the advice of his council, becauſe it was a maxim with him, that princes ought to govern at diſtance thoſe who either had no ſenſe of an obligation, or were unable to expreſs their gratitude by proper returns. His body-guards conſiſted of two hundred young gentlemen of the firſt quality in the empire, the out-poſts

only round the palace being defended by the common soldiers. There was indeed a principle of policy, as well as pride, in this institution; for it inured the nobility to the use of arms, to fatigue, and business, and also kept them in dependence on the sovereign. With respect to the emperor's women, they were without number; though two only bore the title of queens, who were lodged in separate apartments, and attended with the utmost magnificence. Every woman of extraordinary beauty in the empire was sent to court, as a sacrifice to Motezuma's lust; and many of them had been forced from their parents or husbands, by the ministers and farmers of the revenue. When these mistresses were discarded by the satiated prince, they generally found husbands among the nobility, on account of their wealth or beauty; for they never failed to accumulate large sums while they basked in the royal favour: nor did their reputation at all suffer by the favours granted to Motezuma; on the contrary, it was deemed an honour to have been thought worthy of his bed. While the concubines remained at court, they lived in the utmost decorum, their conduct being subject to the inspection of certain matrons appointed for that purpose: but jealousy was a reigning passion in the breast of Motezuma, which poisoned all his other enjoyments.

When he gave audience, nothing could be more solemn, pompous, grave, and austere, than his deportment; for as to the reception given to Cortez, it was so extraordinary as to excite the astonishment of the whole court. He ate alone, and frequently in public, but always with the state and magnificence of a prince. His table was generally covered with two hundred dishes of the most exquisite delicacies that the empire could afford. Before he sat down, he selected a few the most agreeable to his palate, and ordered the rest to be distributed among the nobility in waiting. He also kept tables sumptuously served for all the officers and servants of the court, and even for those who resorted thither, either upon business or pleasure. Every thing was sent up to the emperor's own table in gold, curious shells, or some other valuable materials, enriched with jewels; and the attendants were constantly supplying him with different sorts of liquors, some perfumed, some mixed with the essence of salutiferous herbs, and many impregnated with certain medicines that were regarded as restoratives or provocatives to venery. After dinner he drank chocolate, and smoked tobacco perfumed with liquid amber. During meals a band of music attended, which no sooner ceased than the emperor suffered himself to be entertained

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by the tricks and frolics of a number of buffoons and dwarfs, kept for that purpoſe about his perſon. He was fond of theſe wretches, he ſaid, only becauſe he could diſcover truth under their pleaſantry; whereas there was no penetrating through the maſk of hypocriſy wore by thorough-paced courtiers. Amidſt this inſtrumental muſic were ſingers, who in a kind of recitativo and muſical cadence, chanted the exploits of their anceſtors; and the memorable actions of their kings were alſo tranſmitted to poſterity, by hiſtorical pictures, and the hieroglyphical Mexican annals. Dances were frequently performed before the emperor, and he ſometimes condeſcended to join in the diverſion, for the greater entertainment of the Spaniards. Among theſe dances the moſt extraordinary was a kind of maſquerade, called mitotes, compoſed of a multitude, in which all degrees mixed indiſcriminately in a ſort of georgeous diſguiſe. The emperor honoured it ſometimes with his preſence; and as all drank freely, the diverſion commonly ended in a general intoxication. In a word, every day produced ſome new diverſion or public exhibition, ſupported at the emperor's expence, probably to engage the attention of the people from too curious a ſcrutiny into his conduct, and to diſpel all ſenſe of their loſs of liberty by a perpetual round of diſſipation.

His revenues.

It will readily be imagined, that the royal treaſures muſt have been immenſe, to maintain ſo much pomp and magnificence, at the ſame time that prodigious armies were kept conſtantly in the field. In fact, they were inexhauſtible. Incredible ſums were drawn from the mines of gold and ſilver, the ſalt-works, and other rights eſtabliſhed in the crown from time immemorial: but a ſtill larger revenue aroſe from the contributions of the ſubjects, which had been exhorbitantly increaſed ſince the acceſſion of Motezuma. Every huſbandman was obliged to pay a third of the produce of his lands and ſtock to the king. Artiſts were taxed in the ſame proportion, and the poor were obliged to work certain days for the court without fee or reward. All taxes were levied with the utmoſt rigour; nor was it without reaſon that the people clamoured againſt the tyranny of the adminiſtration. Every town in the vicinity of the capital furniſhed men for the king's works, provided fuel for the royal palace, or contributed otherwiſe towards the ſupport of the court; ſo that Motezuma was enabled to complete ſtupendous buildings, aqueducts, and other public and magnificent pieces of architecture, at a very ſlight expence to the treaſury. The tribute of the nobility conſiſted in guarding and attending the emperor's perſon, or

ſerving in his armies with a certain number of their vaſſals, maintained at their own expence, or the expence of the enemy: yet were they continually making him preſents, which he received as rights due to his crown, dignity, and the anxieties and troubles attending royalty.

His civil and military government.

As we ſhall have occaſion elſewhere to treat of the civil government of Mexico, it will be ſufficient to obſerve in this place, that Motezuma gave the utmoſt attention to the due adminiſtration of juſtice among his ſubjects, notwithſtanding he thought himſelf privileged to tyrannize over the whole empire. Murder, theft, and adultery, were puniſhed with death; but in caſes of treaſon, and other offences againſt the ſovereign, the moſt excruciating torments were annexed to the capital puniſhment. Corruption in miniſters, or perſons in any public truſt, was alſo capital; and this cuſtom Motezuma obſerved with the ſtricteſt rigour. Even the offering a bribe was thought worthy of death, and the corrupter and corrupted placed upon a level; a ſeverity which deſerves imitation in more civilized ſtates, and under more civilized monarchies. One of the moſt laudable articles of the policy of Motezuma, conſiſted in the care taken in the education of youth. He founded public ſchools for the inſtruction of the vulgar, and colleges or ſeminaries, with more extenſive privileges, for the children of the nobility. In theſe they were taught the imperfect knowlege of the Mexicans; the ſigns and characters, as well as the tradition in which their hiſtory was contained; the principles of the Mexican religion and morality; a general idea of the laws and conſtitution; and, laſtly, the ſeveral profeſſions which they were to follow in life. There were alſo colleges for the education of women. Motezuma inſtituted honorary rewards for merit, whether in a civil or military capacity; and the generous ardour with which the people aſpired at theſe honours, is the beſt proof of the utility of the inſtitution. Such was the empire, ſuch the monarch, and ſuch the people, whom Cortez, with a handful of Spaniards, propoſed to ſubdue.

His kindneſs to the Spaniards.

Motezuma made an artful diſplay of all his pomp and grandeur to the Spaniards; either to engage them as friends, or deter them from hoſtile attempts; or, perhaps, out of a principle of hoſpitality and real reſpect for ſtrangers, whoſe valour he could not but admire. He went to all public entertainments attended by Cortez and the Spaniſh captains, whom he treated with the moſt polite familiarity. They were admitted on all occaſions to his palace, without form or ceremony, while he only retained the reſerve of a ſovereign to his own ſubjects. He was daily diſtributing preſents

ſents among the officers and ſoldiers, with juſt diſtinction and diſcernment of merit; and his example induced the nobility to treat the ſtrangers with a reſpect bordering on ſubmiſſion and ſervility. The vulgar beheld the Spaniards as gods, and bent their knees to the meaneſt of the ſoldiers; who would have grown inſolent upon this homage, had not Cortez checked every emotion of pride, and tendency to tyranny. In this happy manner did they paſs away the time, when advices arrived from Vera Cruz, that produced an entire change in the face of affairs, reduced Cortez to extreme perplexity, and ſuggeſted to him the neceſſity of executing the moſt daring enterprize that ever entered into the head of mortal. Two Tlaſcalan ſoldiers, diſguiſed in the habits of Mexicans, found means to reach the capital, through bye-ways, and brought this intelligence, in a letter from the colony.

Intelligence from Vera Cruz alters the face of affairs.

Since the departure of Cortez, the ſettlement at Vera Cruz had met with no accident to diſturb their repoſe, until one of Motezuma's generals arrived with an army in the country, pillaged ſome towns, and attacked ſeveral caziques, who were in alliance with the Spaniards, and who had on on this occaſion claimed their protection. It is true, thoſe caziques had relied ſo much on the friendſhip and valour of the Spaniards, that they refuſed paying the uſual taxes; and thrown off all obedience to that monarch. The Mexican general Qualpopoca, had come with an army to the aſſiſtance of the collectors of the tribute, and committed ſeveral violences in conſequence of the obſtinate refuſal of the inhabitants. The Tontonoques, whoſe country had been ravaged, were the firſt who laid their grievances before Juan Eſcalante, governor of Vera Cruz, and beſought him with much earneſtneſs to take arms in their defence. He accordingly ſent meſſengers, in a friendly manner, to the Mexican general, requeſting him to ſuſpend his hoſtilities until he ſhould receive freſh advices from the emperor; ſince it was not poſſible that Motezuma ſhould authoriſe injuries to the allies of a monarch, whoſe ambaſſadors he received in ſo friendly a manner at his court. To this meſſage, the Mexican returned an inſolent anſwer, which Eſcalante interpreted into a challenge, that could not be refuſed, without prejudice to his reputation in the opinion of his Indian allies. Therefore aſſembling a body of two thouſand Totonoques, of the hilly country, fifty Spaniards, and two pieces of cannon, he took the field with intention of fal ing upon the main body of the Mexican army. He ſoon came up with the enemy, and defeated Qualpopoca, after a bloody action, in which the Totonoques miſbehaved, but

but Escalante received a wound, of which he died. Seven Spanish soldiers were also killed in this action, and one, having engaged himself too far in the battle, was carried off by the Mexicans. A relation of this affair, with all its circumstances was now transmitted by the council at Vera Cruz to Cortez; and he immediately communicated it to his officers, desiring their advice in what manner he should act in so delicate a conjuncture, and enjoining them to keep it a profound secret, lest it might transpire among the soldiers, and produce bad consequences.

Before the council of officers came to any determination, the general sent privately for some of the most sensible and faithful Indians in his army, and questioned them, whether they had observed any suspicious circumstances in the conduct of the Mexicans? Their answer imported, that the vulgar were entirely immersed in the entertainments given by the emperor; but that the nobility seemed pensive and mysterious; and that they had overheard some expressions which would admit of a sinister interpretation; such as the possibility of breaking down the bridges of the causeway, and others to the same effect. They alleged it had been likewise whispered, that the head of a Spaniard was brought privately in a present to Motezuma, which he had contemplated with astonishment, on account of its size, the fairness of the aspect, the strength of the features, and roughness of the beard; marks which agreed with Juan d'Aguillo, the soldier who had been carried off prisoner in the battle with Qualpopoca; whence it was inferred, that every thing must have been transacted by the emperor's order. Indeed, the Tlascalan nobility affirmed, that, without express commands from the court, the Indian general would never have presumed upon commencing hostilities with the Spaniards, at a time when they were so highly favoured by the monarch (A). The officers assembled in council were much divided in opinion; some advised that a passport from Motezuma should be so-

(A) It is reported that Cortez, ruminating the whole night upon his situation, and endeavouring to devise some remedy, wandered about the palace lost in thought, and stumbled upon a place where Motezuma had concealed the treasures of his father. A door plaistered up excited his curiosity; he immediately got workmen to break it open, and then, after having viewed the treasure, ordered the breach to be repaired, without taking any thing away (1).

(1) Herrera, dec. ii. De Solis, lib. iii. cap. xviii.

licited;

licited; others thought ſuch a ſtep would be a reflection upon the character of the Spaniards, and an acknowlegement of their weakneſs; a third party were of opinion, that as the relief of the colony was eſſentially neceſſary, it would be beſt to march off privately with all the riches they had acquired; and a fourth affirmed, that the only honourable expedient would be to remain in Mexico, until ſome means of a retreat could be contrived, without ſeeming to have any knowlege of what was tranſacted at Vera Cruz. All appeared confident that Motezuma was privy to Qualpopoca's conduct; an inference which, however, the circumſtances did not altogether juſtify; for the Indian general might very naturally have been led into hoſtilities with the Spaniards, in conſequence of their taking upon them to protect ſubjects of the empire, whom he conſidered as rebels. Cortez objected firſt to the paſſport as unworthy of ſoldiers who had opened a way, by dint of arms, to the capital of the empire. The notion of retreating privately, he ſaid, would prove equally injurious to their honour, upon which depended their greateſt ſecurity; the moment they ſunk in the eſteem of the Indians, from that moment they might date their ruin; ſince it would be impoſſible to think of oppoſing by mere force, ſuch a multitude of people. The inſtant their flight ſhould be known, it would be eaſy for the emperor to give notice, by ſcouts, to the armies on the frontiers, to intercept them, while he himſelf ruſhed like a torrent from the capital on their rear. They would find themſelves beſet and hemmed in upon every ſide, without one foot of ground on which they could tread with ſafety. He therefore joined in opinion with thoſe who were for remaining in their preſent ſituation, but differed with reſpect to the manner. He declared ſome great action muſt be performed; and it would be abſolutely neceſſary to excite the aſtoniſhment of the Mexicans, in order to recover their eſteem and veneration, which had been diminiſhed by the late unfortunate accident. The only probable means that occurred to him was, to ſeize upon the perſon of Motezuma, and carry him priſoner to the Spaniſh quarters; a ſtep which would impreſs the Mexicans with terror and amazement, and which, though apparently raſh, was by no means impracticable. This point he laboured with ſo much zeal, that a majority went over to his opinion, all acquieſced, and the ſpirited reſolution was immediately taken. Nothing could appear more deſperate than for a handful of men to attempt impriſoning a powerful monarch in the heart of his own capital, and in his own palace, ſurrounded by multi-

tudes

tudes of guards. Excluſive of moral conſiderations, hiſtory cannot inſtance an action more bold, more ſeaſonable, more judiciouſly planned, nor more ſucceſsfully executed.

Cortez ſeizes upon Motezuma, and carries him to the Spaniſh quarters.

The hour when it was uſual for the Spaniſh captains to pay their compliments to the emperor, was choſen for the execution of this great project, that no alarm might be given by an unſeaſonable viſit. All the Spaniards were ordered under arms in their quarters, and to hold themſelves in readineſs without noiſe or diſturbance; and the avenues to the palace were ſecured by ſmall parties of ſoldiers, aſſembled in proper places, as if by accident. Theſe precautions being taken, Cortez, attended by his captains, and followed by thirty choſen ſoldiers, ſauntering at ſome diſtance, as if for curioſity, advanced to the palace, where they were immediately admitted. Motezuma came out in his uſual manner to meet them, and all took their ſeats, his ſervants always having orders to retire. Cortez then began his complaint, comprehending every circumſtance of the conduct of general Qualpopoca, and his declaration that every thing had been tranſacted by orders from the emperor; which he (Cortez) nevertheleſs affected to diſbelieve; concluding, that he owed too much reſpect for his royal perſon to credit any thing ſo unworthy of his majeſty, as to be countenancing ſtrangers at his court, while he was endeavouring to deſtroy them in his provinces.

Motezuma changed colour at this recital, which the Spaniards conſtrued into a proof of his guilt. As he ſeemed to be under the greateſt perplexity, Cortez relieved his confuſion, by aſſuring him of his full conviction that he could have no ſhare in the cruel death of the Spaniards at La Vera Cruz, notwithſtanding the declaration of his general and officers, who pleaded his order as the only apology they could make. But he ſaid that it would be neceſſary to give ſome extraordinary proof of his own innocence, and of the falſity of the general's charge, in order to efface the impreſſion of ſuch a calumny. He intreated him, therefore, to go immediately to the Spaniſh quarters, without noiſe or diſturbance, as if by his own free choice, with a reſolution not to ſtir from thence until it ſhould be made apparent that he was no ways concerned in ſo perfidious an action. By this generous mark of his confidence, he ſaid, he would not only appeaſe the juſt indignation of the great monarch, whoſe ſervants the Spaniards were, but reſtore the luſtre of his own honour, which at preſent was tarniſhed by the breath of ſuſpicion. He gave his word as a gentleman, a ſoldier, and the miniſter of the greateſt monarch

monarch in the univerſe, that he ſhould be treated among the Spaniards with all the reſpect due to his royal dignity; ſince they only deſired to be ſure of his good will, to have it in their power to hear and obey him with the greater veneration. Perceiving that Motezuma was ſilent, and in the utmoſt aſtoniſhment at the boldneſs of the propoſal, he obſerved by way of palliative, that the quarters which his imperial majeſty had been pleaſed to aſſign to the Spaniards, was a royal palace, where he had frequently paſſed a few days; and that it, therefore, could not appear ſtrange he ſhould change his reſidence, to exculpate himſelf in an affair that was, properly ſpeaking, the complaint of one monarch againſt another; for, if it ſhould appear to be the fault of his general, it might be redreſſed by a proper correction, without puſhing things to thoſe violences, which generally attend the deciſion of quarrels between ſovereigns.

Motezuma, in the firſt tranſport of his impatience, exclaimed, that princes of his rank could not ſubmit to deliver themſelves up to impriſonment; nor would his ſubjects permit it, ſhould he forget his own dignity ſo far as to ſtoop to ſo mean a compliance; a declaration that obliged Cortez to aſſume a more peremptory ſtyle. He replied, that provided his majeſty went willingly, without obliging the Spaniards to forget the reſpect they owed to his perſon and dignity, he valued not the oppoſition of his ſubjects, againſt whom he could employ a ſufficient force, without breach of their mutual amity. An expoſtulation enſued, in the courſe of which Motezuma made ſeveral other propoſals, which he hoped would anſwer the ſame intention, without either derogating from his dignity, or endangering his liberty. Among others, he offered to ſend for Quaipopoca, and his officers, to be ſurrendered to the Spaniards, and puniſhed as they thought proper; and to give two of his ſons as hoſtages to the Spaniards for the execution of his promiſe; but Cortez had now gone too far to recede with ſafety, and therefore rejected all thoſe expedients. The captains, who attended Cortez, apprehending that danger might ariſe from delay, grew impatient, and Juan Velaſquez cried out, "Let us leave off parlying, and either ſeize or kill him;" of which words Motezuma deſiring to know the meaning from the interpreter, Donna Marina, who always diſcharged this office, told him with admirable preſence of mind, as if ſhe deſired not to be overheard by the Spaniards: "Your majeſty is in great danger, by not complying with the inſtances of thoſe people, who are equally reſolute and powerful. I am your own loyal

loyal ſlave; my thoughts are always employed to do you ſervice, and I am likewiſe one of their confidents, well acquainted with their moſt ſecret intentions. If you go with them, you will be treated with all the reſpect due to ſo great a prince; but if you reſiſt longer, the conſequences may be fatal." This well-timed ſpeech, delivered with an air of ſincerity and ſolicitude about his welfare, proved effectual, and determined Motezuma to comply. There was a certain confidence and preſumption in the character and deportment of Cortez, that over-awed the ſpirit of this Indian emperor. He preſently called for his ſervants, and ordering his chair and equipage to be got ready, told his miniſters, that, for certain reaſons of ſtate, he had reſolved to ſpend ſome days with the Spaniards. He deſired they would publiſh to all his ſubjects, that he went voluntarily, and for the intereſt of the crown, and the advantage of the nation in general. At the ſame time he ordered one of the captains of his guards to bring Qualpopoca, and his principal officers, priſoners to Mexico; giving him for his authority the royal ſignet, which he untied from his right arm; all which orders were explained by Marina to the Spaniards, to prevent their taking umbrage, or conceiving any ſuſpicion at hearing the emperor give directions to his people. Accompanied by his uſual attendants, Motezuma quitted his palace; the Spaniards marching on foot, cloſe by his chair, for the greater ſecurity, but under pretence of doing him honour. The report inſtantly ſpread, that Motezuma was carried off by the ſtrangers; the ſtreets were immediately crouded; every face appeared impreſſed with concern and aſtoniſhment, but no attempts were made to reſcue him, though ſome bewailed his condition with tears; others made loud lamentations, and multitudes flung themſelves on the ground in deſpair. Motezuma appeaſed the tumult, by telling the people, with an air of gaiety, that he was going to divert himſelf, a few days, with his friends the ſtrangers. When he arrived at the Spaniſh quarters, he gave orders to his guards to diſperſe the mob; and publiſhed, that every riot, tumult, or diſturbance, ſhould be puniſhed with immediate death.

The emperor is reconciled to his confinement.

He then fixed upon his own apartments, which were immediately furniſhed by his own ſervants with the richeſt moveables; meanwhile Cortez placed a guard of Spaniards at the different paſſes leading to the palace, and doubled the centinels round the quarters, to prevent being ſurpriſed by any attempts to reſcue the monarch. Orders were iſſued to the ſoldiers, to admit all the gentlemen of Mote-

Motezuma's retinue, and also the nobility and ministers, just in the same manner as if he were under no restraint, only with this caution, that a certain number at a time should only be allowed, under pretence of keeping the monarch from being crouded. Cortez desired leave to visit him that same evening, with as much ceremony as before; and a similar respect was shewn him by all the Spanish officers and soldiers; by which means Motezuma resumed his wonted chearfulness, distributed presents among the Spaniards, and caressed them with the same cordiality as if they had done him no injury. In a few days he became so perfectly reconciled to his situation, that he seemed to have no inclination to change his residence, and his retirement was considered as the effect of a whimsical disposition. Although some of the courtiers discovered that he was actually under confinement, yet they were so thunderstruck with the intrepidity of the Spaniards, and the incredible boldness of the measure, that all their resolution forsook them, and they contented themselves with pitying what they believed would admit of no remedy. As to the affairs of government, they went on in the usual train. Motezuma discharged all the functions of a sovereign in his prison, as if he had been in his own palace; gave audience at the accustomed hour; heard the advice and representations of his ministers; and applied himself to all the branches of business, civil and military, in order to persuade the people that his residence in the Spanish quarters was entirely the result of his own inclination, and a desire to enjoy more uninterruptedly the company of men whom he highly esteemed. All his vacant hours he passed with the Spaniards, and used to declare, that he was not himself without them. Every one studied to please him, and this attention he perceived with extreme satisfaction. In the evening he used to play with Cortez at a game called tololoque, or *little gold balls*, with which they endeavoured, at a certain distance, to strike down pins of the same metal. As they played for jewels, and other curiosities, Motezuma distributed his winnings among the inferior officers of the Spanish troops; and Cortez bestowed his gains upon the emperor's retinue.

He meets with new mortifications.

In the midst of this good understanding, the officer sent for Qualpopoca returned with his prisoners, who were conducted into the emperor's apartment. Motezuma immediately sent them to Cortez, that he might inform himself of the truth, and inflict such punishment as he thought the delinquents might deserve. They confessed the whole charge

charge of their having violated the peace, provoked the Spaniards of Vera Cruz by hoſtilities, and killed Aguillo, their priſoner, in cold blood, without any authority from the emperor. However, when they were afterwards urged to a more complete diſcovery by menaces, they affirmed that they had the imperial orders; an allegation which Cortez treated as an evaſion and falſity. They were accordingly convicted, by a court martial of Spaniſh officers, and condemned to be publicly burned before the royal palace, as criminals, who had not only violated the ſacred law of nations, but incurred the penalty of high treaſon, by preſuming to involve their ſovereign in their own guilt.

This was an act of inſolence and cruelty which no political conſideration could juſtify; as the Spaniards knew that the officers acted by authority; and every laudable and prudent purpoſe might have been anſwered by more gentle chaſtiſement. In fact, Qualpopoca only performed what he had reaſon to believe was the duty of his office; but his death was a ſacrifice to Spaniſh pride; Cortez believing he could not more ſtrongly confirm his influence and power, than by thus inſulting, in his own capital, a monarch who had loaded him with civilities. But it ſeems he had not enough gratified his arrogance by this trial. Before he cauſed the ſacrifice to be executed upon the Mexican general, he determined upon a farther exertion of his power, in order the more thoroughly to convince Motezuma of his dependence. He now intruded into the emperor's preſence, attended by a ſoldier, carrying a pair of fetters, which he ordered to be put upon the feet of Motezuma; telling him, that he had been accuſed by his officers as an acceſſary to their crime; and that it was neceſſary he ſhould expiate for the ſtrong preſumptions againſt him by ſome perſonal mortification; ſo ſaying, he retired, leaving the unhappy prince in a ſtate of the moſt cruel mortification and ſuſpence; as he did not know whether his life was not to be next the ſacrifice. For ſome time he remained in a ſtate of ſilence and inſenſibility; but, recovering from his firſt confuſion, he reſumed his uſual magnanimity, and determined to meet his fate with the fortitude of a hero; while his ſervants bathed his feet with their tears, and ſupported the weight of the ſhackles.

The ſituation of Cortez would now admit of no delay or heſitation; matters were come to a criſis, and nothing but the ſame undaunted reſolution could enforce ſucceſs. The criminals were carried to the place appointed, and the

the sentence was literally executed in presence of the whole city of Mexico, without the least noise or shew of disturbance. The people were impressed with terror, intermingled with respect and admiration, at the authority which those strangers assumed. Immediately after the execution Cortez repaired to the royal apartment, and, addressing Motezuma with a chearful countenance, told him, that the traitors who had presumed to soil his character, were now justly punished; and that his majesty had sufficiently refuted calumny by submitting to this short mortification and intermission of liberty. He then fell upon his knees, and, with his own hands, took off the fetters. Motezuma received this liberty with a tumultuous joy, which evinced how deeply he had been affected by the indignity. He embraced Cortez with transport, and seemed to forget in the person of his deliverer his most dangerous enemy. When the attendants had withdrawn, Cortez gave the emperor to understand that he was at liberty to return, when he pleased, to his own palace, the cause of his detention being now removed; but this step Motezuma declined, saying, it would by no means be proper to leave the Spanish quarters before the departure of Cortez, as his reputation would suffer greatly when it was known that he had received his liberty from the hands of another; a reflection which Cortez had taken care to suggest, by means of Donna Marina, before he ventured to make the proposal.

A Mexican general is publickly executed by Cortez.

Every thing was now contrived in such a manner as to persuade the royal prisoner and his subjects, that he was at perfect liberty; and he returned their attention with such affability and liberality, as really engaged the affections of the Spaniards. Before this time the virtues of Motezuma had the lain concealed from his own subjects. His generosity, sincerity, magnanimity, and warmth of friendship, were obscured by the affectation of dignity, reserve, and austerity; perhaps misfortune had softened his heart, or the acquaintance with a people more civilized than his own, contributed to enlarge his understanding, and call forth the exertion of natural qualities, which had not hitherto appeared. Certain it is, that the Spaniards themselves allow no prince could behave in a more amiable manner, or exhibit stronger proofs of a noble mind, than Motezuma displayed during the whole period of his confinement. After he had, by his behaviour, fully gained the confidence of Cortez, he one day asked his permission to go sometimes to visit his temples, promising, upon the word of a sovereign, faithfully to return to his prison, for so he used in jest to call his confinement, when only Spaniards were in hearing. He

Motezuma again reconciled to his situation.

told Cortez that he now desired for his own conveniency, and for the sake of the Spaniards, to shew himself to his subjects, who began to suspect that he was detained by force, lest some commotion might happen, if he did not speedily prevent it by this proof of his liberty. The general answered, without hesitation, that he was at perfect liberty to go when and where he pleased; but he accepted the promise which the emperor made of not changing his residence, being extremely solicitous to preserve the honour and happiness which he had in the conversation and society of his royal guest. A reader of sentiment will not peruse these transactions, without indignation at the insolence of this freebooter, for such Cortez was, with all his accomplishments. He likewise exacted another promise, that Motezuma would abolish the barbarous custom human sacrifices at the altars of his gods; a promise which that prince religiously performed, prohibiting all human victims, not only in the temples of Mexico, but in those of the whole empire.

Motezuma's first excursion was to the great temple, whither he went with his usual pomp, the people celebrating his appearance with loud acclamations. Every one seemed now forgetful of the injuries, either real or imaginary, which they had received from the tyrant, and nothing appeared to their eyes but the bright side of the royal character, the lustre of which became more conspicuous in adversity. He received their congratulations with an air of satisfaction and majesty, and was particularly profuse that day in the favours he bestowed on the nobles, and the gifts distributed among the people. Having complied with the duties of his religion, he returned to his quarters, declaring to the Spaniards, "That the satisfaction he had in residing among them, made him equally desirous of returning, as the discharge of his promise." From this time he continued to go abroad when he pleased, and often partook of public diversions, always returning at night to his quarters; insomuch that the Mexicans began actually to regard his perseverance as the effect of his love to the Spaniards. It was now customary for the nobility to make their first application to Cortez, whenever any favour was wanted from the emperor; and this adventurer was, in all respects, regarded as the chief counsellor, friend, minister, and favourite of the monarch.

Cortez makes new improvements at Vera Cruz.

But Cortez was not so intoxicated with prosperity, as to neglect the immediate object of the expedition, and the concerns of the colony at Vera Cruz. He had already recovered all the reputation which the Spaniards had lost

loſt in the late unfortunate affair; but as no governor had been appointed to ſucceed Juan Eſcalante, the ſettlement remained without a head, a circumſtance which might have been productive of diſpute and faction. To obviate theſe evils, Cortez nominated captain Gonzalo de Sadoval, governor of Vera Cruz; but becauſe he could not, in the preſent juncture, conveniently part with ſo good an officer, he ſuffered him to appoint Alonſo de Grado for his lieutenant, to adminiſter juſtice, and direct the affairs of the colony in his abſence. And he made uſe of the opportunity which theſe journeys to and from Vera Cruz furniſhed, of bringing cordage and other materials for building veſſels on the lake of Mexico, in conſequence of the permiſſion, which he had obtained from the emperor. The manner in which he gained this aim, without giving ſuſpicion to the Mexican court, was artful and ſagacious. He firſt inflamed the curioſity of Motezuma, by deſcribing the Spaniſh ſhipping, and thoſe floating palaces, that moved with ſuch velocity on the water without oars; and when he found that the monarch was extremely deſirous of ſeeing ſuch a novelty, he gave him to underſtand, that nothing was wanting to his gratification, beſides a few neceſſaries from Vera Cruz; for that he had workmen in his army capable of building theſe veſſels. The bait took with Motezuma, and he gave immediate orders that all his people ſhould aſſiſt Cortez in whatever he ſhould direct concerning the ſhipping. By theſe means, in a few days, two brigantines were got ready, full rigged, and equipped, and Motezuma was invited on board, to make the firſt trial of their ſailing, of which he could form no idea. Accordingly he embarked for this purpoſe, and gave orders for a great hunting upon the water, in order that all his people might be diverted with the novelty preſented by the Spaniards. On the day appointed, the royal equipage was ready early in the morning, and the lake was covered with a multitude of boats and canoes full of people. The Mexicans had augmented the number of their rowers in the royal barges, with intention to diſgrace the Spaniſh veſſels, which they deſpiſed as awkward and unwieldly: but they were ſoon undeceived; a freſh gale ſpringing up, the brigantines hoiſted ſail, to the utter aſtoniſhment of all the ſpectators, and ſoon left all the canoes behind. Motezuma, was wonderfully pleaſed, and ſeemed to glory in the victory of the Spaniards, to whom he was by this time become really partial in his affection. The novelty of this ſpectacle produced its ordinary effects. The Indians were equally pleaſed, aſtoniſhed, and fully perſuaded that the Spaniards poſſeſſed a genius

He builds two veſſels on the lake of Mexico, which tremendously delight the emperor.

altogether supernatural, thus to obtain dominion over the elements. Upon the whole, we cannot sufficiently applaud the foresight and prudence of Cortez, who thus united his own security, interest, and reputation, with the entertainment of the people, and the sovereign, in whose opinion he could not stand too high to succeed in his designs.

Address of Cortez.

In short every thing contributed to the accomplishment of his scheme. He introduced the praises of the catholic king so artfully, and extolled his power, grandeur, clemency, and other qualities of the heart, and goods of fortune, in so judicious a manner, that Motezuma and his whole court eagerly desired the proposed alliance, and an established commerce between the two nations, as what must prove mutually beneficial. By way of conversation, and gratifying his curiosity, Cortez also made some of the most important discoveries; for he had so won the affections of the emperor, that he concealed nothing from him. All suspicion touching his ambitious designs were vanished, and he was now considered as the friend and ally of Mexico. Thus, he procured very circumstantial information of the strength and extent of the empire; of its divisions, frontiers, provinces, commodities, mines, rivers, and other particulars; of the distances of the south and north seas, their qualities, roads, and harbours. Cortez seemed to have so little design in these inquiries, that Motezuma, to indulge his laudable curiosity, ordered his painters, with the assistance of men skilled in the topography of Mexico, to draw out all his dominions on a piece of cotton, in such a manner as to give an exact representation of every particular that merited regard. He even permitted some Spaniards to take a view of the richest mines in the empire, and of all the ports and bays capable of receiving shipping; believing, with a truly generous confidence, that the same persons, whose qualities had engaged his affections, could never forfeit his esteem; and exhibiting the strongest proofs, that although his first professions of regard for the Spaniards proceeded from fear, they were now the dictates of love, and the warmest emotions of friendship.

An error in his conduct.

Such were the happy circumstances of Cortez and his people, when superstition and enthusiasm impelled them to measures which had almost blasted the fruits of all their labour, and destroyed the confidence they had acquired with so much trouble. Nothing could be more preposterous than to attempt, at this juncture, a reformation in religion; yet this, we are told upon unquestionable authority,

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was the reſolution of the Spaniards; for which purpoſe Cortez ſallied out one day at the head of a party to overthrow the idols, and convert the principal temple into a church. This ſudden meaſure threw the whole city into confuſion, and Motezuma into the utmoſt perplexity. The prieſts took up arms in defence of their gods, and the populace eſpouſed their cauſe. Their reſpect for the Spaniards yielded to their zeal for the religion of their country, and had not the idols been ſuffered to remain in their places, the conſequence muſt have proved fatal to the reformers. Herrera relates that the diſpute ended by a kind of compromiſe, effected through the influence of Motezuma; by which no alteration was to be made in the principal temple, but another inferior in point of veneration was given to the Spaniards, to be turned into a chapel, or church, where they were allowed to perform maſs publicly.

A dangerous conſpiracy diſcovered and defeated.

It was probably this outrage together with the circumſtances of the monarch's reſtraint, which gave riſe to a conſpiracy, to drive the Spaniards out of Mexico, and ſet Motezuma at liberty; or, if he appeared determined to ſupport the ſtrangers, to bring about a revolution in the government, and place another prince upon the imperial throne. At the head of this conſpiracy was Caminatzin, nephew to the emperor, an enterprizing youth, who grew quite impatient at ſeeing his ſovereign, and the whole empire, governed at pleaſure by an unſupported ſtranger, whoſe ſole influence was founded upon his own addreſs, the credulity of the monarch, and the puſillanimity of the people. The Spaniſh writers call him an inconſiderate, hot-headed young man, blinded by ambition; and ſeem to treat as a crime what certainly merits the higheſt encomiums. He was not only a prince of the blood, but a ſovereign of the firſt conſideration, who held the kingdom of Tezeuco as a fief of the imperial crown. His rank, and ſpirit, gave him reaſon to aſpire at the firſt dignity in the empire, upon a future election; and he thought he could not better recommend himſelf than by atchieving an enterprize, which could not but be equally agreeable and advantageous to the ſovereign and the ſubjects. Caminatzin could not forbear obſerving that puſillanimity and meanneſs of ſpirit with which a whole powerful kingdom beheld their monarch in ſubjection to the ambaſſador of another prince. He painted the conduct of the Spaniards in the blackeſt and moſt odious colours, charging them with having violently confined a prince who had loaded them with kindneſſes, and with laying the foundation of a deſpotiſm, the moſt cruel and ſlaviſh of any, becauſe it was raiſed upon ignorance, ſuperſtition,

ſtition, and hypocriſy. Theſe ſubjects he ſeized every opportunity of introducing before the caziques and nobility; and when he found he had ſufficiently prepared their minds, he held a ſecret council of all his friends and relations at his palace of Tezeuco, at which were preſent the kings of Cayocan, Iztapalapa, Tacuba, and Maltacingo, all of them princes of the empire, and ſubjects of Motezuma. Theſe he harangued with ſuch ſpirit, elocution, and fervour of patriotiſm, that the whole aſſembly applauded his reſolution, and promiſed their utmoſt aſſiſtance, except the cazique of Maltacingo, who endeavoured to defeat his deſigns, by repreſenting that it would be neceſſary and incumbent upon them to acquaint Motezuma with their intentions. It would be dangerous, he ſaid, to the royal perſon to attack the palace where he reſided, without firſt placing him in a place of ſecurity, or at leaſt giving him ſuch intimation as might enable him to look to his own ſafety; nor would it add to their reputation to uſe violence to ſtrangers, who were under the protection of their ſovereign, until they had given ſome juſt provocation, and exhibited ſtronger preſumptions of their ſiniſter deſigns. It was obvious to the whole aſſembly that this cazique ſpoke from prejudice to Caminatzin, whoſe rival he was in pretenſions to the crown. His opinion was therefore unanimouſly rejected; and Caminatzin could not refrain from reflections injurious to his honour, which the other bore patiently, the better to purſue his intentions of making a complete diſcovery both to Cortez and Motezuma. Accordingly, he ſent advice of the whole, to the Spaniſh quarters, and Motezuma was going in queſt of Cortez to communicate his intelligence, when he found the general had anticipated his deſign, and was coming upon the ſame errand to the royal apartments. It was ſufficient to clear Motezuma from all ſuſpicion of his being an acceſſary, that he was ſo ready to communicate his firſt advices; and indeed his future conduct fully juſtified the integrity of his heart. He expreſſed great indignation againſt the whole faction, and propoſed chaſtiſing them with the utmoſt rigour. Cortez anſwered, that he was ſorry to have been the occaſion of any diſturbance among his vaſſals, and for that reaſon, found he was obliged to charge himſelf with applying a proper remedy to this evil. He was, therefore, come to aſk permiſſion to march immediately with the Spaniards to Tezeuco, to cruſh in embryo a conſpiracy that might be attended with bad conſequences to his imperial majeſty, unleſs ſuppreſſed in proper ſeaſon; for it would be neceſſary, he ſaid, to ſeize upon Caminatzin before he ſhould join his confederates, and thereby prevent the effuſion of blood.

Motezuma

Motezuma admired the undaunted ſpirit of the Spaniſh general; but he declined his propoſal, ſaying, it would detract from the dignity of a Mexican emperor, to uſe foreign arms in the chaſtiſement of his own ſubjects. He therefore deſired that Cortez, for his ſake, would diſſemble his private reſentment. He obſerved, that every motion of the Spaniards would only ſerve to increaſe the hatred of the people to them, and occaſion their inſiſting more obſtinately upon their removal from the court; that it would, therefore, be beſt to aſſiſt him with his counſel, and act as a mediator, if circumſtances ſhould require any interpoſition. He thought proper, firſt to try the effects of gentle remedies, and whether his nephew would be brought to reaſon, by reminding him of the duty and obligations which he owed to his ſovereign, and of the general benefit that would reſult from an amicable intercourſe with the Spaniards. For this purpoſe he ſent one of his attendants to the prince, deſiring to ſee him; acquainting him that Cortez ſought his friendſhip, and could wiſh to have him nearer the royal perſon, that he might give him proofs of his eſteem. To this meſſage, the prince returned an inſolent anſwer; probably imagining, that the whole was dictated by Cortez, who had laid this ſpecious ſnare to deprive him of liberty, as he had already entrapped the emperor. Cortez made freſh application to Motezuma, for leave to chaſtiſe the rebel, for ſuch the ſpirited prince is called by all the Spaniſh writers, who treat every attempt againſt Cortez as an inſult upon the ſovereign; but the emperor perſiſted in declaring, that, in this caſe, there was more dependence on deliberation than action; and deſired it might be left wholly to his management, as he was better acquainted with the temper of his own people, and the ſource of the preſent diſaffection. The event juſtified his propoſal, by pretending to deſpiſe the danger, and treat his nephew's behaviour as the effect of levity and youth, he rendered the conſpirators careleſs, countermined their plot, bribed the ſervants of Caminatzin, and by their means ſeizing his perſon, brought him priſoner to the Spaniſh quarters, without the leaſt noiſe or diſturbance. It was now that Motezuma diſcovered all his diſſembled reſentment, treated his nephew as a criminal guilty of high treaſon, and committed him to the priſon deſtined for noblemen condemned to undergo capital puniſhment. He was afterwards depoſed, out of compliment to Cortez, and a young nobleman, his brother, whom Cortez was deſirous of engaging in his intereſt, was raiſed to the throne of Tezcuco. The emperor declared, in a ſpeech made at the

inveſtiture of the young prince, that he owed all his good fortune to the mediation of the Spaniards; and gave the nobility to underſtand, that the lenity of the puniſhment inflicted on Caminatzin, proceeded from the ſame cauſe. All applauded the chaſtiſement, the moderation of which ſeemed no way agreeable to the uſual ſeverity ſhewn by Motezuma on ſimilar occaſions; and the ſuperior judgment of the Spaniards was acknowleged. The very novelty of puniſhing rebellion without bloodſhed produced ſuch extraordinary effects, that all the troops in arms for Caminatzin, diſperſed. The confederate caziques ſubmitted, without heſitation, to the royal clemency, and received pardon through the interpoſition of Cortez, who artfully ſeized this opportunity of rendering himſelf popular.

Motezuma, by an inſtrument, acknowleges himſelf the veſſal of the king of Spain.

Notwithſtanding the favourable iſſue of this conſpiracy, there was ſufficient cauſe left of uneaſineſs to Motezuma, who was too well acquainted with the motives of his nephew's conduct, and the genuine patriotiſm which warmed the breaſt of that young prince, although circumſtances obliged him to conceal his ſentiments, and to treat an attempt to rid Mexico of ſervitude to the Spaniards, as rebellion to the ſovereign. Upon coolly examining into the behaviour of Cortez, he found ſomething myſterious in his long reſidence in his dominions; and thought the continual reſtraint laid upon his own liberty was ſcarce compatible with the character of ambaſſador, which the ſtranger affected to aſſume. He began to be aſhamed of the general reflections that were made upon his want of ſpirit and reſolution, for ſuffering himſelf to be wholly governed by the ſtrangers. This tameneſs had been one of the pretences urged by Caminatzin for taking up arms; and Motezuma himſelf was ſenſible there was too much occaſion for the reproach. As the ſame reaſons ſtill ſubſiſted, he was apprehenſive of ſome freſh diſturbances; the applauſe beſtowed on the late ſentence might be intended to cover farther deſigns, and to lull the government into ſecurity. At any event there was danger from the ſparks of a fire lately extinguiſhed, of which even the Spaniards themſelves might take advantage, to extend their influence over the Mexicans; an aim which could only be effected by a diminution of the royal prerogative. Mature deliberation, therefore, upon theſe circumſtances, determined him to alter his behaviour to the Spaniards, eſtrange himſelf gradually from them, and intimate to Cortez, that it was time to think of his departure, as he was ready to execute every particular of the purpoſe of his embaſſy. It was ſome time before he could prevail upon himſelf to make the propoſal,

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or could meet with a fair opportunity of introducing the subject. At last, as the general was one day visiting him, he said, that he had been thinking of making a voluntary acknowlegement of that vassalage which was due to the Spanish monarch, as successor of Quezalcoal, and proprietory lord of the Mexican empire; for which purpose he intended to assemble the caziques and nobles of the realm, and make his acknowlegement in the presence of a full assembly, that they might, after his example, testify their obedience by some contributions and tribute to the new sovereign. He had already, he said, provided a considerable quantity of jewels and stones of inestimable value, to discharge the obligation on his own part; and he was persuaded his people would contribute on theirs such a present, as would be worthy of the king, as the first acknowlegement of the Mexican empire.

By this artful proposal, Motezuma concealed his design from Cortez, and actually perfuaded the general, that he had no farther motives for this extraordinary resolution than a superstitious compliance with the intention of the ancient prophecies, which he now regarded as fulfilled. Cortez was extremely well pleased to have obtained more than he thought was practicable at the present juncture; little imagining that this was a snare laid by the emperor, to oblige him, to declare his ultimate designs, or to quit the Mexican dominions. On the contrary, he hoped, that this extraordinary favour would enable him, without difficulty, to secure his residence in the capital, until farther orders should be received from Spain, together with such a reinforcement as would be sufficient for the actual conquest of the empire, should it be necessary to employ violence. If we may credit Herrera, it was by the advice of Cortez, that Motezuma dispatched his convocatory orders to the caziques; although it is probable, from the dispatch used upon this occasion, that the orders were issued immediately after the proposal was made to the general, to prevent his penetrating into the designs of the sovereign. Certain it is, that the nobility met at Motezuma's appointment; that Cortez was admitted into the assembly; and, that the whole transaction, of acknowleging the sovereignty of the Spanish monarch, was performed with the utmost solemnity; though it was by no means the intention of Motezuma to resign his throne, but only by this stratagem to break his own fetters. He opened the assembly with a speech, in which he endeavoured, by the most soothing expressions, to conciliate the minds of the nobles. He reminded them

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of the many proofs he had given them of his affection, and that they held their dignities from his bounty; inferring from thence the improbability of his making any propofal to them that fhould be incompatible with their intereft, and the honour and majefty of the empire. He faid, that what he was now going to mention, was the refult of mature deliberation, and the advice of the gods, who had intimated their opinion to him, by manifeft figns of approbation. He gave a detail of the origin of the Mexican empire; the expedition of the Nabatlacas; the extraordinary atchievement of Quezalcoal; the prophecy he left when he departed for the conqueft of the Eaft; foretelling, by the impulfe of heaven, that his defcendants fhould return to govern the kingdoms of the Weft. He affirmed, as an indifputable point, that his catholic majefty was the lawful fucceffor of Quezalcoal; whence he concluded, that they ought unanimoufly, in his perfon, to acknowlege the hereditary right of blood; although, for want of this, they had for many years difpofed of the crown by election. That for his own part, he was fuch a lover of juftice, and admirer of the virtues of the brave monarch Quezalcoal, that he would chearfully lay his crown at the feet of his defcendant, and was now refolved to be the firft in teftifying his fatisfaction at the completion of the prophecy. For this purpofe, he had felected the moft precious jewels of his treafury, to be fent to the king of Spain, in token of his vaffalage; and hoped, that his nobles would follow his example, not only in a fimilar acknowlegement, but in accompanying it with a handfome contribution of their riches. It is alleged by fome Spanifh writers, that, in defpite of all Motezuma's efforts to conceal his emotion, he found fomething fo repugnant to his natural pride, and fhocking to his dignity in this humilating conceffion, that his words were frequently interrupted with fobs and tears; and the whole aflembly fympathized with the prince. Cortez found it neceffary to comfort the difconfolate monarch, by affuring him, that it was not the intention of the king of Spain to difpoffefs him of the royal dignity, or to make the leaft alteration in the government; his whole defire being only, that the right of fucceffion might be fettled on his defcendants. Motezuma recollected himfelf upon this declaration; but the princes were confounded at the boldnefs and novelty of the propofal, which they regarded as an indelible ftain upon the dignity of fo powerful a monarch as Motezuma. They eyed each other with amazement, obferving a profound filence, until the prime minifter, who was perfectly acquainted with the ideas of his

his ſovereign, replied, that the aſſembly would be ready to obey all his commands, and to follow any example he ſhould think proper to give; as they had no doubt but he had fully weighed the conſequences of his reſolution, and conſulted the gods upon an affair of ſo great moment. A public inſtrument was immediately drawn up in the manner of the country, with all the neceſſary ſolemnities uſually obſerved in paying homage; and from that day forward, the emperor Charles V. king of Spain, was likewiſe regarded by thoſe people as hereditary lord and ſovereign of the Mexican empire.

He orders Cortez to quit his dominions.

Motezuma having thus acknowleged himſelf a vaſſal to his catholic majeſty, in a little time delivered to Cortez the preſent he had provided, which was extremely rich, conſiſting of gold, ornaments, pearls, precious ſtones, and beautiful pictures of feathers; and he afterwards put into his hands the contributions of the nobility; which was of immenſe value. Theſe offerings being made, he told Cortez, with a reſerve and ſeverity altogether unuſual, that he ſhould now begin to think of his journey, as the motives for his farther ſtay had ceaſed, and the iſſue of his embaſſy had been ſo uncommonly ſucceſsful; for the Mexicans would take umbrage at his longer delay, ſuſpect that he entertained farther and more dangerous deſigns than thoſe he avowed, and that the ſovereign authority would no longer be able to protect them againſt their reſentment. "The gods, ſaid he, are angry with me for the favour I have ſhewn to their enemies, and have denied me rain. They threaten to deſtroy the fruits of the earth, and to ſend a peſtilence among my people. Aſk what you will have more, and I freely grant it; becauſe, in deſpite of the duties of my religion, I love you and the other Spaniards: but you muſt be gone; religion, and the voice of my people, require this ſacrifice." Cortez was ſurpriſed at the air of reſolution with which Motezuma delivered this unexpected intimation; and then, for the firſt time, diſcovered the meaning of the preſents, and the vaſſalage to the catholic king. After ſome pauſe of recollection, he thought it adviſeable to diſſemble, and ſeem to acquieſce in the emperor's reſolution. Accordingly he replied, that as he had obtained the ultimate aim of his embaſſy, he would now prepare, with all neceſſary diſpatch, for returning to Spain; and he ſaid he had come with intention to aſk the emperor's permiſſion, to build veſſels to tranſport himſelf and people; thoſe in which he came having been deſtroyed." By this evaſive anſwer he gained time for farther reſolutions, and for the expected arrival of inſtructions and rein-

reinforcements from Europe. This answer was highly pleasing to Motezuma, who, above all things, dreaded coming to a rupture with the Spaniards; though it is reported, that he had provided an army of forty thousand men to support his resolution, in case it had been disputed. But finding Cortez so complying, he told him in the most obliging manner, that it was not his intention to insist upon his departure without furnishing him with the necessary means; that he should give orders for building the vessels required, according to the general's directions; and that it was sufficient to appease the resentment of the gods, and silence the clamours of his subjects, that Cortez had, by his compliance, given proofs of his integrity, and the falsity of their suspicions. Instructions were accordingly issued in respect to the ships, and dispatched to Vera Cruz; the Indians being directed to cut down the wood, and convey it to the dock. The superintendency of this affair Cortez entrusted to Martin Lopez, a Biscayner, and excellent ship-builder; charging him in private to prolong the work as much as possible, but with all the appearance of making the utmost dispatch.

A fresh source of anxiety to Cortez arises.

In this train were the affairs of Cortez, when his prudence and fortitude were put to a more severe trial. Advice came to Motezuma, that eighteen sail of ships had been seen off Vera Cruz, and from the painted cloths on which the figures and dress were described of the mariners, they appeared to be Spaniards. Immediately the emperor sent for Cortez, and laying the picture before him, said, that now he apprehended the provision for his voyage would be unnecessary, since some ships of his nation were arrived on the coast, in which he might take his passage. It was not possible for Cortez to doubt that the squadron was Spanish, nor difficult to conjecture the motives of the expedition; but as this was the first intimation he had, it required all his equanimity to restrain the emotions of surprize with which he was seized. The first thought which occurred was, that it must be a squadron equipped by Velasquez, to destroy all the fruits of his labour: but this soon gave way to more pleasing sentiments, and he flattered himself that Portocarrero and Montejo, had succeeded in their embassy, and procured this reinforcement. However, as there could be no certainty with respect to the intention of the fleet, he answered Motezuma in general, that he would no longer delay his departure, if the ships of that fleet were bound back for any of the king of Spain's dominions; adding, that he should soon have an account from the Spaniards at Zampoala of the destination of the armament,

ment, and know whether it would be neceſſary to proceed in building the veſſels. In a few days letters arrived from Sandoval, governor of Vera Cruz, acquainting Cortez that the fleet belonged to Velaſquez, and brought eight hundred Spaniards to oppoſe him in his conqueſts. His ſituation was now truly deſperate, being on every ſide hemmed round by enemies. He knew the report alone of another armament to oppoſe his deſigns would deſtroy his reputation with the Mexicans, give all his allegations the air of fiction, and himſelf the appearance of an impoſtor. Already the people entertained jealouſies; and this incident, he found, would induce them either to think that an actual conqueſt of their country was intended, or that their opinion, with reſpect to the completion of the ancient prophecy, was fallacious: in all events, his caſe ſeemed deſperate when he conſidered the greatly ſuperior force of the new armament. However, he bravely reſolved not to ſink under misfortune, but to exert his utmoſt abilities to bring this dangerous malady to a happy criſis. He concealed his uneaſineſs from Motezuma; ſoftened the account to the Spaniards; and deliberated within himſelf of the proper remedies to be uſed in circumſtances ſo deſperate, as ſeemed almoſt to exclude all hope of relief. But before we enter upon a relation of his meaſures, it will be neceſſary we ſhould give ſome account of the nature and deſtination of this armament, which proved the ſource of ſo much anxiety to Cortez.

SECT. VI.

Account of the Armament fitted out by Velaſquez; its Object; the Propoſals of Accommodation made by Cortez; the Attempts made to reduce the Colony of Vera Cruz; the Defeat of the Spaniards under Narvaez; the Mexican revolt; and Cortez's return to the Capital.

THE new honours with which Velaſquez, governor of Cuba, had been veſted by the court of Spain, ſerved only to whet his animoſity to Cortez, in proportion as they enabled him to execute the dictates of reſentment, and the moſt implacable enmity. He was appointed the king's lieutenant, not only of the iſland of Cuba, but alſo of all the lands on the continent, or elſewhere, that ſhould be conquered by any force ſent out under his direction and authority. The applauſe given to Cortez, and the extraordinary

Account of the force equipped by Velaſquez.

ordinary ſucceſs of that officer, had rendered him quite outrageous, and compelled him, without reflecting upon the conſequences, to form ſuch a fleet and army, as he thought would aſſuredly deſtroy his rival, and all who adhered to his fortune. He bought ſhips, inliſted ſoldiers, viſited all the ſettlements on the iſland, to encourage the people to embark in the enterprize, and took every effectual meaſure for blaſting all the laurels gathered by Cortez, and deſtroying the fruits collected for the benefit of the Spaniſh nation. By repreſenting the immenſe profits which would ariſe from the juſt puniſhment of a rebel and traitor, he drew together a conſiderable number of volunteers, and expended the bulk of his fortune in purchaſing the neceſſary arms and proviſions for the expedition. In a word, he aſſembled in the ſpace of a few days ſuch a fleet and army, as in that part of the world was really formidable. The army was compoſed of eight hundred Spaniſh foot, eighty horſes, with twelve pieces of cannon, and great abundance of ſmall arms and ammunition. Pamphilo de Narvaez, a native of Valladolid, a gentleman by birth, of reputed capacity, and of great diſtinction in Cuba, was nominated to conduct the expedition. To this general Velaſquez gave inſtructions, that he ſhould try every expedient to ſeize Cortez, and ſend him under a ſtrong guard, that he might receive from his hands the juſt puniſhment of his treachery and temerity: that his officers ſhould be uſed in the ſame manner, in caſe they appeared obſtinately attached to his intereſt; and that Narvaez ſhould take poſſeſſion, in his name, of all the new acquiſitions, they being within his juriſdiction, as king's lieutenant. He never ſuffered the poſſibility of diſappointment to enter his imagination; he relied, with ſo much ſecurity on the ſuperiority of his forces, that he never reflected on the courage of Cortez, and the long practice which all the ſoldiers had in arms, as well as the alliances they had formed among the Indian nations.

The ſupreme eccleſiaſtical tribunal at St. Domingo, preſiding over the royal audience at Hiſpaniola, and all the other iſlands of the Weſt Indies, having been informed of his preparations; and ſenſible of the inconveniencies that would ariſe from a competition, diſpatched one of their number, Lucas Vaſquez d'Ayllon, to diſſuade him from the proſecution of a meaſure ſo injurious to the public ſervice; with orders, if he continued obſtinate, to exert all the authority of the tribunal, commanding him, upon the ſevereſt penalties, to diſband his army, unrig his fleet, and refrain from giving any moleſtation to Cortez, under any pretence whatſoever; and inſiſting, that he would urge his

his complaints in a legal manner before the royal audience, where he should be sure of receiving justice, and meeting with the strictest impartiality. On the arrival of this minister in Cuba, he used arguments and persuasions; but finding himself despised, proceeded to menaces, and the full exertion of his powers. Even this was not sufficient to check the career of Velasquez, who was now too far embarked in the enterprize to relinquish it, without injuring his fortune and his reputation; the licentiate d'Ayllon, therefore, resolved to accompany the fleet, in expectation that he should either prevail upon the men to obey his orders, or at least find some opportunity of accommodating differences between Velasquez and Cortez, before they should come to open hostilities. Nor did Velasquez oppose this resolution, because he was desirous that the fleet should sail before the news of his obstinacy could arrive at St. Domingo. It was no less fortunate to Cortez, that his old friend Andres de Duero, secretary to Velasquez, likewise embarked in this expedition, with the generous design of preventing the destruction of a person whom he esteemed, and of promoting the public service.

In the month of April, Pamphilo de Narvaez set sail, with a favourable gale; but soon meeting with tempestuous weather, lost one of his ships near the mountains of St. Martin. He came to an anchor in the port of Ulloa, on advice received by three Spanish soldiers, who joined him at the island of Sacrifices, where they had been left by Pizarro, that the garrison at Vera Cruz was incapable of making any resistance. Here a party was landed, and soon had the good fortune to seize upon three straggling soldiers belonging to the colony; who, from fear of punishment, or private disgust to Cortez, gave exact information of all that had been transacted in Mexico. They likewise expatiated on the weak condition of the garrison of Vera Cruz, and the general disaffection of the soldiers, both there and in Mexico; thus endeavouring to procure for themselves better usage, by misrepresenting facts, and flattering the hopes of Narvaez, who greedily swallowed every syllable of their false relation. As it was not probable that Sandoval, the governor of the settlement, would attempt, in the present desperate situation of affairs, to oppose so powerful an armament, Narvaez sent one Guevara, a clergyman, to receive his submission; but this person behaved with so much arrogance, that the governor ordered him, with his attendants, to be seized, and sent, under the conduct of a Zempoalan guard, to Mexico.

A.D. 1520.

The fleet arrives on the coast of Mexico.

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Cortez endeavours to effect a reconciliation.

In the mean time Cortez received conſtant intelligence of what paſſed at Vera Cruz. The news that Narvaez had landed quite perplexed him, as he foreſaw difficulties in every meaſure that could be propoſed. It appeared raſh to think of meeting him in the field with a force ſo unequal, eſpecially as part of his little army muſt be left in Mexico, to defend his treaſures, and maintain the footing he had eſtabliſhed. The moſt rational ſcheme was to make overtures of accommodation to Narvaez; but to this the pride and obſtinacy of that general, as well as the expreſs injunctions of Velaſquez, appeared an inſurmountable obſtruction: nor could the haughty ſpirit of Cortez ſtoop to make conceſſions unworthy of his honour, even if they had appeared neceſſary to the good of the common cauſe. But what gave him the greateſt anxiety was, to find himſelf obliged to maintain the appearance of ſecurity and content, while his heart was oppreſſed, and his breaſt agitated, by a variety of contending paſſions. It was of the utmoſt conſequence to conceal from the Mexicans, that the Spaniards were at variance; he therefore told Motezuma, that Narvaez was a ſecond ambaſſador arrived from the king of Spain, to inforce the propoſition he had already made; that he was come with an army, according to the cuſtom of the country; but as every thing was already adjuſted, he would endeavour to prevail upon him to return, and would himſelf take his paſſage on board the fleet, as his majeſty's generoſity had left him nothing farther to deſire. It was equally neceſſary for Cortez to conceal his chagrin and uneaſineſs from his own troops, leſt their ſpirits ſhould have ſunk under the greatneſs and variety of the danger. He told them that Narvaez would certainly come to a reconciliation, and prefer his own intereſt, and the ſervices of his ſovereign, to the abſurd revenge of a private man, blended with paſſion, pride, and animoſity. For his own part, he ſaid, he had reaſon to thank Valeſquez, for having ſent him ſo ſeaſonable a reinforcement, as he had not the leaſt doubt but he ſhould make fellow-ſoldiers and companions of thoſe who had come againſt him with hoſtile intentions. He even concealed from his captains his own opinion of the predicament in which they ſtood, although he laid before them the ſtate of affairs, and deſired their advice, after he had artfully diſpoſed their minds to acquieſce in his deſigns. It was the general reſolution of the council of war, that propoſals of accommodation ſhould immediately be diſpatched to Narvaez, and that in the mean time preparations ſhould be made, as if there was a certainty that the propoſals would be rejected.

Such

Such were the measures concerted and carrying into execution, when the Spanish prisoners, sent by Sandoval, arrived. Cortez went out to receive them, ordered their fetters to be knocked off, embraced them with great humanity, and told the licentiate Guevara, that he would chastise Sandoval for the little regard he had shewed for his person and function. He intimated how much he esteemed the happiness of having the expedition commanded by Narvaez, who was his old friend and intimate acquaintance; he took care that all the Spaniards should appear chearful and gay before this clergyman; he made him a witness to the favours he received from Motezuma; he gave him several valuable presents; and, in a word, soothed, cajoled, and insinuated with so much address, that he entirely gained over the licentiate to his interest. In the same manner he treated the other prisoners; and without seeming to tamper with their integrity, released them in four days, quite won by his liberality, and strenuously attached to his person. His next step was to send father Almedo, a moderate, sensible, and eloquent friar, with propofals to Narvaez; likewise furnishing him with letters to Vasquez d'Ayllon, and his old friend the secretary Duero, with several jewels, which he was to distribute, at his discretion, among the troops. The instructions were filled with arguments, demonstrating the necessity of a reconciliation, for the public service; containing expressions of civility to Narvaez, and a relation of the progress which Cortez had made in the conquest of Mexico. He represented the fatal consequences to both, of giving the Mexicans reason to think that discord prevailed among the Spaniards: and he finally desired to know the purport of his instructions; for if they came from the king, or tended to promote the public service, he said he was ready to surrender his commission, and contribute his assistance in a private station; but if they were dictated by Velasquez's resentment, they ought both to consider, with equal attention, how much they hazarded by obedience; concluding, that he did not make use of arguments because he wanted force; on the contrary, he knew how to defend his propositions when slighted, as well as to relax in them, whenever they appeared unreasonable.

He sends propofals of peace.

Having dispatched Almedo, he sent to his friends at Tlascala, desiring that the republic would immediately provide six thousand men to attend him on an enterprize, in which it was possible he might want her service. An officer was likewise sent to his other allies, the caziques of Chinantecas, to desire them to levy two thousand men for the same occasion. The people of this country were the declared

enemies of the Mexicans, and had made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of friendſhip to Cortez. As they were brave and warlike, the general imagined he might profit by their aſſiſtance; he even condeſcended to imitate ſome of their arms. The Chinantecas made uſe of long lances in their wars, which he thought might prove uſeful againſt Narvaez's cavalry; he accordingly ordered three hundred to be made, pointed with copper for want of iron, and divided them among his troops. In a word, he made every neceſſary preparation for taking the field; juſtly imagining, from the known temper of Narvaez, that it would be difficult to bring him to reaſon by the force of arguments only. This conjecture was ſoon verified. Narvaez was at Zempoala when Guevara returned from Mexico, with an account of the grandeur and magnificence of Motezuma, his reſpect for Cortez, the great merit of that general, and the humanity and politeneſs with which he had entertained him and his companions. He commended Cortez's prudence in deſiring to conceal from the Mexicans, that any cauſe of difference ſubſiſted between the Spaniards, and expatiated ſo largely in his praiſe, that Narvaez ordered him to quit his preſence; upon which the prieſt, and his companions, fought a new auditory, diſtributed their preſents among the ſoldiers, and eſtabliſhed, what was of the greateſt conſequence to Cortez, a high opinion of his generoſity and valour, together with a general inclination for peace. Father de Almedo arrived ſeaſonably to ſtamp deeper the firſt impreſſions made by Guevara. He delivered his inſtructions to Narvaez, accompanied with an eloquent oration, enforcing the neceſſity of maintaining a perfect harmony; and received an anſwer filled with invectives againſt Cortez, and with ſo much paſſion and acrimony, that the reverend father deſparing of being able to bring him to reaſon, proceeded to the execution of the other part of his inſtructions. He viſited the ſecretary Duero, and the licentiate d'Ayllon, to whom he delivered the letters from Cortez, and found them extremely diſpoſed to bring about a reconciliation. They likewiſe promiſed to aſſiſt, with their utmoſt influence, the purport of his diſpatches; and loudly condemned the inexorable ſeverity, and injudicious vehemence of Narvaez. Almedo, in the next place, viſited the officers and ſoldiers of his acquaintance, diſtributed his preſents, and prepoſſeſſed them all in favour of the valour, humanity, juſtice, and generoſity of Cortez; inſomuch, that there was great reaſon to hope for a ſtrong party in his intereſt, or at leaſt, in favour of an accommodation. Narvaez had no ſooner notice of what was practiſing

Almedo gains a party for Cortez.

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in the camp, than he ordered Almedo to be brought before him, loaded him with abuse and menaces, calling him a mutinous and a seditious traitor, and would have actually put him in arrest, had not the secretary Duero interposed, and represented the bad consequences that might flow from such irreverent treatment of a venerable ecclesiastic [c].

Violent proceedings of Narvaez.

Almedo was no sooner dismissed, than Vasquez d'Ayllon, commissary from the royal audience at St. Domingo, proposed, that a council of war should be held, to deliberate upon a proper answer to the embassy sent by Cortez; and he was seconded in this proposition by a majority of the army: but Narvaez, to stop all such proceedings, made solemn declaration of war against Cortez; threatening, with the severest punishment, whoever should make any farther overtures of reconciliation, and offering a great reward to any who should take or kill that detested rival. At the same time the army had orders to march, and the orders of the general were proclaimed at the head of the army. Then, d'Ayllon, incensed at such violent proceedings, resolved to exert his authority. He commanded the crier to desist; and signified to Narvaez, that he should not stir from Zempoala under pain of death, nor employ his forces in shedding the blood of their own friends and countrymen, without the unanimous consent of the army; a declaration which so irritated the passionate general, that he ordered him to be seized, and shipped off for Cuba. But the priest had address enough to prevail on the sailors to convey him directly to St. Domingo, where he laid before the royal audience, the impetuous head-strong temper of Narvaez, with such a favourable character of Cortez, as determined the board to support his interest more powerfully, Indeed, Cortez derived more advantage from this conduct of Narvaez, than he could expect from his own most strenuous endeavours. That officer carried his resentment so far, as to incur the displeasure of those who were no friends to his enemy; and once their own general fell in their esteem, it was an easy transition to bestow their affections on the object of his hatred. Accordingly the soldiers began to desert to Vera Cruz; a Portuguese, named Villabobas, entered, with seven other soldiers, into the service of Sandoval, and brought with him the written agreement of several others, to follow his example, in case Narvaez should continue implacable. Motezuma too, after he came to understand that the Spanish chiefs were actually at variance, continued extremely attached to Cortez, offering to support him

[c] Herrera, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. iv.

with a numerous army; nevertheless there are writers who assert, that he maintained a clandestine correspondence with Narvaez, and endeavoured to destroy both parties by professions of friendship to each: an allegation which is fully refuted by Antonio de Solis[d]. It is true, indeed, that he sent presents to Narvaez, according to the hospitable custom of the country, observed in respect to all strangers; but De Solis clearly demonstrates the impossibility of a secret correspondence for want of interpreters to explain the mutual sentiments of the parties; and the Zempoalans had conceived the most bitter resentment against Narvaez, on account of the tyranny and oppression he exercised in their province.

Cortez resolves to march against Narvaez.

On the return of Almedo it was determined by Cortez and his officers, to take the field with all the troops they could assemble, to incorporate the auxilliary Indians of Tlascala and Chinantlu, and afterwards to march in a body to Zempoala; first halting in some considerable town, to renew the pacific negociation, and, if possible, terminate the differences amicably. This resolution was immediately published among the soldiers, and received with so much applause, that Cortez was forced to exert his authority before he could oblige eighty of his people to remain in Mexico, they were all so desirous to attend his person and share his fortune. He softened the motives for his journey to Motezuma, telling him that the Spanish captain at Zempoala had given some proofs of a disorderly passion, owing to misinformation; for he had come as lieutenant to the governor of a remote province, who was not acquainted with the last instructions of the court of Spain; and therefore persuaded himself, that the embassy in which he (Cortez) was employed, was an affair properly belonging to his office. All the preparations to support so frivolous a pretension would vanish, he said, without any farther trouble than his laying before the captain his commission, which gave him full power and jurisdiction over all the Spaniards who should arrive on that coast. To anticipate, therefore, the bad consequences, which might ensue from the misinformation of Narvaez, he resolved to direct his march to Zempoala with part of his forces, to dispose the minds of the Spaniards to respect the Mexicans as a people now under the protection of the king of Spain; and he said he would immediately execute this resolution, lest the approach of an army, so little disciplined, into the neighbourhood of the capital, might occasion some disturbances among the vassals

[d] De Solis, lib. iv. cap. vii.

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of his imperial majeſty. This was the artful turn which he gave the diſpute between Narvaez and himſelf; and Motezuma, who was already informed of the tyranny exerciſed by the Spaniards in Zempoala, greatly applauded his deſign, renewing his offer of aſſiſtance, in caſe Narvaez ſhould continue obſtinate and refractory; but when Cortez declined this propoſal, the emperor told him, that he would ſhew all manner of countenance and favour, during his abſence, to the part of his forces he ſhould think proper to leave in Mexico.

Every obſtruction to his march being now ſurmounted, he appointed Alvarado, who was an officer high in Motezumo's eſteem, to command the party he left behind; charging him to be ſo aſſiduous in his civilities to the emperor, as to render him inſenſible of his confinement. He ſtrictly enjoined the ſoldiers to diſcipline and obedience; to ſhew kindneſs and humanity to the Mexicans, and eſpecially the attendants of the court. Motezuma, with a prodigious retinue of the nobility, accompanied him out of the city, and that prince, upon taking his leave, told him, that if there was no other method of deciding his diſpute, but by force of arms, he would not only aſſiſt him with an army entirely at his devotion, but even take the field in perſon for his defence; adding, that he would continue his protection to the Spaniards under Alvarado, and remain in his preſent quarters until the return of Cortez; a promiſe to which he religiouſly adhered amidſt all the diſturbances that aroſe among the Mexicans. The general purſued his march to Cholula with all poſſible diſpatch and circumſpection, and was received in that city with a chearful welcome. Thence he proceeded to Tlaſcala, and was met at the diſtance of half a league from the city by a ſplendid embaſſy from the republic. He was conducted into the town amidſt the acclamations of the people, who now reſpected him as the conquerer of Mexico, and the ſubduer of the haughty ſpirit of Motezuma[c]. Immediately the ſenate deliberated upon the anſwer to be returned to the demand made by Cortez of ſix thouſand auxiliaries, and determined to comply with the utmoſt punctuality. Authors, however, differ about this circumſtance; but it is certain, that Cortez had no Tlaſcalans in his army when he engaged Narvaez at Zempoala. It is likewiſe confeſſed on all hands, that Cortez left Tlaſcala extremely well ſatisfied with his reception; and that, although the Tlaſcalans failed him upon this occaſion, he had no reaſon to queſtion their fidelity or at-

Aſſurances given by Motezuma.

[c] Herrera, dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. i.

tachment; for, he found them extremely ready, brave, and useful, in all his future engagements with the Mexicans.

Cortez joins Sandoval.

Cortez had sent orders for Sandoval to meet him, with the Spanish garrison of Vera Cruz, at Matalequitan, leaving the settlement to the care of the confederate Indians. Thither he now directed his route, and found Sandoval punctual to his instructions. Before his departure from Vera Cruz, Sandoval had been fortunate enough to obtain exact intelligence of the enemy. Two soldiers of the fort, who artfully imitated the behaviour and gesture of the Mexicans, and greatly resembled them in features and complexion, offered themselves for spies, stripped themselves naked, and entered early in the morning into Zempoala, with baskets of fruit upon their heads. Narvaez had his head-quarters at this town; and with such address did the two Spanish soldiers imitate the simplicity of the native peasants and their eagerness, that they had a full survey of the whole place, without creating the least suspicion. Their success encouraged them to another enterprize. Accordingly, the same soldiers entered the town a second time, with intention to discover what kind of watch was maintained, and whether there appeared a possibility of surprising Narvaez. Every thing corresponded with their wishes; they found the enemy careless and secure, and returned to the settlement in safety, after having carried off a horse belonging to one of the captains, who expressed the greatest resentment against Cortez. Cortez was much pleased with this intelligence; for he built his greatest hopes upon the inexperience of the enemy, and the activity, vigilance, courage, and attachment of his own troops. The negligence of Narvaez was occasioned, he perceived, by the confidence he had in his own superiority; and this furnished Cortez with many advantages, in case the fresh instances of peace, he proposed making, should prove abortive. To shun, if possible, the effusion of blood, he dispatched father Amedo, a second time, with as moderate proposals as he could devise; but his negociation having no success, he appointed Juan Velasquez de Leon to wait on Narvaez; imagining, that the near relation of this officer to the governor of Cuba might give more weight to his remonstrance. On the approach of Valesquez, it was generally belived at Zempoala that he had relinquished the interest of Cortez; and this notion prevailed so much, that Narvaez went out, with a numerous retinue, to receive him; but Velasquez soon disappointed their expectations. He inforced his commission with such eloquence, and dwelt upon the praises of Cortez with so much warmth, that Narvaez broke off abruptly, declined

Narvaez rejects all overtures.

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any farther converſation upon the ſubject, and diſmiſſed him without an anſwer.

This mark of diſreſpect, to a perſon of ſo much conſequence as Velaſquez, gave umbrage to the ſoldiers under Narvaez, who inſiſted upon the expediency of hearing his meſſage candidly; ſince it was not probable, that a perſon of ſo much honour and ſincerity would have come with unreaſonable propoſitions. Theſe diſcourſes proceeded ſo far, that, to quiet the ſoldiers, the ſecretary Duero was nominated to wait on Cortez, to apologize for the behaviour ſhewn to Velaſquez, and to enquire into the ſubſtance and purport of his commiſſion. This gentleman was received with all the reſpect due to his character, his moderation, and the friendſhip which he had always profeſſed for Cortez. Several conferences were held upon the ſubject of his commiſſion, and every expedient for conquering the obſtinacy of Narvaez was canvaſſed. Cortez is reported to have gone ſo far as to offer abandoning the Mexican conqueſts to his competitor, and going, with his followers, elſewhere, in ſearch of freſh laurels. But this was an expedient which Duero diſapproved. He propoſed an interview between the two generals, which it was hoped might terminate in contriving a medium. The propoſition was readily accepted by Cortez; while, on the other hand, Narvaez proceeded ſo far as to pen under his hand, the place, the hour, and the circumſtances of the appointment, at the ſame time that he was preparing an ambuſcade for his rival. This treachery was diſcovered by Duero, and notified to Cortez; who finding that the ſword muſt decide all differences, muſtered his army, and prepared to march againſt the enemy. The baſe deſigns of Narvaez ſerved only to animate his rival's courage; for Cortez perſuaded himſelf that an officer, who endeavoured to purchaſe victory at the expence of his honour, could have no great dependence on his own abilities, or the valour and attachment of his ſoldiers. His progreſs within a league of Zempoala was rapid, his front was ſecured by the river of Canſas, and his rear by the territory of the ſettlement at Vera Cruz. He diſpoſed his army in the moſt convenient manner, and placed double centinels at every acceſſible part, keeping, likewiſe, parties abroad to ſcour the country, and obſerve the enemy's motions.

Notice of his approach was no ſooner brought to Narvaez, than he drew out his troops into the field, with an eagerneſs and confidence of victory, which occaſioned great confuſion. He promiſed a reward of two thouſand pieces of eight to any perſon whoever ſhould bring the head of

Cortez. He weakly imagined that Cortez would be raſh enough to attack him in the open field; and obſtinately perſevered in that opinion the whole day, until a tempeſt riſing, rendered the ſoldiers ſo clamorous, that he haſtened to take ſhelter in the town, with great diſorder and precipitation. Hearing that Cortez kept himſelf encamped on the oppoſite ſide of the river, he reaſonably conjectured that he had nothing to fear that night, when the ſtorm of wind and rain was ſo great as almoſt to diſable the ſoldiers from handling their arms; he therefore lodged his troops in the temples, reſolving, as ſoon as day appeared, to lead them again into the field. Cortez had advice of all theſe particulars from the ſecretary Duero, who certainly betrayed his party; although De Solis palliates his conduct, by alleging, that his ſole deſign in ſending this information, was to induce Cortez to paſs the night quietly, in hopes that the next day might produce ſomething favourable to the propoſed accommodation. Be this as it may, it certainly enabled Cortez to plan that enterprize, upon the ſucceſs of which depended all his future fortune. He drew out his troops without delay, and they obeyed without complaining of the ſeverity of the weather, or the unſeaſonableneſs of the motion, from a thorough confidence in the judgment of their leader, and the neceſſity of the meaſure. They paſſed the river, the water reaching almoſt to their breaſts, and on their gaining the oppoſite ſhore, were made acquainted with the deſign of the march. Cortez explained to them the ſituation of the enemy, the facility with which they might be attacked, the great probability of victory, and every other circumſtance which could inflame their courage, and eſtabliſh their confidence. Fired with the animating ſpeech of the general, all acknowleged the prudence of his reſolution, and expreſſed their determination to conquer, or to die fighting by his ſide. Immediately he divided the little army into three bodies: the firſt under the conduct of Sandoval, were directed to ſeize upon the ſtairs of the temple, and prevent the enemy from uſing their artillery; the ſecond commanded by Chriſtopher de Olid, had orders to aſcend the tower, and inveſt the quarters of Narvaez; while the third, conducted by the general in perſon, was reſerved to ſupport the two firſt, and carry relief to that quarter where it ſhould be found neceſſary. Orders were likewiſe given, that the drums ſhould beat, and the warlike inſtruments ſound, as ſoon as the attack began, in order to ſtrike the greater terror, and increaſe the confuſion of the enemy. As he propoſed reaching Zempoala about midnight, the army marched ſlowly, to prevent their being

He is ſurpriſed and defeated.

being out of breath; but they had not proceeded far, when they fell in with two of the enemy's centinels, one of whom was made priſoner. It was feared that the other, who had made his eſcape, might ſpread the alarm; Cortez, therefore, ordered the troops to haſten their pace, that he might arrive before Navarez ſhould have time to make a proper diſpoſition. Every thing happened juſt as he had foreſeen: the centinel diſcharged his duty, by giving the neceſſary information, and was diſbelieved. Cortez had the good fortune to eſcape the body of cavalry, ſent out to ſcour the country, and reached the temple, without being challenged by any of the out-guards. Sandoval inſtantly began his attack with his van, mounted the ſtairs, and threw the enemy into the utmoſt diſorder. Two pieces of artillery were fired upon him, but they did no execution, and only ſerved to augment the general confuſion, and the noiſe made by the drums and other warlike inſtruments of Cortez. The enemy, however, were ſo numerous, that Sandoval would have found it impoſſible to ſucceed in the execution of his orders, had he not been ſeaſonably ſupported by the ſecond diviſion, under Chriſtopher de Olid, and by Cortez in perſon; who quitting the rear, ruſhed ſword-in-hand, into the midſt of the enemy, and the hotteſt part of the engagement. Such was the impetuoſity of his troops, that the enemy were driven back, ſtep by ſtep, and in the end totally defeated, leaving their artillery behind, and taking ſhelter in the other temple, where Narvaez had his quarters, and commanded in perſon. He had juſt then put on his armour, and was animating his people by his voice and example, when a thruſt in the eye with a pike brought him to the ground, and into the hands of the enemy; an incident which ſo diſpirited his troops, that they immediately threw down their arms, and aſked quarter.

Another tower was ſtill poſſeſſed by captain Sebatierra, and young Diego de Velaſquez, who ſeemed determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. Cortez, therefore, ordered two pieces of cannon to bear upon the tower, and ſo terrified the ſoldiers, that they refuſed to obey their officers, and obliged them to ſubmit at diſcretion. Immediately a general pardon was publiſhed to all who would ſurrender; and the general paſſed his word, that they ſhould have liberty, if they choſe it, to return to Cuba, or to inliſt in his army, and ſhare his fortune. All to a man accepted the terms; and thus Cortez not only broke all the deſigns of his enemies, but acquired ſuch an acceſſion of ſtrength, as enabled him to return to the conqueſt of Mexico

Cortez inliſts the troops of Narvaez.

Mexico with redoubled assurance of success. This important victory was obtained with the loss of four soldiers killed, and two wounded. On the part of the enemy, two officers and fifteen private men were slain, and near double that number wounded. Cortez visited Narvaez, who told him with a sullen air, "That he had reason to value himself upon having such a prisoner in his hands." Cortez replied contemptuously, "That without vanity he might rank this victory among the least considerable actions he had performed since his arrival in that country" Notwithstanding this sarcasm, he gave orders that Narvaez, and all the prisoners, should be humanely treated, and diligently guarded, lest the small appearance of their conquerors, in day-light, might animate them to fresh attempts. At break of day he was joined by two thousand auxiliaries, sent by the Chinanticas, which rendered him more secure against the consequences of a revolt; as it not only augmented his force, but shewed Narvaez that he was beloved, befriended, and respected in the country. It was then that the enemy beheld their disgrace in full view. Night had concealed the numbers of Cortez; and indeed Narvaez reasonably supposed, that he was supported by a great body of auxiliary Mexicans; the day-light discovered this error, and the inconsiderable number of his forces; the soldiers cursed the confidence of Narvaez, and redoubled their esteem for the vigilance, prudence, and undaunted courage of the conqueror. All were charmed with his generosity, his clemency to the prisoners, and his humanity to the wounded. His friends among the troops of Narvaez now laid aside all dissimulation, entered into his service, and their example was followed by all their companions. Every man gave in his name, vying with each other which should be first inrolled; nor was there a soldier who so much as intimated his inclination to return to Cuba. When Cortez had sufficiently examined their disposition, he returned their arms to the new troops, and by this mark of confidence entirely won their affections, and confirmed their fidelity. The officers were sent prisoners on board the fleet, and thus the defeat of Narvaez not only put Cortez in possession of a fleet of eleven ships, and seven brigantines, but placed him at the head of an army composed of a thousand Spanish infantry, and near a hundred cavalry, exclusive of the garrison left at Vera Cruz, for the defence of the settlement, and security of the prisoners.

This series of success did not so elevate Cortez as to render him unmindful of Alvarado, and the forces he had left behind

behind in Mexico. He was ſenſible of the danger to which ſuch a handful of men were expoſed, in the midſt of a vaſt empire filled with diſcontent and ſedition. Their chief ſecurity depended on Motezuma's keeping the promiſe he had made, of not removing his quarters, or attempting any change in his abſence; an obligation of no great force, when oppoſed by intereſt, inclination, and policy. He knew that Motezuma, however well affected to the Spaniards, and regardful of his promiſe, might not have it in his power to repreſs the zeal of his ſubjects, and prevent their embracing this opportunity of ſhowering down vengeance on the heads of thoſe who held their monarch in a kind of diſgraceful bondage. Moved by theſe conſiderations, he determined to direct his march back to Mexico; and that no danger might ariſe to the fleet at Vera Cruz, he ordered the ſhips to be unrigged, and all their ſails and cordage to be lodged in the ſettlement. It was his intention to divide his forces, to avoid giving umbrage to Motezuma, by entering his capital with ſo large an army; but a letter received from Alvarado altered his reſolution, and determined him to march at the head of all his troops, with the utmoſt diſpatch, to the relief of that brave officer. This letter imported, that the Mexicans had taken arms, and in deſpite of Motezuma, who had ſacredly obſerved his word, made ſuch frequent attacks on the quarters, and in ſuch multitudes, that the Spaniards would neceſſarily ſink under the weight of ſuch prodigious numbers, unleſs they were ſpeedily ſuccoured. Diaz del Caſtillo and Herrera are of opinion, that Motezuma fomented this diſturbance privately; but De Solis gives irrefragable proofs of the monarch's integrity and honour. The letter was brought by a Spaniſh ſoldier, accompanied by an embaſſy from Motezuma, repreſenting to Cortez, that it was entirely out of his power to repreſs the fury of his people; that he would never abandon Alvarado, the Spaniards, and his word; but that if relief did not ſoon arrive, he could not promiſe for the conſequences. There was no longer room for deliberation; officers and ſoldiers declared, that their immediate march was indiſpenſable, and their union neceſſary: and, indeed, Motezuma's embaſſy furniſhed Cortez with a handſome pretext for leading to the capital what might be deemed a potent and numerous army. To prevent oppreſſing the Indians in their way, and for the greater conveniency of proviſions, Cortez divided his troops into ſmall corps, who had orders to take different routes, and meet at Tlaſcala, the general rendezvous; nevertheleſs, the ſoldiers ſtill ſuffered extreme hardſhips from hunger and thirſt,

Cortez prepares to return to Mexico.

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as well as fatigue. All, however, bore thoſe hardſhips with courage, knowing they would be of ſhort duration; and the ſoldiers who came with Narvaez, emulous of equalling the veterans, endured their ſufferings without murmuring, as they regarded Mexico as the land of promiſe, where their toils would be ſufficiently rewarded. His entry into Tlaſcala was ſplendid, Magiſcatzin entertained him in his own houſe, and the ſenate gave orders to the whole army of the republic to be in readineſs to attend him to Mexico; but Cortez would only accept of two thouſand men, that his troops might not appear formidably numerous. As he approached Mexico, he paſſed the lake without oppoſition, though there were ſome ſuſpicious appearances, which rendered circumſpection neceſſary. The two Spaniſh brigantines were found ſtaved and half-burnt, the ſuburbs and forts at the entrance abandoned, the bridges ſerving for a communication between the ſtreets, were broke down, and all was wrapped in profound ſilence. This ſuſpicion continued, until the Spaniards, in Mexico, diſcovering the army at a diſtance, raiſed a loud ſhout, and diſpelled the gloom of apprehenſion. Alvarado, with his people, came to the gate to receive Cortez, the ſoldiers careſſed each other with the ſincereſt joy, and Motezuma, with all his attendants, advanced to the outermoſt court, to congratulate the general on his arrival. Some writers report, that Cortez received the emperor with coldneſs and reſerve. Caſtillo relates, that he turned his back upon him, without deigning to return an anſwer to his compliment; and Herrera ſpeaks as if the general, grown inſolent with proſperity, had charged Motezuma with the fault of his ſubjects: but neither Gomara, nor Cortez in his own account, touch upon this circumſtance, which is, indeed, extremely improbable.

Motezuma receives him joyfully.

It may appear extraordinary, that, in this ſtate of affairs, the Mexicans ſhould ſuffer Cortez to enter the city without oppoſition, and bring ſuch powerful reinforcements to Alvarado; but Antonio de Solis explains this point in the following manner: they relied upon their exceſſive numbers, were elated with their ſucceſs in having killed three or four Spaniards in the late attacks, and now allowed Cortez a free entrance only that they might with the leſs trouble cruſh the whole at one blow, after they ſhould be united. This was the occaſion of their retreat into the other part of the city, and the cauſe of the entire ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, from which Cortez imagined they had treacherous deſigns. With reſpect to the motives for the inſurrection, authors are greatly divided, ſome aſcribing it to

to the cruelty of the Spaniards, and founding this opinion on the authority of one of their own writers of the greateſt credit; we mean Bartolomeo de la Caſas, afterwards biſhop of Chiapa. His words are very full and explicit: "The Mexicans (ſays he) having appointed a public dance, which they called mitotes, to entertain the Spaniards and Motezuma, the general, Pedro de Alvarado, obſerving the jewels with which the Indians were adorned, aſſembled his ſoldiers, and fell upon them, cutting them in pieces, to gain poſſeſſion of thoſe valuable ornaments; in the acquiſition of which infamous ſpoil, above two thouſand of the Mexican nobility were put to the ſword. De Solis vindicates his country from this reproach, gives a quite different account of the conſpiracy, for ſuch he terms it; but, in our opinion, does not clearly enough refute the allegation of the prelate. He rather endeavours to invalidate his evidence, by obſerving, that la Caſas was at that time ſoliciting the relief of the Indians; and in order to obtain his purpoſes, which, by this confeſſion, were certainly pious and humane, exaggerared every circumſtance of their oppreſſion. According to de Solis, it was obvious to Alvarado, that the nobility of the court had fallen off from their reſpect ſince the departure of the Spaniards, a circumſtance which obliged him to behave with great caution and circumſpection. He employed ſpies to watch their motions, and ſoon received information that ſomething extraordinary was in agitation. On cloſer examination it appeared, that a dangerous conſpiracy was hatching againſt the Spaniards; nor was it long before ſome of the conſpirators themſelves betrayed to him the whole ſecret. A few days after this diſcovery, ſeveral of the principal nobility came to Alvarado for leave to celebrate their annual feſtival, called mitotes; a compliment with which they intended to deceive him, and prevent his taking umbrage at their aſſembling in ſuch numbers: and Alvarado, as his ſuſpicions were not yet fully confirmed, granted the requeſt, on condition that the Mexicans would come unarmed, and decline offering human ſacrifices. That very night he received intelligence, that arms were ſecretly diſtributing in all the houſes adjoining to the temple; then his doubts vaniſhed, and he determined upon taking ſignal revenge. His plan was to attack them in the beginning of the feſtival, without furniſhing them with time to take arms, or aſſemble the populace; and he found it no difficult matter to carry it into execution. The Mexicans were ſo intoxicated with liquor, and joy that their plot remained undiſcovered, that Alvarado attacked, and eaſily defeated them, wounding and killing

killing great numbers, who could not eſcape in the tumult, or leap over the galleries or windows. " His intention (ſays de Solis) was only to terrify and diſperſe them; an aim which he indeed compaſſed not without confuſion and diſorder; for the Spaniards inſtantly fell to ſtripping the dead and wounded of their jewels and valuable ornaments." Thus de Solis, in fact, admits the whole charge brought againſt Alvarado by the biſhop of Chiapa: he acknowleges that he began a terrible maſſacre, during a public feſtival, and that the killed and wounded were ſtripped and plundered by the ſoldiers; but this he calls the puniſhment of men who had engaged in a dangerous conſpiracy, though he acknowleges that it was raſh, inconſiderate, and ill-conducted, as Alvarado retired to his quarters, without giving the populace the ſlighteſt information of the cauſes that prompted him to an action, baſe, inſidious, and barbarous, to all outward appearance.

Mexicans revolt.

Cortez was extremely ſhocked at this raſh procedure, and blamed Alvarado that he had not only neglected to inform the people of the conſpiracy, but to conſult upon it with Motezuma; but it was now impoſſible to redreſs the evil, except by proſecuting the ſyſtem of Alvarado, and deſtroying greater numbers of thoſe innocent people, who were taking arms only in their own defence. In fact, Cortez relied upon his own ſtrength, and was probably not ſorry that Alvarado had furniſhed him with ſo good a pretext for beginning the conqueſt, and plundering ſo rich a city. Obſerving that the ſame ſuſpicious ſilence reigned as the day before, he diſpatched Diego de Ordaz, with a detachment of four hundred Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, to ſcour the ſtreets, and endeavour to penetrate into this myſterious circumſtance. Ordaz had not advanced a great way, when he diſcovered an armed party, ſent out probably as a decoy to draw him into danger, a ſtratagem which had the deſired effect. The party retreated, and Ordaz purſued, in hopes of taking ſome priſoners, from whom he might obtain intelligence; but he ſoon found himſelf incloſed between two vaſt armies, one behind, and the other before, ſo that it was neceſſary to break through, ſword-in-hand, before he could either advance or retreat. Beſides, the tops of the houſes and windows were crowded with enemies, who poured down ſuch ſhowers of ſtones, arrows, and darts, as quite obſcured the ſky, and covered the Spaniards. All his valour and experience were now wanted to extricate himſelf from this dangerous ſituation. He drew up in a double front, employed his ſwords and pikes againſt the enemies below, and plied thoſe above with

with his fire-arms; but his chief advantage arose from the ardour of the Indians, who rushed on so tumultuously, as to confound each other, and leave nothing to the Spaniards but to slay without resistance. It was this circumstance alone that saved Ordaz; for had the enemy fought with tolerable order, he must have sunk under their weight: whereas the carnage was so dreadful, that the Mexicans, losing courage, retired to a distance, and used revilings and menaces instead of weapons. Diego de Ordaz, who was sent to make discoveries, did not think it advisable to engage farther; he therefore retreated to his quarters, with the loss of eight men killed in the action, he himself, with almost all his people, being wounded.

This was the first proof which Cortez had of the resentment of the Mexicans, and it served to confirm his resolution to bring them to obedience by force of arms. He knew all advances on his side to accommodate matters would only diminish his reputation, and convince the enemy that he stood in awe of their numbers. He therefore determined to oblige them to make the first proposals, for which reason he prepared a sally from his quarters, in expectation that the vigour and effects of the blow would strike terror. Motezuma, however, was never consulted upon any of these occasions. Formerly Cortez made him acquainted with every motion, therefore, his omission in this particular, looks as if he now suspected that he had encouraged the insurrection. De Solis relates, that Motezuma was too diffident of his own authority, and apprehensive of the disobedience of his vassals, to propose setting on foot a treaty. Probable it is, that the conduct of Alvarado greatly injured the Spaniards in his good opinion, though regard to his word, and indeed his own safety, obliged him to act in a neutral capacity while he was detained a prisoner in the Spanish quarters. The enemy anticipated the design of Cortez. After the affair of Ordaz they halted at some distance from the palace, and formed the vigorous resolution of attacking the quarters, on all sides. All the adjacent streets were filled with armed men, and when every thing was formed for the assault, the drums and flutes gave the dreadful signal. The van-guard was composed of companies of archers, who were to clear the walls to facilitate the approach of the center and rear. All advanced with precipitation and fury. The discharges of the archers were incredibly quick; their troops pressed on with extreme impetuosity, and the Spaniards found the utmost difficulty in maintaining their posts. The ground was so thick strewed with arrows that the Spaniards were forced to em-

They attack the Spaniards.

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ploy people to remove them, as they choaked up the way to the ramparts; and although the artillery and small arms made terrible havock, yet such was the obstinate valour of the Mexicans, that they advanced undaunted to fill up the chasms left by the slain, trampling, without fear or dread, upon the bodies of the dead and wounded, until they met the same fate, and were succeeded by others. Nothing was left untried to gain possession of the ramparts. Some attempted to scale the fortifications at the very mouths of the cannon; others endeavoured to force open the gates, or break down the walls, with ill-contrived instruments; many mounted upon the shoulders of their companions, that their weapons might do more execution, and great numbers formed their lances and pikes into ladders, by which they attempted to gain the windows and balconies. All, in general, exposed themselves, without reserve, to danger, and performed actions of the most impetuous courage, and savage ferocity. At last, night seasonably interposed, and obliged them to retreat before they were conquered, out of a superstitious custom that prevailed among the Mexicans, of never fighting in the absence of the sun, a custom probably founded upon the generous sentiment, that it was cowardly to attack an enemy in the dark. Even their superstition could not entirely subdue their ardour, for they continued to shoot at a distance with fired arrows, which set the buildings of the palace in a blaze. This conflagration obliged the Spaniards to break down some walls, to cut off the communication between the houses, and afterwards toil with indefatigable industry to repair those breaches, which would have served as inlets to the torrent of enemies they expected to rush upon them as soon as day appeared. In this particular the Spaniards were disappointed. The enemy kept at a distance, endeavouring with reproaches to provoke Cortez to quit his walls, and give them battle. As he had before intended a sally, he embraced this opportunity of animating his people by a short speech, representing the necessity they were under of giving the enemy some very signal proof of their valour. This harangue having produced the desired effect, the troops were divided into three bodies, each formed into a double front, in the manner which had been so successfully observed by Ordaz. Then they began the attack with their usual impetuosity, and the enemy sustained the charge with firmness, venturing even to come to push of pikes with the Spaniards. The fire-arms levelled at the galleries and windows could not put a stop to the showers of stones which were incessantly poured down, so that it was neces-

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ſary to ſet divers houſes on fire to check an evil to which there was no other remedy. After an obſtinate engagement, in which multitudes were ſlain, the Mexicans at laſt gave way, and were purſued from ſtreet to ſtreet into a great ſquare, where they made another effort, and were totally defeated. Their flight was confuſed and diſorderly, the wounded were trampled to death by the flying, and the ſlaughter might have been ſtill more dreadful, had not Cortez ſtopped the purſuit, in hopes of reducing them to terms by this act of moderation. Already the carnage was ſo great, that the canals ran with blood, and the ſtreets were filled with great heaps of dead bodies; but the amount of the loſs is not eſtimated on the ſide of the Mexicans. Of Cortez's army twelve were killed, including Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, and a much greater number wounded; a cheap price for victory, had it been deciſive, or the conqueror in a better condition to ſupport the loſs of his ſoldiers. The engagement laſted the whole forenoon, and the Spaniards were frequently hard preſſed; in purſuing, they were obliged to fill up ditches, and ſuſtain the charge of the enemy, who returned in ſwarms upon every new obſtruction. The Tlaſcalans behaved with great gallantry, and fought with order and regularity; in a word, every individual fully diſcharged his duty; and Cortez, in particular, diſplayed all the qualities of a general and a ſoldier.

A ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities enſued, as if by mutual agreement, both ſides taking breath, in order to reſume their attacks with the greater vigour. Mean time Cortez did not neglect the opportunity of making freſh overtures of peace, by means of ſome of Motezuma's attendants. He obſerved that the Mexicans, like the hydra's head, multiplied by their loſſes; but the propoſals met with no ſucceſs. Some of the perſons appointed to conduct the negociation returned ſeverely handled, and others remained with the enemy, to the great diſcontent of Motezuma, who ſincerely wiſhed the reduction of his tumultuous ſubjects, leſt they ſhould entirely throw off their obedience, and loſe all dread of his authority. All hope of accommodation being vaniſhed, Cortez made preparations for reſiſting the prodigious numbers of his enemies, and defending his people, in any future action, from the ſhowers of ſtones, darts, and arrows, that might be diſcharged from the houſes. With this view he ordered four wooden towers to be erected, which moved upon wheels, each capable of containing thirty men, covered with ſtrong plank, and furniſhed in the front and ſides with fiſſures, though which his men could diſcharge their pieces under cover. Even the novelty

Suſpenſion of hoſtilities.

of thoſe machines would, he believed, ſtrike terror. When they were in readineſs, a ſecond ſally was made by Cortez in perſon, at the head of the bulk of his Spaniards, and all the Tlaſcalans, with ſome pieces of cannon, the wooden towers, and a few horſe, to be uſed wherever the ground would ſuffer them to act. All was in profound ſilence when the Spaniards quitted their quarters; but ſcarce had they paſſed through one ſtreet when they were aſſaulted upon every ſide, by an innumerable multitude, who began the engagement with loud ſhouts, and the hoarſe noiſe of drums, ſhells, and other diſcordant inſtruments. Trenches had been cut in all the ſtreets, and theſe the Mexicans defended with ſuch valour and obſtinacy, that they could only be diſlodged by the artillery. They fought with more regularity than before, directed their courage to better purpoſe, and ſeemed to improve in the art of war by experience. Their conduct favoured nothing of the raſhneſs of a popular tumult; they appeared to be under the command of judicious officers; every diſcharge was deliberate, and well aimed, and all the poſts were defended with intrepidity, and abandoned without confuſion. Huge ſtones, and pieces of rocks, were tumbled down from the roofs and galleries upon the wooden machines, ſome of which were broke in pieces. When they became ſenſible of the damage ſuſtained from the artillery and muſquetry, they retired gradually, continuing a kind of running fight, until they came to the next entrenchment, where they again made an obſtinate ſtand. For the greater part of the day the Indians diſputed every inch of ground, with ſuch well directed valour, as convinced Cortez of the impoſſibility of reducing the Mexicans by force. The city received incredible damage, many houſes were burnt down, and the enemy loſt more blood than in any preceding action; but though repulſed, they were not defeated On the contrary, they maintained a retreating fight, till night ſeparated the combatants, and furniſhed the Spaniards with an opportunity of returning to their quarters, without reſigning the victory, after they had loſt fifty men, chiefly Tlaſcalans. Fifty Spaniards were grievouſly wounded, and among theſe the general, who received an arrow in the left hand, in the very heat of the battle. When Cortez arrived at his quarters, he reſigned himſelf to reflection, and, upon mature deliberation, was ſenſible how impracticable it was to keep poſſeſſion of Mexico. Every day produced freſh loſſes; and though he was conſtantly victorious, yet his advantages ſerved only to accelerate his ruin. A ſenſe of ſhame, pride, and the fire of his own genius, impelled him

to

to farther efforts to ſubdue the enemy; but when he conſidered that after the multitudes ſlain, their numbers appeared undiminiſhed, that their reſentment increaſed with their loſſes, that they now fought with ſkill and courage, and that they were daily improving in the art of war, he turned his thoughts towards the means of retreating with the greateſt ſafety. Nor was Motezuma leſs diſtracted and embarraſſed with contending paſſions and reflections. He now began to apprehend that his people had entirely thrown off their allegiance on account of his attachment to the Spaniards, and yet he obſerved a reſerve on the ſide of Cortez, as if he ſuſpected him of ſiniſter practices, and of tampering with the Mexicans. From the higheſt tower of the palace he had beheld the laſt engagement, and could diſcover the princes of Tezeuco and Iztapalapa, with ſeveral other lords of the empire, animating the Mexicans, and ordering the battle. Hitherto he had regarded the affair as a popular tumult, but now he foreſaw the ruin of his own authority, and perhaps a total revolution in the government. In the firſt tranſports of his anger he condemned all the nobility to condign puniſhment, and breathed nothing but ſlaughter and bloody revenge, until reflecting on his own inability, he ſunk into deſpondency. After much reflection and perplexity, the ſtep that appeared to him the leaſt exceptionable, was to diſmiſs the Spaniards, return to his palace, and endeavour to regain the affections of his ſubjects by acts of clemency and generoſity. Full of this notion he ſent for Cortez, and told him, that now the diſtracted ſtate of his kingdom required ſome very effectual remedy; that his imagination could deviſe none more likely to be attended with happy conſequences, than that the Spaniards would evacuate Mexico, and thereby deprive the people of all pretences for ſedition. The clamours of his vaſſals ſounded well, he ſaid, in the ears of the vulgar, ſince all they demanded was the liberty of their prince; and things were now come to ſuch a height, that no other proſpect of appeaſing the public commotions remained than that of taking away the cauſe. He bitterly exclaimed againſt the inſolence of the nobility, and repeated how much he had ſuffered by preſerving his promiſe to Cortez, and continuing his affections to the Spaniards; and he concluded with touching upon the groundleſs jealouſies entertained of his conduct by thoſe perſons upon whoſe account he had forfeited the eſteem and affection of his ſubjects. Cortez, whoſe own ſentiments coincided with the emperor's, but with different views, readily agreed to the propoſition of quitting Mexico, and willing to put an act

Motezuma's propoſal to Cortez.

Cortez promises to evacuate Mexico.

of necessity on the footing of respect and obedience to the royal mandate, replied, that it was both his inclination and duty to pay an entire resignation to the will of his imperial majesty, without entering into the motives of his resolution, or losing time in representing the inconveniencies that might ensue; that it would give him great uneasiness to part from his royal person, until he was fully assured of the obedience of his subjects, especially as the declaration of the nobility, in favour of the populace, required the utmost circumspection; but that since his departure was regarded as a necessary step towards a happy reconciliation, he had fixed his resolution immediately to march with his army to Zempoala, only requesting of his majesty that he would, before his departure, oblige his vassals to lay down their arms. This concession highly delighted Motezuma, because it was unexpected. He resolved to oblige the general in the article of ordering his people to lay down their arms, at the same time that he entertained doubts whether they would obey his commands, and dreaded the thoughts of so mortifying a stroke to his royal dignity.

In the midst of this conference advice was brought to Cortez that the enemy were preparing to renew the assault, and that the garrison was under arms. He broke off the conversation immediately; but, before he could join the troops, the Mexicans had pressed even to the foot of the ramparts, in despite of the utmost endeavours of the Spaniards, and the closest fire from the artillery and musquetry. Their bows and slings were plied by the troops in the rear, to beat off the Spaniards from the ramparts, and make way for the van-guard to scale the works. In some places they got footing within the walls; but were driven back by Cortez, who came up with a reserve body of soldiers. Motezuma thought this a seasonable opportunity of acquitting himself of the promise made to Cortez. He called for his royal robes and crown, and, with a numerous attendance, ascended the terrace fronting the great avenue, after a herald had notified with a loud voice to the Mexican army, that the great Motezuma had condescended to shew himself to his people, to enquire into their grievances, and to redress them if they were reasonable. At mention of his name the tumult immediately subsided, every arm fell, and every tongue was silent; all were motionless and still, as if they were afraid to breathe in the presence of their sovereign. No sooner did Motezuma appear than many bent the knee, and great numbers prostrated themselves on the ground, from the habit of paying him the adoration due to the divinity. He cast his eyes over the whole multitude,

Motezuma shews himself to the Mexicans, and is slain.

titude, and then fixing them upon ſome of the nobility, he called them by their names to draw nearer, honouring them with the title of friends and kinſmen. His ſpeech began with acknowlegement for the affection they expreſſed by this endeavour to procure his liberty. He declared he was far from conſidering their zeal as a crime, although it was injudiciouſly conducted. They were wrong, he ſaid, in believing that any violence or conſtraint was offered to his will; his reſidence among the Spaniards was altogether voluntary; but on any event, their proceedings ought to have been directed by his orders. He told them, however, that he would not recriminate, becauſe he was ſenſible of their good intentions; but as the cauſe was now removed, and he had given orders for the Spaniards to depart from his court immediately, and entirely evacuate his country, he hoped they would ſet the example of obedience to the ſtrangers, lay down their arms, ceaſe all tumults, come to his court, and receive ample teſtimony of his clemency and pardon. When he finiſhed his harangue, no one had the courage to reply: all were aſtoniſhed to find the emperor overflowing with kindneſs, where they expected to hear him inveigh in terms of indignation. Some wept to ſee the ſame prince, who uſed to command like a god, ſuing with the ſervility of the moſt abject of his ſlaves. But this ſuſpenſion was in a few minutes ſucceeded by violent commotions. Fear was ſuddenly converted into fury, and profound reſpect into the moſt inſolent contempt. Some of them called aloud that he ought to reſign the ſceptre and diadem for the diſtaff and ſpindle; and their injurious language, and opprobrious expreſſions, were ſucceeded by loud ſhouts, and a general diſcharge of arrows. Two Spaniſh ſoldiers, who ſtood near the emperor, endeavoured to protect him with their ſhields, but all their care could not prevent his receiving a blow with a ſtone on the temple, which fractured his ſkull, and laid him ſpeechleſs on the ground. In conſequence of this accident the whole multitude fled in the utmoſt confuſion, as if they imagined the vengeance of heaven would have inſtantly purſued them for the terrible ſacrilege of laying violent hands on their ſovereign. Cortez, inexpreſſibly grieved at the unfortunate accident, ordered the emperor to be immediately carried to his apartment, and his wounds to be dreſſed; but Motezuma no ſooner recovered his ſpeech and ſenſes, than he refuſed all aſſiſtance, and grew ſo impatient with reſentment, that it was found neceſſary to confine his arms, for he tore away every application, refuſed all ſuſtenance, and

in three days died of grief and indignation, rather than of the consequences of his wound.

It is affirmed that Cortez used his utmost endeavours to prevail upon Motezuma to embrace Christianity, as he lay on his death-bed; he joined intreaties to persuasion, but without effect; the emperor would hearken only to the dictates of revenge, and, with his last breath, poured forth imprecations upon his own subjects.

The Spaniards sincerely lamented the unfortunate death of this prince, whose liberality and munificence they had so frequently experienced; but Cortez was chiefly affected, because he foresaw all its evil consequences with respect to his present situation. His great design was founded on the voluntary subjection of Motezuma; this prospect now vanished, and he found it necessary to form an entire new plan, the issue of which appeared extremely precarious, as it was wholly built on the supposition that he should be able to subdue the Mexicans on the arrival of succours from Spain; and yet the success of his application to the court was yet doubtful. Meanwhile he ordered the royal corpse to be carried into the city by several persons of the greatest distinction, among whom were included the priests who had been taken prisoners, all of them witnesses that Motezuma fell by the hands of his own people. They had orders to acquaint the rebellious princes, in his name, that he had sent the body of their late sovereign, murdered by their disloyal practices, which enormous crime gave fresh right to the justice of his vengeance; that, before his death, Motezuma had requested him, with the most pressing instances, to revenge his death, and to chastise their wicked rebellion; but that as he regarded their insurrection as the effect of popular fury and ignorance, unapproved by the nobility, he once more offered peace, that the innocent might not be involved in the punishment of the guilty. He declared that he was ready to come to any reasonable agreement; but if they rejected his proposal, they must expect to be treated with the utmost rigour of his chastisement. He said he would lay waste and destroy their city, and teach them the difference between hostilities merely defensive and a declaration of war in defence of justice, and as a punishment of their atrocious crime against the person of their lawful sovereign.

The body of Motezuma was no sooner observed by the Mexicans, than they approached it with all the appearance of horror mingled with reverence. They threw down their arms, quitted their posts, and began a lamentable

yell

yell, that was communicated through the whole city, which became one ſcene of weeping and lamentation. For the whole night theſe expreſſions of grief continued; but they yielded in the morning to the tumultuous joy of ſeeing the throne occupied by a new emperor, whom they had elected; yet ſtill they paid the due reſpect to the remains of their late ſovereign. They conveyed the corpſe with great ſolemnity, and funeral pomp, to the mountain of Chapultapeque, where it was uſual to pay the laſt duties, and preſerve the aſhes of their kings; and there they renewed their lamentations with ſuch appearance of ſincerity, as left no doubts of their veneration for the memory of their ſovereign.

The Mexicans elect a new ſovereign.

For the three days of his illneſs they had ſuſpended all hoſtilities, in which inactive ſtate they continued till his laſt obſequies were performed. This interval was employed in lamentations, in the election of a new ſovereign, who proved to be Quilavaca, prince of Iztapalapa, in the funeral of the deceaſed prince, and in making preparations for renewing their aſſaults upon the Spaniſh quarters. Early in the morning that ſucceeded the burial of Motezuma, the ſtreets round the Spaniſh quarters were filled with ſoldiers, and the towers of a neighbouring temple ſtrongly garriſoned, as from this ſituation they could annoy the Spaniards in the palace. The ſtair leading to this temple conſiſted of a hundred ſteps, by the ſides of which ſome large towers were erected. Here five hundred Mexican noblemen placed themſelves, with a reſolution to maintain their ground againſt all the power of Cortez; for which purpoſe they had laid in proviſions for a ſiege, knowing it was of the utmoſt importance to the Spaniards to diſlodge them. In this precaution they diſcovered their penetration and military knowlege. To drive them from thence was the firſt attempt of Cortez, who committed the attack to Eſcobar, at the head of near two hundred Spaniards. This officer began the aſſault with great fury, and maintained it with obſtinacy; but he was repeatedly repulſed by the Mexicans, who hurled down large ſtones and beams from the top of the temple, upon the heads of the Spaniards, at the ſame time that they covered them with ſhowers of darts and arrows. Eſcobar was reinforced by ſome Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, ſent from the reſerve by Cortez, who giving way to the impulſe of the moſt impetuous courage, ordered a ſhield to be tied to his wounded arm, and advanced in perſon to his aſſiſtance. Ruſhing, ſword in hand, among the thickeſt of the enemy, he aſcended the ſtairs of the temple, followed and well ſupported by his ſoldiers, and

They renew their attacks.

at laſt gained the top, after having cut the bulk of the garriſon in pieces. Upon this occaſion two Mexicans cloſing with Cortez, attempted to throw him headlong into the ſtreet, but he diſengaged himſelf with admirable activity, and the two aſſailants, leaping over the battlement, daſhed out their brains in deſpair. The moſt important conſequence flowing from the reduction of this body of obſtinate troops, was the ſeaſonable acquiſition of proviſion it brought to the Spaniards. The garriſon had provided for a long ſiege, and Cortez now ordered all the neceſſaries of life to be tranſported to the palace, as he could not divide his little army by garriſoning the temple. This buſineſs he committed to the Tlaſcalans, and with his Spaniſh ſoldiers haſtened to the ſtreet of Tacuba, where the reſt of the army was hotly engaged. The cavalry broke through the multitude, maiming, wounding, and trampling down the wretched Mexicans; and Eſcobar's infantry found it no difficult matter to complete the defeat; but Cortez, in the heat of action, engaged himſelf ſo far, that it being impoſſible to retreat, he directed his way to another ſtreet, where he hoped he ſhould meet with leſs reſiſtance, and ſeaſonably fell in with a confuſed body of Indians, who were dragging along his friend the ſecretary Duero. Cortez immediately charged this troop with ſuch impetuoſity, that he gave his friend an opportunity of diſengaging himſelf, and making uſe of a poignard, which the Indians had overlooked in diſarming him. With this he made way to his horſe and lance, then joining Cortez, the two friends paſſed the ſtreet on a full gallop, through multitudes of the enemy, until they joined their own forces; an action which Cortez always mentioned as one of the moſt fortunate and deſperate of his life. By this time the enemy were flying before the Spaniards in every ſtreet, but it was impoſſible to purſue the victory without deſerting their quarters. Cortez, therefore, ordered a retreat to be ſounded, and hoped he had by this inſtance of ſuperior ability and courage, at leaſt intimidated the Mexicans from renewing the attack ſuddenly, eſpecially as the ſlaughter was prodigious; their houſes, temples, and other edifices were burnt to the ground, and the loſs on the ſide of the Spaniards was very inconſiderable. It is affirmed, that the Mexicans were ſo aſtoniſhed at the aſſault of the temple, that all the particulars of the action were recorded in a painting, which afterwards fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

They make offers of peace.

Next day the Mexicans made overtures of peace in the name of the new emperor, upon condition that the Spaniards would immediately repair to their great canoes on the

the coaſt of Zempoala, and quit the imperial dominions, threatening, in caſe of refuſal, the utmoſt vengeance of an incenſed people. They took notice, that as they had now fully diſcovered that the Spaniards were not immortal, they were obſtinately determined to effect their deſtruction, though the death of every Spaniard ſhould coſt them the lives of thouſands, after which ſacrifice there would ſtill remain a ſufficient number to celebrate the victory. Theſe propoſals were far from being unwelcome; but Cortez, reſolving to ſhew he was not to be intimidated into conceſſion, replied, that he was ſo well acquainted with the ſuperior valour of his troops, as to make no doubt of his being able to deſtroy not only the city of Mexico, but the whole empire, with his preſent force; yet moved by the calamities which the Mexicans had already ſuffered, through their obſtinacy, he was determined to depart, his buſineſs being ended with the death of Motezuma, whoſe friendſhip and liberality had detained him beyond either expectation or inclination. He ſaid, that he would execute this deſign as ſoon as the neceſſary preliminary articles ſhould be ſettled, and the proper diſpoſition made for his march, and accommodation on the road. However, as the Mexicans made their propoſals with an inſidious view, they ſoon came to nothing. Cortez diſcovered that their intention was to block him up in his quarters, and ſtarve him into ſubmiſſion; a new method of carrying on war in Mexico, but the beſt contrived to anſwer the purpoſe, as the Spaniards were, at this time, but ill ſupplied with proviſion, and no way prepared to ſtand a ſiege or blockade. The out-guards diſcovered that the enemy kept at a greater diſtance than ordinary, were ever diligent and circumſpect, and eagerly employed in digging trenches, and erecting works for the defence of the paſſes over the canals. They were likewiſe employed in cutting down the bridges on the great cauſeway, and all communication with the road leading to Tlaſcala; meaſures which fully diſcovered their deſigns, evincing the neceſſity, and, at the ſame time, the danger of a retreat.

Cortez forms the plan for his retreat.

Cortez now aſſembled a council of war, in which it was maturely deliberated, whether an immediate departure from Mexico was not expedient in the preſent ſituation of affairs, and what were the moſt probable means of accompliſhing this meaſure with ſucceſs? The firſt point debated was, whether they ſhould march out of Mexico by night or at mid-day, and in the face of the enemy. They were divided in opinion, and probable arguments were offered in defence of both ſides of the queſtion; but a ma-

a majority of votes appeared in favour of the firſt of theſe meaſures: it was accordingly reſolved the retreat ſhould begin that very ſame night, before the enemy ſhould have finiſhed all the works intended to obſtruct their paſſage. Cortez, equally provident and intrepid, had ordered a portable bridge of beams and planks to be made, which was now finiſhed. This was intended to be laid over the paſs of the cauſeway, and was conſtructed in a manner capable of ſupporting the weight of all the horſe and artillery. He would have made two more bridges for the other openings; but as the men inſiſted upon their immediate departure, influenced by the prediction of one Botello, a ſuppoſed aſtrologer among the troops, there was no time to execute the whole deſign, it was therefore propoſed, that the ſame bridge ſhould be removed from one opening to another, without reflecting on the oppoſition which might be made by the enemy, and the difficulty which muſt neceſſarily attend the attempt. To cover his deſign, Cortez thought it convenient to keep up the appearance of renewing the negociation; for which purpoſe he ſent another meſſenger into the city, to demand an anſwer to his laſt propoſals, with power of making certain alterations if required, and the intermediate time he employed in diſpoſing every thing for his journey. The van was compoſed of two hundred Spaniards, ſupported by a choice body of Tlaſcalans, and twenty horſe, under the conduct of Sandoval, and ſome of the beſt officers. The rear-guard, conſiſting alſo of horſe and foot, was entruſted to Alvarado and Juan Velaſquez. In the center was the three ſons of Motezuma, the Mexican nobility who had been taken priſoners, the artillery, baggage, and the reſt of the army, except a choice corps reſerved under Cortez, in perſon, to relieve thoſe who might be preſſed, and act agreeable to circumſtances. He then cauſed all the gold and jewels to be brought into his apartment, and, ſeparating a fifth for the king out of the moſt portable and convenient, he determined to leave the remainder, amounting to ſeven hundred thouſand pieces of eight, a prey to the enemy, ſaying, that it would be ſhameful to employ thoſe hands in the gratification of avarice, which ought to be left free for the defence of life and reputation. Finding the ſoldiers were diſcouraged by the thoughts of abandoning ſo much treaſure, he ſaid, that they were not to look upon it as loſt, ſince his intention was ſpeedily to renew the enterprize, in ſuch a manner as would infallibly ſecure ſucceſs, and redeem their treaſures with double intereſt. He gave them, at the ſame time, to underſtand, that he would

He begins his march in the night.

not

not be offended if they carried off as much gold as they could, without inconvenience; a permiſſion of the moſt fatal conſequence, as many loaded themſelves with booty in ſuch a manner that they were unfit for ſervice.

At midnight the Spaniards marched ſilently out of their quarters, laid the bridge over the firſt canal, and paſſed over without moleſtation; but the intention of removing the bridge to the other canals was fruſtrated. The weight of the artillery and the horſes forced it ſo deeply into the ſand and ſtones, that it could not be removed. Nor, indeed, was there leiſure to execute the deſign. The enemy attacked them in the rear, and all immediately took to arms, and ſtood on their defence. The Mexicans had, with the utmoſt addreſs, diſpoſed every thing for the deſtruction of the Spaniards. They had narrowly watched every motion, diſtributed their troops in the moſt convenient poſts, and now began the attack, contrary to the prevailing ſuperſtition of the country, in the middle of the night, when they were leaſt expected. Every ſide of the cauſeway was covered with canoes; and Cortez, with all his men, muſt, in deſpite of their valour, have fallen a ſacrifice to the reſentment of thoſe barbarians, had they continued the engagement with the ſame regularity and order obſerved in the firſt attack; but their diſcipline ſoon degenerated into fury and impetuoſity; they preſſed in tumultouſly. The canoes crowded upon each other, and were daſhed in pieces againſt the cauſeway; and little elſe remained for the Spaniards, than to kill and ſlay this naked, diſorderly multitude. Even this work had well nigh exhauſted their ſtrength and ſpirits, when a freſh attack, in front, required a farther exertion of their valour. Great numbers of Indians, impatient of delay, had flung themſelves in the water, and ſcrambled up the cauſeway at ſome diſtance, where the Spaniards were to paſs, and formed themſelves in tolerable order; ſo that Cortez was obliged to preſent a double front, and renew the engagement. Actuated by deſpair, the Spaniards now fought with ſuch irreſiſtible impetuoſity, that the Indians unable to ſuſtain the ſhock of the ſwords and fire-arms, gave way, were purſued with incredible ſlaughter, and forced to plunge in crowds into the water, where many thouſands periſhed. The Spaniards had already paſſed over the firſt chaſm in the cauſeway; it was, therefore, the ſecond paſs which they were now diſputing; and here de Solis obſerves, they found a beam of ſufficient breadth, which the enemy had neglected cutting away; upon this, the ſoldiers paſſed over

He is attacked and driven to the laſt extremities, but accompliſhes his purpoſe.

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in files, guiding their horſes through the water by the bridles.

In this manner the vanguard paſſed the ſecond breach, while the rear was hard preſſed by the enemy; to relieve which, Cortez returned with ſeveral officers. He ordered the artillery to be thrown in the water, and employed all his people in repulſing the aſſault. It was dreadful to hear the piteous lamentations of the Spaniards, breathing their laſt, mingled with the ſhouts of the Indians, eſpecially as the exceſſive darkneſs of the night prevented all poſſibility of giving ſuccour. Many were ſlain, others fell into the hands of the Mexicans, and the ſurvivors were overwhelmed with confuſion, dread, and anguiſh. However, the valour of Cortez ſaved many lives; he penetrated, with five horſe, into the midſt of the enemy, and opened a path for his own men, who were in the greateſt diſtreſs. Alvarado, who was on the oppoſite ſide of the breach, in the cauſeway, owed his life to his own agility, having, with an aſtoniſhing leap, aſſiſted by his lance, cleared the paſs, which, to this day, is diſtinguiſhed by the name of Alvarado's Leap; others, who endeavoured to follow his example, plunged into the water and periſhed, while ſome of leſs reſolution ſuffered themſelves to be made priſoners. Extremely fortunate it was, that the remaining Spaniards, fatigued, exhauſted, and diſpirited with the misfortunes of their companions, met with no oppoſition at the laſt breach, through which the ſoldiers waded as the water was ſhallow. Cortez halted in the neighbourhood of Tacuba, to give time for thoſe who could eſcape from the battle to join the army, and likewiſe to refreſh his people; nor was the precaution unneceſſary, as ſeveral Spaniards and Tlaſcalans were ſaved by this expedient. Yet ſtill the loſs was very conſiderable. Upon muſtering the troops, it appeared, that above two hundred Spaniards, a thouſand Tlaſcalans, and forty-ſix horſes, had either been killed or taken by the enemy; and it was afterwards known that all the priſoners were ſacrificed. Beſides, all the artillery, baggage, and treaſure, was either loſt or had fallen into the hands of the Mexicans. Cortez wept with anguiſh at the unfortunate end of ſome of his braveſt officers, among whom was Diego Valeſquez, his faithful friend, who had deſerted the intereſt of his relation the governor, to follow the fortune of a man, whoſe valour he eſteemed and imitated. Never did he ſtand ſo much in need of his magnanimity and reſolution to temper his grief, the effects of which were in ſome meaſure alleviated by a flood of tears: then ſummoning up all his conſtancy, he animated his men, and diſpoſed

poſed them to proſecute their march to Tacuba, where the troops were well entertained, contrary to expectation.

As it may appear extraordinary, that the Mexicans ſhould now have dropped the purſuit, and ſuffered the Spaniards to croſs the laſt breach in the cauſeway unmoleſted, it may be proper to account for their conduct. Among the ſlain were the ſons of Motezuma, whoſe bodies the Indians diſcovered in the morning, as they were ſtripping the killed and wounded. They ſtood amazed and confounded at the ſhocking ſpectacle of three princes of the blood, murdered by the ſame hands which had occaſioned the death of their ſovereign. Thoſe who firſt ſaw the mangled bodies drew back, that others might approach, and all were ſtruck dumb with ſorrow and ſurprize. When the ſad news ſpread among the troops, they were ſeized with terror, not doubting but the vengeance of the gods would ſucceed this repetition of their ſacrilege. A panic diffuſed itſelf through the whole multitude, and action immediately ceaſed. Their reſentment to the Spaniards was abſorbed in grief for their own guilt, and pity for the unhappy fate of the innocent princes. An account of this melancholy event was ſent by the chiefs to the new emperor; and he, being forced to affect a ſhare in the general deſpondency, ordered the army to halt, that the laſt duties might be paid to the deceaſed. Inſtead, therefore, of purſuing the Spaniards, a funeral proceſſion was begun, by which means Cortez was allowed time to retreat. In this reſpect the circumſtance proved fortunate to him, though he greatly lamented the loſs of the princes, becauſe he founded part of his future hopes on their claim to the imperial diadem, and the ſtrong faction their influence might form among the Mexicans.

Motezuma's ſons killed.

When Cortez had refreſhed his men, he proceeded on his march before the Indians ſhould renew their attacks. He had not marched far when ſeveral ſmall bodies of the enemy were ſeen at a diſtance. Their numbers continually increaſed in proportion as they gained ground on the Spaniards; and in a little time they amounted to a conſiderable army, which advancing to the attack, began a furious engagement. Cortez immediately ordered the fire-arms and croſs-bows to form a front in the rear, and keep a continual diſcharge to cover the reſt of the forces. The horſe too, ſallied out, and made great ſlaughter; but as the enemy were continually multiplying, and there was no place of retreat, the danger appeared as great as ever, and the Spaniards grew tired of repulſing without conquering. Their ſtrength was almoſt exhauſted, and their ſpirits quite ſunk, when Cortez obſerved a tower upon an eminence, at ſome diſtance,

Difficulty of retreat.

diſtance, of which he reſolved to gain poſſeſſion as a convenient place of reſt; but the execution of this ſcheme ſeemed almoſt impracticable. He was obliged to keep a front to the enemy, and continue fighting while he aſcended a ſteep hill. At length he overcame all obſtruction, gained the tower, which was a temple, and there he found the advantages which he expected of a defenſible retreat: a few proviſions left behind by the fugitive prieſts, proved a high regale to the hungry Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, though a very ſmall portion fell to the ſhare of each. The Mexicans did not venture to aſcend the eminence; but they ſurrounded it, as if with intention to form the blockade, of which Cortez was greatly afraid, until he ſaw them take the road of Mexico, at the approach of night. Immediately he placed centinels to guard againſt ſurprize, ordered fires to be lighted, ſent the ſoldiers to reſt, dreſſed the wounded, and frequently relieved the watches, that all might enjoy an equal ſhare of refreſhment, while he himſelf deliberated with his principal officers concerning their future proceedings. A variety of propoſitions were made; but, what in the end gained univerſal approbation, was the general's own opinion, that they ſhould march the ſame night, the ſpace of two or three leagues, in order to gain ground upon the enemy. This reſolution was put in practice after the troops were ſomewhat refreſhed by a ſhort ſleep of two hours. The march was continued the whole night, amidſt perpetual alarms from the ſurrounding peaſants, who had aſſembled in ſmall parties, but gave little interruption. In the morning, the Spaniards reached a village advantageouſly ſituated, where they met with refreſhments of proviſion ſufficient for that day. Here they fixed their quarters for the night, and next day purſued their journey through a barren, rough, and rocky country, keeping at a diſtance from the great road, and perſevering in their march under the united calamities of fatigue, thirſt, and hunger, feeding upon herbs, roots, and the fleſh of one of the horſes that periſhed. The ſoldiers animated each other; neceſſity acted as a perpetual ſpur upon their valour; and the hope of ending all their miſeries at Tlaſcala cheered their ſpirits under the ſevereſt trials. The ſecond day's laborious march ended at a village, where the Spaniards were received with a ſuſpicious civility, the inhabitants not only freely giving them all the proviſion of which they were poſſeſſed, but alſo borrowing large quantities from the adjacent villages, inſomuch that the half-famiſhed ſoldiers began to forget all their paſt ſufferings in the preſent enjoyment, without the leaſt reflection upon the conſequences of their ſecurity. In fact, this

this was a ſtratagem of the Mexicans to blind the vigilance of Cortez, which, however, they diſcloſed by their own eagerneſs and ſimplicity. Donna Marina heard them frequently repeat, "Go on, tyrants, to that place where you will quickly periſh;" words which ſome applied to the Tlaſcalans, imagining that ſome change might have happened in the affections of the republic, while Cortez inferred that an ambuſcade was laid on the way by which they were obliged to paſs.

The whole Mexican army defeated in the valley of Otumba.

Having ſufficiently recreated themſelves, and recruited their exhauſted ſtrength by reſt and ſuſtenance, the Spaniards proceeded on their journey, climbing up the high mountain by which they were to deſcend into the valley of Otumba. Scarce had the van reached the ſummit, when ſome ſoldiers were diſpatched to the rear, with advice to Cortez, that the enemy amounting to an immenſe number, occupied the whole valley, and blocked up all the paſſes. This was the ſame army that had purſued them to the temple, reinforced by freſh troops, under other commanders, and compoſed of the ſtrength of the whole Mexican empire. It was their laſt effort to deſtroy the Spaniards, and they had determined to make ſure of victory, as far as depended upon numbers. The front took up the whole breadth of the valley, and the depth reached beyond the viſible horizon, although beheld from an eminence. The enſigns of a great variety of nations waved in the air, and in the centre of the multitude was diſtinguiſhed the captain-general, ſupported upon the ſhoulders of Indians in a rich chair, in which was erected the royal ſtandard of Mexico. Nothing could exceed in magnificence this ſtandard, compoſed of a net-work of maſſy gold, fixed upon a ſolid ſtaff of the ſame precious metal, and adorned with beautiful plumes of various colours. It was always ſurrounded by a choice body of the nobility, as upon the fortune of the ſtandard depended victory or defeat; the loſs of it eſſentially proving deciſive, and the Mexicans never believing themſelves thoroughly defeated, while they retained in their hands this palladium of their honour and valour. Such a ſpectacle could not fail of appearing formidable to a handful of men already upon the brink of ſinking under misfortune; but, inſtead of intimidating, it ſerved only to inflame the courage of the Spaniards, who were fully perſuaded that now the enemy made their laſt puſh, and that their fate depended upon the iſſue of this affair. Cortez examined the countenance of his ſoldiers, and finding them eager to engage, cried aloud, "Our caſe is now come to that paſs, that we muſt conquer or die: the cauſe of our God

God fights for us." Then he extended his front, and united the cavalry on the wings to the centre of the army, giving charge to the former to be careful of the rear and flanks. In this order he ruſhed upon the enemy, after a general and fortunate diſcharge of the fire-arms and croſs-bows, which made the Mexican battalions in front reel back on the ſecond line. The conſequent diſorder was happily improved by the cavalry, who penetrated into the midſt of the enemy, and bore down all before them, clearing a path for the infantry to follow. The Tlaſcalans in imitation of the Spaniards, fought with deſperate fury, and with inſatiable thirſt after Mexican blood. The ſlaughter was dreadful; but, as freſh crowds ſupplied the place of the ſlain and wounded, the Spaniards muſt have ſunk under the fatigue of unremitting fighting, had not the valour and preſence of mind of the general decided the victory, and put an end to all reſiſtance. At the head of the cavalry, he puſhed his way on a gallop, towards the royal ſtandard, upon which he knew the iſſue of the battle depended, trampling under foot whole battalions. Arriving, at length, at the corps of nobility, round the perſon of the captain-general, who made a furious reſiſtance, he left his companions to keep them in employment, while he, in perſon, made a deſperate effort, and broke quite through to the ſtandard, cloſed with the Mexican general, and at one ſtroke of his lance, brought him mortally wounded to the ground. Juan de Salamanca, a private ſoldier, but a gentleman by birth, who had bravely followed Cortez to the ſide of the litter, knocked down the royal ſtandard, which he gave into the general's hands, and put the finiſhing ſtroke to the life of the Mexican commander. The conſequences were juſt what they expected. The enemy ſeeing the imperial ſtandard taken, and, not doubting but their general was either ſlain or made priſoner, loſt all courage, threw away their arms, fled for protection to the neighbouring mountains, and were purſued by the conquerors, who made terrible deſtruction. It is affirmed by almoſt all the Spaniſh writers, that not leſs than twenty thouſand Mexicans periſhed in the field of battle; a circumſtance not more extraordinary than that an army of two hundred thouſand men, inflamed by reſentment and revenge, and fighting for their liberty, property, and religion, ſhould be defeated by a body of Spaniards, not exceeding ſix hundred and fifty, aſſiſted by about a thouſand Tlaſcalans. Both aſſertions would, indeed, exceed belief, were not writers unanimous in their relations, with reſpect to theſe particulars. Moſt certainly the victory obtained in the valley of Otumba, was the moſt celebrated of all that

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are recorded in the conquest of Mexico, and equal to any we meet with in the annals of mankind. The booty was very great; for the Mexicans had come dressed in their richest ornaments and apparel, as to a certain victory; Cortez gave it all to the soldiers, in reward of their valour, as a recompence for their sufferings, and compensation for the gold they had lost in the retreat, and left at Mexico.

Having now gained complete possession of the field of battle, and driven the enemy to the mountains, Cortez assembled his men, who were busy in pillaging; and pursued his march, lest the enemy might have time to recover from their confusion, and give him farther annoyance. He knew they would not venture again upon a pitched battle, but even their skirmishing might have proved very troublesome to them, who were almost spent with fatigue. He made all possible dispatch; yet it was impossible, that day, to gain the Mexican frontier, before he passed which he could not expect perfect security. It was necessary to make allowance for the wounded, and to give them time for rest, after they had been exhausted with loss of blood, and continual motion and agitation for the space of six hours. He therefore possessed himself of nine houses, at some distance from the field of battle, where he passed the night, not without apprehensions, and next day found the roads quite abandoned by the enemy. This day he reached the frontier of Tlascala. When the whole army expressed their joy and triumph by loud acclamations, and the Tlascalans threw themselves upon their faces, kissing the ground, to express the pleasure they felt in returning victorious to their native country. Here they found the first opportunity of quenching their thirst, after the toils of the battle, and succeeding march; whence they proceeded to Gualipa, a considerable town belonging to the republic. They were met on the road by the inhabitants, who received them with open arms, accommodated them in their houses, and furnished them with abundance of the best provision which the country afforded. Cortez accepted the invitation; but as he could not be certain that the republic still entertained the same friendly sentiments which they had formerly expressed, he quartered the soldiers with great caution, and kept strict watch, as if in the country of an enemy.

Cortez is honourably received by the Tlascalans.

From Gualipa the general dispatched an account to the senate of Tlascala of his retreat and success; but fame had already carried the news of his victory, without diminution of his glory. The messengers were met on the road by Magiscatzin, the blind Xicotencal, his son, and other nobility, dispatched by the senate, to compliment Cortez on

his return to their dominions, and extraordinary conqueſts. All thoſe ſenators embraced him with the moſt cordial friendſhip, except the young Xicotencal, who appeared cold and reſerved in his ſalutation; a circumſtance, which at that time made no impreſſion, though it came afterwards to be recollected. They acquainted Cortez, that the republic had aſſembled an army of thirty thouſand men for his defence; and they offered, ſhould this prove inſufficient, to collect the whole ſtrength of Tlaſcala, and her allies, to puniſh the traiterous Mexicans. It was extremely pleaſing to Cortez to find that the republic retained the ſame friendly diſpoſition, and he expreſſed his acknowlegements in the warmeſt terms that real gratitude could dictate. He perceived, that although the Tlaſcalans were now ſenſible that the Spaniards were not immortal; yet their victory at Otumba had raiſed them in their eſteem, as the moſt gallant and valiant people in the univerſe. They invited him to take up his quarters in their city; but they willingly admitted his apology for not immediately accepting the offer, as they had determined to make great preparations for his reception, and to celebrate his entry with the ſame ſolemnities that were uſed in the triumphal proceſſions of their own generals. When the day arrived, which was appointed by the ſenate, the caziques and principal members of the republic, in their ſenatorial robes, accompanied by a numerous attendance, went out to meet the Spaniſh army. The road was covered with a multitude of people, who expreſſed their congratulations by loud ſhouts and acclamations, mingled with reproaches of the Mexicans, and the higheſt encomiums on the valour of the ſtrangers. Herrera affirms, that the number of ſpectators amounted to two hundred thouſand. Certain it is, that the concourſe was very great, the whole city of Tlaſcala, as well as the adjacent towns and country, having poured forth their inhabitants to behold the conquerors of Mexico. Magiſcatzin inſiſted upon having Cortez for his gueſt; while the old blind Xicotencal paid the ſame compliment to Alvarado, whoſe valour, ſtrength, and activity, had been reported to him by the auxiliary Tlaſcalans. It greatly increaſed the eſteem conceived for the Spaniards, that Cortez and his ſoldiers generouſly divided with the Tlaſcalans the ſpoils taken at the battle of Otumba. In the midſt of this intercourſe of civilities, Cortez was ſeized with an ardent fever, in conſequence of a contuſion on the forehead he had received in the late engagement. The Spaniards and Tlaſcalans were equally overwhelmed with grief and amazement. The former dreaded the iſſue of his malady, as upon

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him they reſted their future fortune; and the Indians bewailed him as a hero worthy of immortality. The ſenate aſſembled all the phyſicians moſt celebrated for their knowlege in medicinal plants in Tlaſcala, and promiſed them the higheſt rewards if they ſhould ſucceed in reſtoring the general's health. This taſk they undertook with a confidence that appeared well founded; for by means of their cooling applications, and the ſtrength of his natural conſtitution, a favourable criſis was produced, and Cortez was again able to appear in public, to the inexpreſſible joy of his own people and the republic.

Nor was this the only accident which happened to diſturb the peaceable repoſe of the Spaniards in Tlaſcala. Advice about this time arrived from Vera Cruz, that a corporal and eight Spaniſh ſoldiers, who had ſet out for Tlaſcala from the ſettlement, were not yet returned; and it was reported among the Indians, that they were maſſacred in the province of Tepeaca. It was likewiſe ſuppoſed, that the ſame misfortune had befallen forty-two wounded ſoldiers of Narvaez's army, who, on their recovery, ſet out in ſmall parties to join Cortez in Mexico, which they conſidered as the centre of all their wiſhes. The general had relied upon this reinforcement, and ſuch a piece of intelligence was of the utmoſt conſequence, when the life of every Spaniard was invaluable. It was afterwards found too true, that the eight ſoldiers were actually murdered in Tepeaca, which province had thrown off the allegiance promiſed to Cortez, either for the ſake of the gold, or at the inſtigation of the Mexicans. There appeared a neceſſity for puniſhing this act of infidelity, and reducing the province, becauſe it lay in the way to obſtruct all intercourſe between Vera Cruz and Mexico. It fortunately happened, that the republic had equal cauſe of complaint againſt the Tepeacans, who had lately made an irruption into the frontiers of Tlaſcala The ſenate, therefore, came to a reſolution to chaſtize them, in which they deſired the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards at the inſtant when Cortez was deliberating how he ſhould engage the republic in his revenge. Accordingly, preparations were making on both ſides for an expedition againſt this province, when ambaſſadors from the new emperor of Mexico to the republic arrived on the frontiers, where they waited for permiſſion to advance. This was matter of aſtoniſhment at Tlaſcala, which had never before been honoured with ſo formal an embaſſy. The ſenate was not ignorant that the purport of it was to engage the republic againſt the Spaniards; it was therefore debated, whether the Mexicans ſhould be received,

The Mexicans endeavour to gain the Tlaſcalans from the intereſt of Cortez.

and carried in the affirmative, with the approbation of the Spaniſh general. They entered the city with great ſolemnity, and were introduced into the ſenate with the uſual formalities, where, in the name of the emperor, they made an offer of perpetual peace and friendſhip between the two nations, a perfect freedom of commerce and community of intereſts, on condition the republic would join the Mexicans againſt the Spaniards; a propoſition no ſooner made, than a confuſed murmur of diſapprobation was heard through the whole aſſembly. Many of the members were on the point of breaking out into indecent expreſſions of reſentment againſt the ambaſſadors, when one of the old ſenators ſtood up, and told them, that their requeſt was contrary to juſtice, reaſon, and the conſtant practice of the republic. He declared that no intereſt could ſeduce the Tlaſcalans to violate the laws of hoſpitality, or perfidiouſly betray the voluntary friendſhip conceived for the Spaniards, confirmed by an exchange of obligations, and ſealed by the moſt ſacred engagements. This anſwer was ſufficient to convince the Mexicans, that the purpoſe of their embaſſy would not anſwer, and, as they feared ſome popular commotion, they withdrew privately, and returned with all expedition to their own frontiers.

Xicotencal's perfidy.

This diſappointment of the Mexicans was ſubject of triumph to the Spaniards, as it ſhewed the good diſpoſition of the republic. Nevertheleſs it was ſoon diſcovered, that all the members of the ſenate were not equally ſincere in their profeſſions of friendſhip. The young Xicotencal could never forget that he had been foiled by Cortez in the military art, upon his ſkill in which he had founded his higheſt reputation. He conſidered the ſuperiority of the Spaniſh general as a real injury to himſelf, and watched an opportunity to gratify his revenge, which he thought offered at this juncture. In the ſenate he conccaled his ſentiments; but he repreſented privately to the people, that the peace offered by the Mexicans was mutually advantageous, as the emperor required no other condition than what the ſenate, for their own intereſt, ought to grant. "Should we forgive the Spaniards (ſaid he) their evil inclinations againſt our religion, yet we have reaſon to reſent their endeavours to ſubvert our conſtitution and government, by converting into a deſpotic monarchy this venerable republic, and reducing us under the odious dominion of an emperor; a yoke which we had broke at the expence of our blood, and which it grieves us to ſee even on the necks of our bittereſt enemies." Theſe ſentiments he inforced with abundance of eloquence, inſomuch that he gained ſo ſtrong a party,

a party, as encouraged him to become more public in his declarations. The ſenate no ſooner had intelligence of his deſigns, than they ordered him to be taken into cuſtody, and immediately deliberated on his puniſhment. Many gave it as their opinion that he deſerved death, of which number was the blind Xicotencal, his venerable parent, who treated his crime as perfidious to his friends, ungenerous to ſtrangers, and highly dangerous to his country. All agreed that he was ſeditious, envious, and guilty of practices which diſgraced the reſolutions of the ſenate, and ſtained with diſhonour the national character; however, out of reſpect for the father, they mitigated the puniſhment, by decreeing, that the criminal ſhould be brought priſoner to the ſenate, reprimanded for his treachery and inſolence, and deprived of his truncheon, and other employments, by the ceremony of throwing him down the ſtair of the tribunal. Immediately he fell into diſgrace with all degrees of people, eſpecially thoſe who either entertained an unfeigned friendſhip for the Spaniards, or were attached only to the good fortune of Xicotencal. He found himſelf deſolate and abandoned in the midſt of ſociety, and without hopes of recovering the eſteem of his country, except through the interceſſion of the perſon againſt whom all his practices had been levelled. To Cortez, however, he ventured to apply, and, by means of his influence, was reſtored to his employments; which he ſoon after forfeited, with his life, for a repetition of his perfidy.

We muſt not omit another circumſtance that occurred as a farther trial of the perſeverance and courage of Cortez, juſt as he had ſurmounted the dangers planned by Xicotencal. The republic was making preparations to puniſh the hoſtilities committed by the Tepeacans, and aſſiſt Cortez in his meditated revenge; but the Spaniſh ſoldiers, eſpecially the troops of Narvaez, very ſtrenuouſly oppoſed a freſh expedition. Neither the arguments uſed to move their compaſſion, nor rouſe their indignation againſt the barbarous Tepeacans, produced any effect: the remembrance of paſt fatigues rendered them averſe to new exploits. They ſighed after repoſe, and their poſſeſſions in Cuba; and ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon being immediately led back to Vera Cruz, in order to equip the fleet for their voyage. Cortez perceiving they were to be influenced only by conſiderations of intereſt, he told them, that the enemy had ſecured the paſſes in ſuch a manner as rendered the march to Vera Cruz impoſſible, except by wading through blood, and encountering the greateſt difficulties and dangers; that they muſt rely entirely upon their own ſtrength,

as it was improbable the Tlaſcalans would lend any aſſiſtance to a retreat undertaken againſt their inclinations, and indeed equally contrary to the honour and intereſt of the Spaniards and the republic. In this ſituation, therefore, he adviſed them to preſerve the friendſhip of the Tlaſcalans, by entering cheerfully upon the expedition, as the only ſecure means by which their deſign of returning to Vera Cruz could be accompliſhed; and promiſed, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that as ſoon as they had reduced the Tepeacans, all who were not willing to follow his fortune ſhould have liberty to depart: but he obſerved that it was his duty, as their general, to keep them from running into ſuch imminent danger, as was unavoidable, if they begun their march in the preſent circumſtances of affairs. By this expoſtulation he engaged them in his deſigns, after he had demonſtrated, that it was not poſſible to purſue their intentions with any degree of ſecurity; and indeed Cortez, upon this, and divers other occaſions, afforded ſtrong inſtances of his perfect ſkill in the operations of the human mind.

When the Spaniſh ſoldiers gave their aſſent to his propoſal, Cortez drew out eight thouſand ſelect Tlaſcalans, commanded by officers whoſe valour and fidelity he had experienced in divers engagements in Mexico; leaving the care of aſſembling the main body of the republican army to Xicotencal, whoſe friendſhip he imagined he had ſecured by his late conduct. With this force, and four hundred and twenty Spaniards, he began his march, and halted that day at a village, at the diſtance of five leagues from Tepeaca, the capital of their province. Here he took ſome of the peaſants priſoners, and by kindneſs and preſents prevailed upon them to carry a meſſage to the caziques, and the principal men at Tepeaca, acquainting them, that he was now at the head of an army to revenge the death of the Spaniards, whom they had ſo barbarouſly and treacherouſly murdered; but that if they would take up arms againſt the Mexicans, and join in alliance with the Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, he would pardon their heinous tranſgreſſion, and receive them into his friendſhip; otherwiſe they muſt expect the utmoſt rigours of war. The anſwer returned by the Tepeacans was an inſolent defiance, and a menace that they would carry all the Spaniards in chains to be ſacrificed at the altars of their gods. He repeated his propoſitions, and received anſwers ſtill more provoking; upon which he led his army into the capital, fully reſolved to deſtroy it with fire and ſword. The Tepeacans, reinforced by a body of Mexicans, lay in ambuſh in the way; but

Cortez reduces the Tepeacans.

but their impatience diſcovering them, they were attacked with ſuch fury as ſoon put them to flight, in the greateſt diſorder, and with great ſlaughter: but recovering themſelves, and rallying in a manner very unuſual among barbarians, they made a ſtand, renewed the battle with great obſtinacy, and were a ſecond time ſo completely defeated, that both Mexicans and Tepeacans abandoned the country, and left the whole province at the mercy of the conquerors. The inhabitants of Tepeaca were ſo terrified with the misfortune and retreat of the army, that they ſent deputies with their ſubmiſſion to Cortez, requeſting, that he would not wreak his vengeance upon an innocent people, miſguided and forced, contrary to their own inclinations, into hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards, by their leaders, who were entirely in the intereſt, and at the diſpoſal of the emperor of Mexico. Upon this repreſentation, Cortez marched to the capital, received the homage of the inhabitants in the name of his catholic majeſty, whom he ordered to be proclaimed, pardoned their tranſgreſſion, took the people under his protection, and, by his well-timed lenity, conciliated their affection and eſteem. As his principal deſign, in this expedition, was to preſerve a free communication between Vera Cruz and Mexico, he ordered a trench to be drawn round the city, fortified with palliſadoes; and not only raiſed works for the defence of the ſeveral paſſes, but erected a kind of citadel, which would be ſufficient ſecurity againſt any ſudden aſſault from the Mexicans. Here Cortez left a garriſon of Spaniards, calling the place Segura de la Frontera, which was the ſecond eſtabliſhment in the Mexican empire. It reflects but little honour upon his humanity, that, after having pardoned the townſmen, he ordered all the priſoners to be ſent to Tlaſcala, and ſold for ſlaves; a practice that continued until the catholic king interpoſed his authority ſome years afterwards, and put an entire ſtop to a cuſtom favouring ſtrongly of barbarity.

Segura de la Frontera founded.

A few days after the victory came up Xicotencal with the main body of the Tlaſcalan army. The appearance of ſuch a croud of enemies, amounting to fifty thouſand men, greatly alarmed the Tepeacans; and Cortez determined to employ the troops in uſeful expeditions. Accordingly, he divided the Tlaſcalans in ſeveral bodies, which he detached againſt certain ſtrong towns in the province, that were held by the Mexicans. Each diviſion was conducted by about thirty Spaniards; who had directions to uſe force, if perſuaſion would not anſwer the purpoſe, of bringing the enemy to ſubmiſſion. The orders were punctually executed; and though the enemy made a ſhew of reſiſtance,

all the towns were subdued, with very inconsiderable loss, several thousand prisoners were brought back, and the officers enriched by the sale of the captives, and other booty.

Guatimozin elected emperor of Mexico.

It was about this time that the new emperor Quatlavaca resigned his last breath; upon which the people conferred the imperial diadem on Guatimozin, nephew and son-in-law to Motezuma, knowing him to be a young prince of an active warlike genius, and in all respects capable of supporting the regal dignity with honour. This change was, by no means, favourable to the Spaniards; as the young emperor had a capacity far beyond any of his predecessors, and great virtues, untinctured with any of the vices that generally predominate in despotic monarchs. Guatimozin, in order to conciliate the affection of his new subjects, began his reign with resigning into their hands a variety of privileges, of which they had been deprived by the two preceding emperors. He employed his whole time in the service of the public, encouraged the soldiers with rewards and honours, moderated the excess of veneration paid to the throne, exempted the nobility from all servile attendance, admitted them into his intimacy, and eased the people in the article of taxes and tributes. To the caziques on the frontiers he made large presents, to indemnify them for their extraordinary losses and expences in the war; and then detached an army of thirty thousand men to support them against the Spaniards. Cortez had notice of these changes in Mexico; which, instead of discouraging him from attempting the conquest of this vast empire, served only to animate him to a double exertion of his abilities. A messenger had been sent to him by the cazique of Guacachula, a populous city, considered by the emperor as one of the bulwarks of his dominions, informing him that an army of Mexicans had marched thither and committed such violences, as obliged the people to have recourse to the protection of the Spaniards. The cazique mentioned, as a kind of claim to the assistance of Cortez, that he was one of the nobility who had promised obedience to the king of Spain in the assembly held by Motezuma; and that he had ever since favoured the cause of the Spaniards, for which reason he was now punished with the utmost rigour. The messenger said, that in the city were twenty thousand Mexican troops, and about ten thousand more quartered in the surrounding district; but he demonstrated the facility with which they might be attacked and defeated, and gave such proofs of the cazique's sincerity, that Cortez determined upon the enterprize. That very day he drew together three hundred Spanish foot, thirteen horse, and about

about thirty thousand Tlascalans, whom he dispatched under Christopher d'Olid to Guacachula. D'Olid marched with great expedition to within six leagues of the city, where the mutinous spirit of some of the Spanish soldiers obliged him to halt. It had been reported, that the emperor of Mexico was in full march, at the head of his whole army, to Guacachula; and this intelligence produced such an effect upon the minds of the soldiers, who were tired with fruitless victories, that they refused to proceed; so that Cortez was obliged to join the army, and take upon himself the command. Every thing put on a new face at his appearance, all discontents and jealousies were banished, and the soldiers, to a man, declared they would die by the side of their general; but that they could not pay the same regard to Christopher d'Olid, who abused his authority, and treated them with rigour. Immediately he began his march, and gave notice to the cazique of Guacachula of his approach with a numerous army. The Mexicans were posted on the farther side of the city; but on the first advice of his approach, they drew out in order of battle, and advanced beyond the city, to dispute a pass. The battle began and raged with great obstinacy, and doubtful success, when the cazique of Guacachula seized this opportunity of proving the sincerity of his professions. He fell upon the rear of the Mexican army, and at the same time discharged his darts and arrows from the walls with such effect, as soon determined the victory in favour of Cortez. In less than half an hour, the Mexican army was entirely defeated, upwards of half the number being slain in the field of battle, or taken prisoners; while the loss on the side of the confederates was very inconsiderable. *Expedition to Guacachula.*

This, and his preceding victories, gave such reputation to Cortez, that a multitude of Indians submitted, and several caziques joined him with forces; insomuch, that his whole army now exceeded a hundred thousand men, besides the tamenes appointed to carry the provisions and baggage. With this force he laid siege to the strong city of Guacachula, the cazique, and chief inhabitants of which, served in his army, while the place was held by ten thousand desperate Mexicans, who had turned out all the suspected citizens, with intention to defend the town to the last extremity. The situation was strong by nature, and fortified with all that the limited knowlege of the Indians, in the art of war, could bestow. Before it flowed a deep river, which Cortez had to pass, and here the Mexicans made a stand; but those obstructions appeared nothing to troops who were accustomed to conquer much greater difficulties.

Christopher

Chriſtopher d'Olid, with the van, threw himſelf into the river, gained the oppoſite ſhore, under ſhowers of darts and arrows, and ſoon drove the enemy from their poſts to the city, after he had received a wound in the thigh, and had his horſe killed under him. It was expected the enemy would have vigorouſly defended the city, and the height of the walls made d'Olid apprehenſive that the aſſault would be bloody; but ſuch was the panic infuſed in the Mexican garriſon, upon the flight of the party which had been appointed to diſpute the paſſage of the river, that they immediately gave all up for loſt, and left Guacachula as the reward of the conquerors, without ſtriking a blow. By this time Cortez came up with the main body, and ſuſpecting a ſtratagem, detached a body of Tlaſcalans to examine the town, and purſue the enemy; when finding that the place was entirely forſaken, he took poſſeſſion, and publiſhed a general pardon to all who had taken arms for the Mexicans, if they would return to their habitations. The ſame conduct he obſerved in a variety of other expeditions, by which means he reduced a great number of towns and provinces under the obedience of his catholic majeſty.

The ſmall pox appears in Mexico.

It was about this time, that the ſmall-pox committed dreadful ravages among the Indians, and raged with extraordinary fury in Tlaſcala, where it carried off the good Magiſcatzin, the firm and faithful ally of the Spaniards. He is reported to have died a ſincere convert to Chriſtianity, the firſt proſelyte of diſtinction made ſince the arrival of Cortez in Mexico. The death of this ſenator, who had contributed ſo powerfully to eſtabliſh him in the friendſhip of the republic, was a ſevere blow to Cortez; but it was in ſome meaſure compenſated by a fortunate accident which came very ſeaſonably to moderate his affliction. At this juncture, Pedro de Barba arrived at St. Juan de Uloa, in a ſmall ſhip, having on board thirteen ſoldiers, two horſes, with proviſion and ammunition to reinforce the army under Narvaez; who was ſuppoſed, by this time, to be in poſſeſſion of the bulk of the conqueſts made by Cortez. This was the ſame perſon who had been of ſervice to Cortez at the Havannah, in enabling him to eſcape the ſnares laid by Velaſquez. The ſhip was no ſooner diſcovered by Cavallero, who commanded on the coaſt, than he ſent out a boat to welcome the ſtrangers, and inveigled them on ſhore by an artifice, excuſable enough in the circumſtances of Cortez's affairs. Perceiving that Barba's deſign was to reinforce Narvaez, he told him, that this general was not only in health, but in high proſperity, Cortez having taken refuge in the mountains. By this fiction, he got Barba and

Cortez is reinforced by various accidents.

all

all his men in his power, and sent them to Segura de la Frontera; where they were so kindly treated by Cortez, that, they chearfully engaged into his service. A few days after Cavaliero made another acquisition of eight Spanish soldiers, sent to reinforce Narvaez, by a singular stratagem, all of whom followed the example of the former party. These succours, of men and ammunition, were of the utmost importance at this juncture; but still there were great difficulties attending the prosecution of the design, which Cortez formed of invading Mexico a second time. The almost total want of powder rendered the fire-arms useless, and there appeared no remedy, until it was recollected, that Diego d'Ordaz had discovered abundance of fine sulphur in the burning mountain of Popocatepec. A party was dispatched for sufficient quantity of sulphur; of which, and other ingredients, a powder was composed, which well enough answered the purpose. To this fortunate discovery was added another circumstance of peculiar advantage, especially as the soldiers of Narvaez insisted upon the general's promise of giving them leave to return to Cuba, as soon as the expedition against Tepeaca should be finished; a promise which he now executed punctiliously, providing shipping for the malcontents, among whom was the secretary Andres de Duero, who had always professed the strongest friendship for Cortez. As his little army of Spaniards was now diminished by the loss of more than forty able-bodied soldiers, it was a peculiar instance of good fortune, that captain Camargo should arrive so opportunely upon the coast to repair the loss which had been deemed irreparable. The reader may remember, that Francisco de Garey, governor of Jamaica, had, soon after the arrival of Cortez on the coast of Zempoala, fitted out a small armament, to establish a colony in the province of Panuca; a design that was frustrated by the diligence of the Spanish general. The same enterprize was resumed with a stronger force, but it proved equally unfortunate. Camargo had scarce landed his forces in the river Panuca, when he was vigorously attacked by the natives, defeated, and forced to re-embark with all expedition. At sea the ships were separated, but after having encountered many difficulties, they all arrived, much about the same time, without knowing each other's intentions, at Vera Cruz, where they resolved to inlist with Cortez, as the nearest way of making their fortunes. The vessel commanded by Camargo in person, had on board sixty soldiers; another, under the conduct of Miguel Diaz de Auz, carried fifty men and seven horses; and the third had forty soldiers and ten horses on board, with large

large ſtore of arms and proviſion. All immediately repaired to Tlaſcala, and thus brought Cortez a ſeaſonable and unexpected reinforcement, while he was greatly embarraſſed by the departure of Duero and the ſoldiers of Narvaez.

SECT. VII.

Cortez invades Mexico a ſecond Time; lays Siege to the Capital, which he reduces.

Cortez reſumes the conqueſt of Mexico.

THESE reinforcements enabled Cortez to reſume his enterprize of conquering Mexico, with ſome proſpect of ſucceſs. Beſides a conſiderable body of Spaniards, he was at the head of a numerous army of Tlaſcalans, and other nations, all declared enemies to the monarchical government of the Mexicans. The paſſage of the lake, indeed, preſented a formidable obſtruction; which, however, yielded to the good fortune inſeparable from Cortez. There was no depending upon portable bridges after the late fatal experiment; the general, therefore, propoſed building a number of ſmall veſſels, which ſhould not only be able to reſiſt all the efforts of the Mexican canoes, but alſo to tranſport his troops over the lake, without truſting to the cauſeway. Theſe he propoſed building at Tlaſcala, and tranſporting in pieces, on the ſhoulders of Indians, for fourteen leagues over the mountains of Tlaſcala, to a river that diſcharged itſelf into the lake of Mexico. He communicated the deſign to his ſhip-builder Martin Lopez; and that ingenious mechanic undertook to carry it into execution. Immediately a body of Indians was ſet to work to cut down wood, while another party was diſpatched to Vera Cruz, for the iron work, rigging, and materials belonging to Narvaez's ſquadron.

He tranſmits an account of all his tranſactions to the court.

In the mean time, Cortez thought it neceſſary to tranſmit to court an account of his actions, and to enforce the ſolicitations he had made the preceding year by the captains Portocarrero and Montejo, of whoſe ſucceſs he had yet received no information. In a letter to the emperor Charles V. king of Spain, he now gave a faithful recital of all his adventures, proſperous and adverſe, from the time he firſt quitted Zempoala, until he was forced to evacuate the capital of the empire. He informed his imperial majeſty of his preſent condition and deſigns, and craved ſuccours for the expedition, as well as ſpeedy juſtice againſt Velaſquez, governor of Cuba. He obſerved, that ſeveral Indians of conſideration

conſideration had ſubmitted to be baptized; and repreſented the neceſſity of ſending ſome eccleſiaſtics to aſſiſt father Almedo in the pious taſk of converting the Indians, as the ſureſt method of attaching them to the intereſt of Spain. Alonzo Mendoza, and Diego de Ordaz, were diſpatched with this letter, having ſtrong injunctions, that before they revealed their commiſſion, or made any declarations that they came from him, they ſhould find out his father, and the agents who had been ſent the year before; and jointly puſh their applications, as circumſtances ſhould require. With this letter was alſo remitted a preſent of gold and jewels, to which the ſoldiers voluntarily contributed their ſhare of the treaſure left at Tlaſcala, when they firſt marched to Mexico, and of the booty acquired at Tepeaca and Guacachula. A ſhip was equipped at Vera Cruz, to carry the commiſſioners to Europe; and, at the ſame time, Cortez, that he might omit nothing which could promote his deſigns, applied to the royal audience of St. Domingo for ſuccours, becauſe this tribunal had always favoured his expedition. Here, however, he was diſappointed; the audience expreſſed all poſſible reſpect for his perſon, promiſed to ſupport his applications to the emperor, but excuſed themſelves with reſpect to the ſuccours required, under pretence of inability.

Fruit of his negotiation in Spain.

To prevent interrupting the chain of our narrative, it may be proper to take a view of the iſſue of the ſolicitations made to the court of Spain, although the relation be ſomewhat premature. Portocarrero and Montejo, ſeconded by Martin Cortez, father to the general, had paid long and fruitleſs attendance upon the Spaniſh miniſtry. The intricate and unſettled ſtate of the kingdom at that period employed the whole attention of the court upon matters that were more immediately intereſting; and, indeed, the ſtrong faction formed by the friends of Velaſquez, at the head of which was the biſhop of Burgos, threw almoſt inſurmountable obſtructions in their way. At length, by dint of perſeverance, the commiſſioners obtained an audience of the emperor, who informed himſelf exactly of the tranſactions in New Spain, and from thence conceived a high opinion of the merit of Cortez, and the utility of his project. However, the variety of buſineſs in which his imperial majeſty was engaged, prevented his entering deeply into the diſpute between Cortez and Velaſquez; ſo that on his departure for the Netherlands, he was obliged to recommend the affair to cardinal Adriano, governor of Spain, in his abſence. The cardinal entertained the ſame favourable ſentiments of the merit of Cortez; but as all the informations relative to the affair neceſſarily paſſed through

through the council of the Indies, of which the biſhop of Burgos was preſident, he found himſelf embarraſſed how to proceed. He could eaſily perceive that the ſtrongeſt prejudice againſt Cortez reigned in the council; but to come to a deciſive reſolution, it was neceſſary to be acquainted with the naked facts, diveſted of diſguiſe and partiality. Other affairs, in the mean time, occurred, to divert the attention of the miniſter; ſo that Martin Cortez and the commiſſioners, tired out with attendance, withdrew, diſappointed, from court, with a reſolution to wait the emperor's return. In this ſituation were the affairs of Cortez, when the new commiſſioners, Ordaz and Mendoza, arrived at Seville. They no ſooner touched land, than they were informed of an order, iſſued out by the biſhop of Burgos, and the council of the Indies, to impriſon all perſons coming from New Spain, and to ſeize upon all the gold and preſents they ſhould bring, whether on the account of Cortez, or by way of commiſſion. Immediately they retired privately to Medellin, where they learnt that Martin Cortez and the other commiſſioners reſided, ſaving only their letters and diſpatches, and leaving their treaſure in the hands of the officers under the direction of the council of the Indies. Here they reſolved to continue in the moſt private retirement, until the affairs of the kingdom ſhould aſſume a more favourable aſpect, and the emperor either return, or the cardinal miniſter be more at leiſure to examine their diſpatches. The firſt of theſe wiſhed-for events ſoon happened. The emperor returned, and his preſence inſtantly reſtored the public tranquility. Martin Cortez, therefore, judging that now was the ſeaſon for application, ſet out for court with the four commiſſioners; where, after ſome delay, they had a long audience of the cardinal regent. They gave the miniſter a ſuccinct relation of the progreſs made in the conqueſt of Mexico, referring to the letters of Cortez for particulars; they acquainted him with the orders for ſeizing them which had been iſſued by the biſhop of Burgos, and the fate of the preſents they had brought for the emperor. They explained the reaſons they had to diſtruſt the preſident and council of the Indies; deſiring liberty to except againſt the biſhop of Burgos as a judge in an affair in which he had made himſelf a party, and offered to ſupport their exception with ſufficient arguments, on pain of being puniſhed for their preſumption. The cardinal's anſwer was favourable. He told Martin Cortez, and the commiſſioners, that they might take their remedy againſt the biſhop at law, and that he would protect them againſt all violence in the courſe of the proceſs.

ceſs. With this encouragement they entered their exception againſt the preſident of the council in his own court; and ſupported it with ſuch irrefragable arguments, that the council did not preſume to alter the courſe of juſtice. After a full hearing, the biſhop was abſolutely prohibited from interfering in the diſpute between Hernan Cortez and Velaſquez; his orders were revoked; the embargo at Seville was taken off; and the importance of the expedition to Mexico was ſet in its true light, that of being honourable and beneficial to the nation. This decree received the approbation of the cardinal regent and council of ſtate. So zealous was the former in the cauſe of Cortez, that, upon his exaltation to the papal dignity, he laboured to remove all impediments to a conqueſt, which was to open a free paſſage for the lights of Chriſtianity to ſhine in countries hitherto involved in the obſcurity and darkneſs of ſuperſtition and the groſſeſt idolatry.

The charge againſt the biſhop of Burgos was finally confirmed by the emperor in perſon, after he had given audience to the agents of Cortez and Velaſquez; and commiſſaries were appointed to decide the point in controverſy. Theſe miniſters having accurately examined the facts alleged on both ſides, decreed, "That Velaſquez had no right to claim to himſelf the honour or advantages reſulting from the conqueſt of New Spain, without a better title than that of having expended ſome money in the preparations for that enterprize, and nominating Cortez for commander. That he could only have an action at law for the money expended out of his own eſtate to equip the armament he had ſent upon this expedition, and not for any of the effects belonging to the king in his government. That the nomination of Cortez afforded him no pretence, either to the glory or profit of the expedition, as he not only granted that commiſſion without the authority of the miniſters of the royal audience, whoſe orders he ſhould have received, but likewiſe revoked it, and thereby left Cortez at liberty to act as he ſhould think moſt advantageous for the public intereſt, with the troops, which, for the moſt part, he had raiſed at his own expence." The commiſſaries very prudently winked at the irregularities in the beginning of this enterprize, from a juſt conſideration of its importance, and a regard for the extraordinary merit of the general, who had proſecuted it with unparalleled vigour and alacrity. They even cenſured Velaſquez as a perſon who had ſhewn an ungovernable ambition, and expreſſed a rancour and malignity extremely prejudicial to the public ſervice. This ſentence was laid before the emperor, and confirmed

firmed. Cortez was, beſides, declared a faithful miniſter and good ſubject; his officers and ſoldiers were honoured with applauſe; perpetual ſilence on the ſubject of any pretenſions to the conqueſt of Mexico was impoſed on Velaſquez; and diſpatches were immediately ſent away to the Indies, with orders to the royal audience at St. Domingo to aſſiſt Cortez with all their power. This fortunate adventurer received a letter from the emperor, not only approving his paſt conduct, but likewiſe his preſent deſign and diſpoſitions for the reduction of Mexico; and it contained the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, not only of the imperial favour, but of the moſt ſubſtantial proofs of acknowlegement for ſuch important and eminent ſervices.

Cortez receives a ſupply.

While this affair was in agitation at the court of Spain, Cortez was preparing to march, with his whole army, into the heart of Mexico. Juſt as he was on the point of ſetting out, he had the good fortune to receive another ſupply of arms and ammunition from Vera Cruz; which arrived in a merchant veſſel from the Canaries, freighted with implements of war, to be ſold to the troops engaged in this conqueſt. He could not wait for the finiſhing of the brigantines, as the troops of the country flocked in to him in ſuch crouds, that he feared ſome bad conſequences from their inaction. In a council of war it was reſolved to march directly to Tezeuco, and at all events to gain poſſeſſion of that city, which, from its ſituation, would afford a ſure retreat, and likewiſe facilitate the means of procuring reinforcements.

He reviews his army, and iſſues orders to be obſerved in the march.

Next day, Cortez muſtered his Spaniſh troops, and found they amounted to five hundred foot and forty horſe, with nine pieces of artillery, brought on ſhore from the veſſels which had lately arrived on the coaſt. Xicotencal, likewiſe reviewed his Tlaſcalans, amounting to ſixty thouſand men. Beſides theſe, Cortez had a great number of other auxiliary troops, ſupplied by the neighbouring caziques; inſomuch, that, at the ſiege of Mexico, his army amounted to two hundred thouſand fighting men. The Spaniſh general having publiſhed judicious regulations for preſerving diſcipline, begun his march, in the courſe of which he encountered ſome difficulties, ariſing from the nature of the country, the prodigious number of his troops, and the wiles and ſtratagems of the Mexicans; but he happily ſurmounted them, without any conſiderable loſs. Arriving at a ſteep mountain, all the paſſes of which the enemy had blocked up by trees cut down, and laid acroſs, and ſharp ſtakes fixed in the ground, to wound and incommode the cavalry, Cortez ordered two thouſand Tlaſcalans to the van, to clear away all impediments; and they executed their orders with

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so much alacrity, that the army soon gained the summit of the mountain, from whence they could discover the lake of Mexico. Having advanced a few leagues, the Mexican army was seen drawn up in order of battle, in a large plain, where they seemed determined to make a stand, although they had taken the necessary precautions for a retreat. All the confederates rejoiced at the opportunity of coming so early to action; but the transport of the Tlascalans rose to a kind of fury, which Cortez, and his captains, could hardly restrain within the bounds of order and discipline. The enemy, however, seeing the Spaniards attended by so numerous an army, dropt their intention of disputing the passage of the valley, and began a precipitate retreat. Cortez regarded this as a fortunate incident; for on his approach to the place, where the enemy had taken post, he found a deep ravine formed by a brook, which it was difficult to pass, even without resistance from the Mexicans. Pursuing his way to Tezeuco, he was met by messengers from the cazique, or king of that city, with proposals of peace and alliance, that appeared very suspicious; the ambassadors were, however, dismissed with a civil answer. The confederates marched quite up to the walls, and took up their quarters for that night in the fields, keeping strict watch for fear of being surprised. Next morning it appeared, that the city was deserted by the cazique and principal nobility; but the latter soon returned to their habitations, entered into an alliance with Cortez, complained of their cazique as a monster of treachery, tyranny, and cruelty, and desired the protection of the Spaniards. Cortez was now informed, that the proposals which had been made the preceding day, were designed to lull him into security; but that the cazique finding his troops numerous, beyond expectation, had yielded to his fears, and relinquished his project. He was also informed, that the same Caminatzin, who had before conspired against him, and was for that reason deposed by Motezuma, had now recovered the throne, and was countenanced by the reigning emperor, as an inveterate enemy to the Spaniards. The nobles also informed him, that Caminatzin had no original right to the throne of Tezeuco, to which he had made his way, before Motezuma arrived at the imperial dignity, by killing, with his own hands, his eldest brother Nezabal, and seizing the crown, in prejudice to the right of his own nephew, son of the deceased prince. They added, that the lawful prince was now at their head, and requested the general's countenance. It immediately struck Cortez that this circumstance might be turned to his advantage. He forthwith

He advances to Tezeuco.

Makes some alterations in the government of that city.

forthwith took the young prince under his protection, he aſſembled the nobles, and recommended the lawful heir to the crown, in ſuch ſtrong terms, and with ſuch aſſurances of ſupport, that they immediately depoſed Caminatzin, and raiſed his nephew to the throne of Tezeuco. Next day was appointed for the coronation of the prince; where Cortez aſſiſted at the ſolemnity; placed the regal ſceptre in the hands of the young monarch, and thus acquired not only a firm ally, but the reputation of paying the ſtricteſt regard to equity. The people adored Cortez, and the king himſelf appeared in his preſence as if he were his ſubject, and held his crown of his bounty; carrying his gratitude and reſpect for his benefactor ſo far, that he embraced the Chriſtian religion, and received baptiſm.

Every thing being adjuſted at Tezeuco to the general's entire ſatisfaction, he left a body of troops in that city, and began his march for Iztapalapa, that he might deprive the Mexicans of a place which afforded ſhelter for their canoes, and diſturbed his workmen employed in widening the canals, ſo as to allow a paſſage for the veſſels that were building at Tlaſcala. This city was ſituated in ſuch a manner, that the greater part of the building was on the lake. Cortez charged himſelf with this expedition, taking with him three hundred Spaniards, and ten thouſand Tlaſcalans. The young monarch of Tezeuco offered to accompany him; but this compliment Cortez refuſed, ſaying, that his preſence would be uſeful in the city, where his authority was not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed. On his approach to Iztapalapa, a body of citizens, amounting to eight thouſand men, advanced with great reſolution beyond their walls, and even attacked him in the field, with ſurpriſing reſolution. Having ſuſtained the action ſome time, they began to retreat gradually towards the city, and at laſt fled with a feigned appearance of confuſion and diſorder. Cortez ſuſpected a ſtratagem, by ſeeing the gates left open; he therefore purſued with all imaginable caution, entered the town, which he found deſerted, drew up his troops in the principal ſquare, and made diſpoſitions, as if he expected to be attacked. It appeared, however, that the enemy had formed a different deſign. It was ſcarce dark, when the Spaniards perceived that the canals began ſuddenly to overflow their banks, the water ruſhing impetuouſly into the lower grounds, whence the Spaniards immediately conjectured that the enemy had opened their ſluices, with intention to drown that part of the city. The danger was imminent, and Cortez

He is in great danger.

Cortez gave orders for retreating immediately, not without cenſuring himſelf for having been outwitted by a people whom he conſidered as barbarians. He purſued his march all night to Tezeuco, and next morning perceived that he was in a manner hemmed in by a numerous army of Mexicans. Finding his people eager to engage, he led them on, and ſoon obliged the enemy to retire in ſome confuſion; however, they rallied, and made three ſeveral attacks, in all which they were repulſed, with the loſs of ſix thouſand men, which determined them to drop the purſuit. In conſequence of their deſiſting, Cortez arrived ſafe at Tezeuco, reſerving any farther attempts on Iztapalapa to a more ſeaſonable opportunity.

This retreat was deemed inglorious by the Spaniards, who had been long accuſtomed to ſurmount all obſtructions; it did not, however, diminiſh their reputation among the Indians, who were daily offering their ſubmiſſions. The provinces of Chalco and Otumba diſpatched meſſengers at this time to Cortez, offering him obedience, and requeſting his aſſiſtance againſt the Mexicans, who had juſt invaded the frontiers of their provinces with a numerous army, for having refuſed to take up arms againſt the Spaniards. Cortez thinking it adviſeable to raiſe as many enemies as poſſible to the imperial power, and to ſecure provinces which would contribute to keep open the communication with Tlaſcala, inſtantly diſpatched Gonzalo de Sandoval, and Franciſco de Lugo, with two hundred Spaniſh foot, fifteen horſe, and a ſufficient body of Tlaſcalans to the aſſiſtance of his new allies. The Mexicans lay in ambuſh for this reinforcement, but they were defeated. As Sandoval approached the frontiers of the allied provinces, he found that a numerous Mexican army had occupied all the poſts on the road, which it was neceſſary he ſhould take. He therefore advanced in order of battle, and after a furious diſcharge of fire-arms, croſs-bows, and arrows, cloſing immediately with the Mexicans, obtained a complete victory with inconſiderable loſs on his ſide, and dreadful ſlaughter of the enemy. The people of Otumba and Chalco hearing the noiſe of fire-arms, ſallied out upon the rear of the Mexicans, continued the purſuit with great obſtinacy, ſlew ſeveral thouſands, and took a great number of priſoners, eight of the principal of whom were brought to Sandoval, to be examined about the farther deſigns of the enemy. From their account it appeared, that the Mexicans, diſcouraged by their defeat, had entirely abandoned their project of revenge, and returned to the capital. Sandoval leaving the defence of the provinces to the inhabitants,

returned with his army to Tezcuco, after having reconciled the Tlaſcalans and Otumbans, who had always been at variance. The Mexican nobles taken priſoners in the action, were preſented to Cortez, who ordered them to be unbound, and embraced this opportuunity to juſtify to his allies the war he had undertaken, by making farther advances to an accommodation. He told the priſoners, that although by the laws of war, and the example of their country, he might treat them with the utmoſt rigour, he nevertheleſs gave them life and liberty on no other condition than that they would acquaint the emperor with his intention to demand ſatisfaction for the death of Motezuma, and the unjuſt war he had made upon the Spaniards when laſt in Mexico. "Tell him, ſaid Cortez, that I have an army reinforced not only by a number of invincible Spaniards, but by a variety of nations who abhor the Mexican tyranny. Tell him, that in a little time I intend to ſeize him in the midſt of his palace, ſurrounded by his court, bringing in my train all the horrors of war, and reſolved never to lay aſide my juſt indignation, until I have reduced all the cities in his dominions to aſhes, and waſhed away the memory of his name with the blood of his ſubjects: nevertheleſs, if, to avoid impending ruin, he is deſirous of liſtening to reaſonable terms of pacification, I am ready to grant them; for the arms of my king, like the lightning of heaven, fall only where they find reſiſtance, and are always more ready to obey the dictates of humanity than the impulſes of revenge." With this meſſage he diſmiſſed the priſoners, under an eſcort; and they promiſed to bring back an anſwer, but never returned: poſſibly the meſſage was of ſuch a nature as they durſt not deliver.

Meſſage to Guatimozin.

Veſſels built at Tlaſcala, and tranſported to Mexico.

Nothing was now wanting to begin the ſiege of Mexico, but the brigantines that were on the ſtocks at Tlaſcala, of which Cortez received advice from Martin Lopez, that gave great ſatisfaction to the whole army. The veſſels were now ready to be tranſported over the mountains, and the republic had provided ten thouſand men for that purpoſe, under an eſcort of an equal number of ſoldiers commanded by Chichemecal, a young nobleman of ſpirit and courage, who had already, in his twenty-fourth year, acquired the reputation of one of the beſt generals in Tlaſcala. Lopez acquainted the general of the day he intended beginning his march, and deſired he might be met by a Spaniſh convoy at Gualipar, not thinking it adviſeable to attempt a paſſage through the Mexican territories with Tlaſcalans only. On his arrival at this place he halted for the reinforcement of Spaniards, a delay which extremely diſpleaſed Chichemacal, who

who thought himſelf a match for the whole power of the Mexican empire. However, he reſolved to obey the orders of Cortez, and imagined he had performed no inconſiderable exploit by this proof of his obedience. Much about the ſame time Cortez detached Gonzalo de Sandoval with a ſtrong body of Spaniards and Tlaſcalans; and this officer ſtopped a day at the little town of Zalepeque, to revenge the death of ſome Spaniards who had been murdered in going from Vera Cruz to Mexico, which ſervice he effectually performed, by obliging the inhabitants to the moſt abject ſubmiſſion. He then joined Chichemecal at Gualipar, and both arrived with the materials for the ſhipping at Tezeuco. Immediately Lopez and his workmen ſet about conſtructing the brigantines from the materials which they had already prepared; but Cortez underſtanding that they could not be finiſhed in leſs than twenty days, reſolved not to lie ſo long inactive. It was his intention to examine all the poſts which might prove uſeful to the projected ſiege of Mexico, and he entered upon this deſign with an expedition to Yaltocon, in which he was accompanied by Chichemecal.

The reaſons which induced Cortez to chaſtize the inhabitants of this place were, that they had lately returned an inſolent anſwer to the propoſals which were made to them of peace, and wounded the meſſenger, without regard to the privileges ſhewn to ambaſſadors, even among barbarous nations. He took with him the captains Alvarado and De Olid, two hundred Spaniſh infantry, twenty horſe, a numerous body of Tezeucan nobility, and Chichemecal with twenty thouſand Tlaſcalans; Xicotencal being left at Tezeuco, with the remainder of the Spaniſh and Tlaſcalan army. After a march of five leagues, Cortez diſcovered a numerous army of the enemy, drawn up in order of battle, in the open field, at ſome diſtance from the city. Orders were given to attack them; theſe were executed with ſuch alacrity, that the enemy retreated precipitately, leaving a great number of dead and wounded on the field of battle. The confederates advanced full of confidence that they ſhould carry the place at the firſt aſſault, on account of the panic which the defeat of the army muſt have infuſed into the garriſon; but they ſoon found that the Mexicans had broke the cauſe-ways, and rendered it impoſſible to paſs the breach without either bridge or boats. Cortez was contriving how to fill up the chaſm with earth and faſcines, when an Indian of Tezeuco offered to guide the army to a ford at a little diſtance; a propoſal that was readily embraced. The general, attended by the Indian guide, marched directly to the place, and ordered a party of ſixty Spaniards,

and a body of Tlaſcalans, to make the experiment, which ſucceeded, after an obſtinate conflict with the enemy, who defended the paſſage with more courage than they had ſhewn upon the late occaſion. The confederate party entered the town with the flying Mexicans, pillaged the place, and ſet fire to ſeveral houſes. Then they rejoined the main army, and the whole advanced to Calbatitlan, a large town, which was found deſerted by the inhabitants. The towns of Tenayuco and Izcapuzalco, both upon the lake, were alſo forſaken by the natives; Cortez lodged a night in each, and took an exact view of their reſpective diſtances and ſituations. From the laſt of theſe towns the city of Tacuba, the rival of Tezeuco, was diſtant about half a league. It was ſituated upon the extremity of the cauſeway, and conſidered as the key to Mexico, therefore of the utmoſt importance in forming the ſiege of that capital. Cortez therefore reſolved to view it accurately, without any deſign of poſſeſſing a city that could not be held conveniently, on account of its diſtance from the head-quarters of Tezeuco. With this deſign he marched in good order towards the city, and was encountered on the way by a numerous army of the Tacubans, who were deſirous of trying their fortune in the open field with the Spaniards, the city being incapable of containing all the troops. They advanced and charged with great fury, but were driven back by the fire-arms and croſs-bows in the van. Afterwards they rallied, and the reſt of the Spaniards and Tlaſcalans coming up, Cortez penetrated into the very centre of the multitude; nevertheleſs, the Tacubans yielded the field reluctantly, after ſeveral thouſand of their forces had been ſlain and wounded. That night the confederates remained on the field of battle, endeavouring to ſecure ſeveral advantageous poſts in the night. Early next morning, the enemy were ſeen advancing, as if with intention to redeem the honour of the preceding day; but they were defeated with a facility which gave room for ſuſpicion that ſome ſtratagem was intended. For five days Cortez remained without the walls of Tacuba, ſkirmiſhing every day with the enemy, intending to waſte the garriſon by ſallies, in which they were conſtantly repulſed. At length the ardour of his troops determined him to attack the town contrary to his firſt deſign; and he was accordingly taking his meaſures, when a party was obſerved advancing upon the cauſeway. Their intention was to draw Cortez gadually upon the cauſeway, where it was impoſſible he could form his men, and then to charge him on every ſide from their canoes. The project ſucceeded beyond expectation; and all the Spaniards muſt have been cut off, had they not made extraordinary

A variety of meaſures previous to the ſiege of Mexico.

traordinary efforts of valour. Cortez no ſooner purſued the enemy upon the cauſeway, than he ſaw himſelf attacked, in front, by a numerous army, and on both ſides by a multitude of canoes. Courage alone could now extricate him; he fought deſperately, effected a retreat with no great loſs, and repaired the conſequences of his overſight, by ſuch a degree of perſonal bravery, as equally aſtoniſhed the Spaniards and Indians. It was in this action, that Juan Volante, with the colours in his hand, falling over the cauſeway, was taken priſoner by the enemy, and put into a canoe, to be preſented with his trophy to the emperor. Volante ſuffered himſelf to be carried away, pretending the utmoſt ſubmiſſion, until he found himſelf at a ſufficient diſtance from the reſt of the canoes, when he plunged with his colours into the water, ſwam aſhore, and joined the reſt of the Spaniards.

When Cortez returned to Tezeuco, he found himſelf reinforced by ſeveral Spaniſh ſoldiers, ſent to his aſſiſtance by the royal audience of St. Domingo None of the Spaniſh writers aſcertain the number, but from the rejoicings in the confederate army it was probably conſiderable. About the ſame time meſſengers arrived from Chalco and Themanalco, with intelligence that the Mexicans had reſumed their operations againſt the frontier provinces. The new emperor Guatimozin was perpetually contriving means to cut off the communication of the Spaniards with Tlaſcala, and prevent ſuccours from joining them from Vera Cruz. This was a point of ſuch conſequence to Cortez, that he found himſelf, at all events under the neceſſity of ſupporting theſe allies. Sandoval was diſpatched with a ſufficient number of Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, to the ſuccour of the Chalqueſes, whom, on his arrival, he found aſſembled in a conſiderable army, to oppoſe the Mexicans. The enemy, who were ſtill ſuperior in number of forces to the confederates, poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome hollow ways, in order to bring on an engagement, in a place where the Spaniſh cavalry could not act. It was neceſſary to drive them from this ſituation; and Sandoval attacked them with ſuch reſolution, that he accompliſhed his deſign, though not without bloodſhed, ſeveral Spaniards having been dangerouſly wounded, a few killed, and a great number of the confederate Indians ſlaughtered, but with ſtill greater loſs on the ſide of the Mexicans, though they had ſufficient courage to rally and renew the engagement. Sandoval having overcome the difficulty of the valley, and fighting now upon equal terms, obtained a complete victory, after a conflict in which the enemy behaved with great gallantry, and a fury bordering

upon deſpair. The ſame night he advanced to Guaſtapeque, where he hoped his fatigued troops would enjoy ſome repoſe; but ſcarce had they laid aſide their arms, when the ſcouts brought advice, that a freſh army of Mexicans, amounting to fifteen thouſand men, was advancing to renew the attack. Sandoval having animated his people with a ſhort ſpeech, led them againſt the enemy, whoſe front was ſoon put in diſorder by the fire-arms and croſs-bows. An opening being thus made for the cavalry, they charged with irreſiſtible impetuoſity; the Tlaſcalans, at the ſame time, fell upon the flanks, and the Mexicans finding themſelves aſſaulted on both ſides, fled precipitately to Guaſtapeque, where they hoped to meet with protection; but the confederates returning to the town with them, divided themſelves into ſeveral bodies, ſcoured all the ſtreets, and again drove the enemy into the open fields, purſuing them with great ſlaughter.

This victory was followed by the reduction of Capiſtan, a ſtrong town, ſituated on the ſummit of a rocky eminence, and ſecured on the back-ſide by a deep, rapid river. It was diſtant about two leagues from Guaſtapeque, and thither the routed Mexicans crowded as to an impregnable fortreſs; nothing, however, could withſtand the confederate army now fluſhed with conqueſt. Sandoval reſolved to drive the enemy from this poſt, that he might deprive the Mexicans of a ſtrong place that ſerved for a rendezvous and retreat, when they invaded the frontier provinces. Perceiving there were only three ways by which he could make the attack, all of them difficult, he ordered the Tlaſcalans, and Chalqueſe, to advance in the front, as more accuſtomed than the Spaniards to thoſe ſteep and rugged paſſes. They obeyed, but ſo reluctantly, that Sandoval, impatient of delay, ruſhed with his Spaniards into the thickeſt of the danger, a circumſtance which ſo animated the Indians, that they forgot the difficulty of the attempt, and ſeemed emulous who ſhould firſt gain the ſummit of the eminence. In many places the path was ſo ſteep, that they were altogether employed in conquering the aſcent, it being impoſſible to uſe their hands, either in defence, or attack; while the Mexicans were all the while rolling down great ſtones, and overwhelming them with darts and arrows. At laſt, they gained the top by the aſſiſtance of the fire-arms, which drove the enemy from the brow of the hill, and left a clear paſſage for the confederates. Now they attacked with incredible fury, determined to revenge the difficulties and dangers they had juſt eſcaped; they forced their way through all oppoſition, drove the Mexicans back to the town, purſued

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them so closely, that entering with them, they gained possession, and forced the enemy to the brink of the precipice, where all those were put to the sword who did not throw themselves over. On this occasion, the slaughter is reported to have been so prodigious, that the river ran with blood. In a word, the victory was decisive, but it was obtained with very considerable loss on the side of the confederates. Sandoval had his armour broke in different places; several Spaniards were dangerously wounded, and above six hundred Indians slain in climbing up the ascent. Imagining he had now sufficiently deterred the Mexicans from any farther attempts, he returned to Tezcuco, where advice soon arrived from Chalco, that the province had been again invaded, but that the enemy were defeated by the natives.

As the shipping destined for the siege of Mexico was not yet completed, Cortez resolved to examine the situation of Sachimillo, a place situated on the Mexican lake, and communicated with Mexico by a broad causeway, of which he hoped to make his advantage in his enterprizes against the capital. On the 5th day of April he set out from Tezcuco, A.D. 1521. with three hundred Spaniards, several thousand confederate Indians, and the captains de Olid, Alvarado, and others, the command of the rest of the army in Tezcuco being left with Sandoval. He marched with such diligence that he arrived the same night at Chalco, just as the inhabitants were arming to oppose a new army of Mexicans, who had come to invade their province. This seasonable assistance was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by the Chalquese, who entertained no doubt about victory, when they were commanded by the Spanish general. They desired to be led immediately against the enemy, being ambitious of signalizing their valour before so perfect a judge of military merit; but the Mexicans, upon advice of the arrival of the Spaniards, had separated into small parties, and thrown themselves into certain fortresses, situated on different mountains round the frontier, whence Cortez resolved to dislodge them, that no time might be lost in marching to Sachimillo. Having assembled all his forces, he began his march by break of day towards the mountains, and ascended a steep eminence, at the top of which was a fort, defended by so numerous an army as must have appeared formidable even in a less advantageous situation. The Mexicans sent forth parties to provoke the confederates to an engagement in the midst of those precipices, where the difficulty of the way was alone sufficient obstruction; and these succeeded so well in their reproaches, that Cortez giving

giving way to his passion, ordered two companies of musqueteers and cross-bows to advance to the attack. This detachment was headed by Pedro de Barba, accompanied by several volunteers of distinction. As the Spaniards ascended the hill the Mexicans retired, feigning confusion, in order to draw Barba on with the more security; and when they found him embarrassed in the most difficult precipices, they returned to the charge with loud shouts, rolling down from the top such a torrent of great stones as swept all before it, and wounded several Spaniards, among whom was the commanding officer. Cortez sensible of his error, immediately ordered the party to retreat, and with some of his captains reconnoitred the ground, in quest of a less dangerous path by which he might wreck his revenge. His enquiries proved fruitless, and he was equally unfortunate in all his endeavours to draw the enemy from their retreat. Three days had now been consumed in the midst of barren mountains, and the troops began to sink under the pressure of thirst, famine, and fatigue, insomuch, that without accomplishing his design, he was forced to proceed to Guastapeque to refresh his army. Here he was sumptuously lodged, together with his whole army, in the cazique's palace, which yielded but little in extent and magnificence to to the imperial residence.

Cortez staid but one night at Guastapeque, when advice came, that the enemy had abandoned the fortresses on the mountains, and assembled at Quatlavaca, where their army was numerous, and determined to make an obstinate resistance to all the power of the confederates. He began his march immediately for that town, and advanced to the moat which was eight foot deep, extremely wide, and filled with water that rolled rapidly down from the adjacent mountains. The Mexicans had cut down the bridges, and covered the opposite bank with such a multitude of soldiers, that the passage seemed altogether impracticable to the bulk of the confederates, although Cortez did not despair. He drew up his army at a little distance, ordered the musqueteers to keep up a perpetual fire to cover his approach, and went in person to view the ditch. Having discovered a part much narrower than the rest, he ordered two or three bridges to be constructed, and thrown over, by which means he enabled the infantry to pass over with difficulty, while the fire-arms, and cross-bows, kept the enemy at a distance. The vanguard, composed chiefly of Spaniards, no sooner reached the opposite side, than they formed in a battallion; and the Mexicans, sensible that they ought to have disputed the passage more vigorously, now poured down in such multitudes,

multitudes, that the confederates could hardly maintain their ground, though they conſtantly received ſupplies by the troops who were filing over the bridges with all poſſible expedition. The event would have been very doubtful, had not Cortez fortunately found a paſſage for the cavalry, with thoſe he charged the enemy in the rear, aſſiſted with a body of infantry, ſeaſonably brought up by the hiſtorian of this expedition, Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo. The Mexicans, now diſtracted by this double attack, gave themſelves up for loſt, fled with great precipitation, and made their eſcape to the mountains, leaving Quatlavaca to be pillaged by the conquerers. The ſubmiſſion, however, of the cazique, and principal inhabitants, ſaved the place from the fury of the ſoldiers. They deſired leave to return to their habitations, to prepare quarters for the confederate army, which was granted, after Cortez had fully aſſured himſelf of their ſincerity.

Cortez ſtaid but one night at Quatlavaca, and proceeded next morning for Sachimillo, a place of the greateſt importance, on account of its vicinity to Mexico. The march was difficult and fatiguing, for the ſoldiers almoſt periſhed with thirſt, in a long, barren, ſandy defile, where they were expoſed to the reflected beams of the ſun at mid-day. The night brought relief, and great abundance of good proviſion, in a village, which the enemy had juſt abandoned. As the general expected a vigorous reſiſtance, he drew up his army, at break of day, in order of battle, imagining the enemy would have taken every poſſible precaution to fortify a poſt of ſo much conſequence as Sachimillo, a conjecture that was ſoon verified by the ſight of an incredibly numerous army drawn up in battalia, on a plain at ſome diſtance from the city, having a rapid river in front that diſcharged itſelf into the Mexican lake. They had doubled their lines on the banks of this river, and diſpoſed their main body for the defence of a wooden bridge which they left ſtanding, after having barricadoed it with planks and faſcines; believing, that if this fortification ſhould be forced, they would be able to cut off the confederates in the narrowneſs of the paſs, with little difficulty. Cortez extended his front along the oppoſite bank of the river, and ordered the Spaniards to advance and attack the bridge, a ſervice which they performed with great gallantry, though they were vigorouſly oppoſed. Three times they renewed the charge, and at laſt gained the paſs; an incident at which the Mexicans were ſo much diſheartened, that they began every where to give way, their commanders ordering a retreat, that they might have an opportunity of rallying. They drew up a ſecond

time

time under the walls of the town, and were again attacked ſo impetuouſly by the confederates, whoſe van conſiſted of Spaniards, that they were driven for ſhelter into the city, loſing great numbers of men as they crowded in at the gates. Cortez purſued, and ordered the works they had erected for the defence of the ſtreets to be forced. Here the general, tranſported by his courage, engaged himſelf ſo deeply with the enemy, that, after he was tired fighting, his horſe killed under him, and all his endeavours to regain his troops were foiled, he was made priſoner by the enemy, and reſcued by the extraordinary valour of a Spaniſh ſoldier, Chriſtoval de Olla, who at a diſtance beheld the accident. Herrera, without any proofs, aſcribes the general's delivery to a Tlaſcalan, who was neither known before nor after, and works it up into a kind of miracle; but we had rather credit de Solis, who tranſcribes from Diaz del Caſtillo, an eye-witneſs of the engagement. All agree that the danger was imminent, that Cortez loſt his horſe, and received two ſlight wounds, and that Olla, his deliverer, came off with three cuts of a ſword, of which he bore the ſcars all his life after. When he rejoined his forces, he puſhed the enemy with ſo much vigour, that they fled to that part of the city which ſtood in the water, leaving the Spaniards maſters of all the ſtreets upon the firm land.

Meanwhile, that part of the army left without the walls, under the conduct of de Olid, Alvarado, and Tapia, was deeply engaged with a body of Mexican nobility, who endeavoured to force themſelves into the city. They were ſupported by two thouſand ſelect men ſent from Mexico in canoes, who landed at ſome diſtance, and intended to fall upon the rear of the confederates. Aſtoniſhed to find an army without the walls, where they expected no reſiſtance, they determined, however, to cut their way ſword in hand: they fought with great fury, but were in the end obliged to retreat to their canoes, leaving a great number of dead on the field. The three Spaniſh captains, and a great number of Spaniſh and Tlaſcalan ſoldiers, were wounded, but few were ſlain on the ſide of the confederates. Cortez being now maſter of the principal ſtreets, took poſſeſſion of a temple, which, from its height, commanded a view of the whole city and lake. Here he placed a garriſon, with orders to keep continual watch, and obſerve the motions of the enemy; a precaution that ſoon appeared neceſſary. At the cloſe of the evening two thouſand canoes were ſeen advancing with all the ſpeed they could make. The guards were immediately doubled, and every meaſure was taken to give the Mexicans a warm reception. They landed in the

the morning at a considerable distance. Cortez advanced against them with the bulk of the confederate army; and the enemy, who were fifteen thousand men strong, did not decline the combat; but the resistance they made was so faint, and their flight so sudden, that the advantage gained by Cortez scarce merited the name of a victory. Four days after this action the confederates continued in Sachimillo for the recovery of their wounded; half the forces always continuing under arms, upon account of their being so much exposed to sudden attacks on the side of Mexico. Having now made his observations, and the wounded being in a condition to travel, he began his retreat for Tezeuco, and completed it without much difficulty, though the enemy did not fail to throw obstructions in his way.

A conspiracy discovered.

By the time the expedition to Sachimillo was finished, the brigantines were in readiness, and the canals to the lake sufficiently widened to receive vessels of much greater bulk. Every preparation for the siege went on with alacrity; and the caziques, in the confederacy, were required to attend, with all their forces, on a day appointed, at the head-quarters. While his whole thoughts were occupied with this important enterprize, an accident happened that gave much trouble, and required the exertion of all his conduct and valour. A soldier, who had been long in his service, came to him, full of concern, and desiring to speak with him in private, revealed the whole secret of a conspiracy formed to take away the general's life, and also to murder, or confine, the principal Spanish captains. In this plot the Indians had no share; it was first projected by Antonio de Villafarra, a Spanish soldier, whose intention was originally no more than to escape from an enterprize, the difficulties of which appeared to him insuperable. He soon communicated his sentiments to his companions, who readily embraced them, formed themselves into a faction, and immediately proceeded to dangerous resolutions. They blamed the general for his obstinate pursuit of a conquest that would infallibly terminate in his own destruction; declaring, they would not sacrifice their lives in complaisance to a man who was intoxicated with ambition. Their first design was only to withdraw themselves from the army; but the impossibility of procuring ships at Vera Cruz, to transport them to Cuba, without a passport from the general, occurring, they resolved to conquer this difficulty by shedding his blood. Afterwards they extended their plan, and thought it necessary to kill the chief captains, and then to elect a general, who would be less sanguine upon the ideal conquest of Mexico. An instru-

ment;

ment was drawn up, whereby they obliged themſelves to ſtand by each other, and follow Villafarra in this execrable undertaking. They drew in great numbers of the ſoldiers to ſign the writing; and had not the diſcovery been ſeaſonably made, the contagion would have ſpread beyond the power of any remedy. The perſons marked out for deſtruction were the general, d' Olid, Sandoval, Alvarado, Tapia, the hiſtorian Caſtillo, and a few others. They were to forge a pacquet from Vera Cruz, which was to be given to the general while he was at dinner with his officers, all the conſpirators going in together, under pretence of hearing the news; they were then to ſtab the deſtined victims with their poignards, and to proclaim liberty in the ſtreets, a ſtep which they imagined would be ſufficient to engage the reſt of the army in their cauſe. Franciſco Verdugo was thought to be the perſon pitched upon to ſucceed Cortez in the command; but as they knew him to be ſtrongly attached to the general, and punctilious in points of honour, they would not acquaint him with their deſign before it ſhould be fully executed. Such was the diſcovery made by the ſoldier, who had been drawn in to ſign the inſtrument, had been preſent at ſome of the meetings of the conſpirators, and now demanded his life and pardon as the reward of his fidelity. Cortez, attended by the two alcaldes, went immediately to ſeize Villafarra, whom he found in his quarters, in deep conſultation with three or four of his accomplices. His fears ſufficiently proved his guilt. Cortez ordered him to be put in irons, and his accomplices to be confined in another apartment. Then he examined him in private, and extorted the inſtrument from him, together with a full diſcovery of the ultimate intention of the conſpiracy. The ſeizing of the paper left no room for doubt. Villafarra was condemned the ſame night, and next night he was ſeen hanging over the window of his own quarters. It was matter of grief and aſtoniſhment to the general, to ſee ſo long a liſt of ſoldiers engaged in this plot; but this was not a time to ſatisfy juſtice, at the expence of ſo many lives, which were invaluable in the preſent conjuncture. He could not puniſh ſuch a number of Spaniards without relinquiſhing his deſigns upon Mexico; a ſtratagem therefore was contrived to ſatisfy juſtice, and to avoid puniſhing the guilty, without ſeeming to connive at the crime, or to be afraid of exerting his authority. It was reported that Villafarra had ſwallowed the paper containing the engagement and names of the conſpirators; Cortez aſſembled his army, related the horrid deſign and execution of Villafarra, and declared that he

he thought himſelf extremely happy in not knowing whether he had any accomplices; adding, that he only deſired to be informed of any complaints which his ſoldiers might have againſt his proceedings, ſince he was as ready to ſatisfy them, and correct his faults, as he was able to execute the dictates of rigorous juſtice, where the lenity of his puniſhments made them loſe their influence. This declaration, mingled with kind expreſſions and ſoothing profeſſions, gave univerſal ſatisfaction; the conſpirators rejoicing that they had not been diſcovered, and endeavouring to efface all ſuſpicion of their crime, by their future conduct. The ſoldiers who had been taken into cuſtody with Villafarra, were releaſed, under pretence that no evidence appeared againſt them; and thus Cortez, by his ſpirited and ſenſible conduct, ſuppreſſed a dangerous faction, and reconciled the minds of his ſoldiers, only by ſacrificing the firſt projector and chief inſtrument of the conſpiracy. He likewiſe made uſe of this opportunity to ſtrengthen his authority, by appointing a body-guard of twelve faithful ſoldiers, commanded by an officer; a ſtep which might, at any other time, have given umbrage, though it was now regarded as neceſſary.

Scarce was this dangerous faction ſuppreſſed, when another accident fell out, that reduced Cortez to great perplexity. Xicotencal, general of the Tlaſcalan forces, either upon ſome freſh diſguſt, or becauſe he had not yet laid aſide his ancient animoſity, withdrew privately from the army, with a body of men, whom he had engaged in his intereſt. The general was informed of his retreat by the Tlaſcalans themſelves, few of whom approved of his conduct. This behaviour of a commander, ſo conſiderable among the Indians, was of the moſt dangerous conſequence, at a juncture when Cortez was entering upon an enterprize that required the utmoſt unanimity. He was in great difficulties how to proceed, and firſt reſolved to ſend ſome of the principal Tlaſcalan nobility to endeavour to perſuade him to return. This expedient proved fruitleſs. Xicotencal not only refuſed liſtening to their admonition, but diſmiſſed them with a contemptuous anſwer; which ſo enraged Cortez, that he immediately ſent a party to take him priſoner, and to kill him if he reſiſted. Xicotencal fought obſtinately, and was ſlain, his companions making but a feeble reſiſtance. Herrera alleges, that he was brought back priſoner to Tezeuco, and publicly hanged, by virtue of a power from the republic of Tlaſcala, to try, condemn, and execute him, if found guilty. We have followed the relation of de Solis, as the moſt probable; it being

being unlikely that Cortez would venture to execute an Indian of so high quality among such a number of his countrymen, who could not but resent the indignity of so shameful a punishment.

Siege of Mexico.

May 22.

These impediments being happily removed, Cortez ordered the brigantines to be launched, and then reviewed his Spanish army, which consisted of eight hundred and seventy-six foot, of whom near two hundred were musketeers and cross-bows, eighty-six horse, together with eighteen pieces of cannon, the three largest of iron, and the rest small field-pieces of brass. He had now likewise sufficient store of powder and ammunition, and every thing else which he judged necessary to the success of the enterprize. On board each of the thirteen vessels he put twenty-five Spaniards, and twelve Indian rowers, with one piece of cannon. Then he resolved to possess himself of the causeways of Tacuba, Iztapalapa, and Cayoacan; for which purpose he divided his army into three separate bodies, under the conduct of Alvarado, d' Olid, and Sandoval, assisted by proper officers. It is reported, that the Indians, who assisted the Spaniards in those three attacks, amounted to an hundred thousand men; although Castillo reduces the number to twenty-four thousand, without at all accounting for the great number who rendezvoused at the head-quarters when the brigantines were launched. The attack on Tacuba was intrusted to Alvarado, who was honoured with the title of commander in chief in that district. Sandoval had charge of the expedition against Iztapalapa, with a similar title; and the attack against Cayoacan was headed by d' Olid, who had honours conferred on him equal to those of the two other commanders. As for Cortez himself, he took charge of the fleet, determined to make himself master of the lake, and to act occasionally wherever his assistance should be most wanted.

Alvarado and d' Olid marched in company to Tacuba, which they found deserted by the inhabitants; the greater number were gone to defend Mexico, and the rest retired to the mountains, where they were forming a considerable army, to protect the aqueducts which came from the mountains of Chapultepeque. As the city was entirely supplied with fresh water by these and other conveyances, the emperor had destined an army for the defence of each aqueduct, as soon as he was informed that Cortez was resolved upon the siege. The two Spanish captains led their troops against the enemy, defeated them after a warm engagement, and then destroyed all the pipes, suffering the fresh water to take its free course, and discharge itself in the

the lake. This was the firſt ſtep to the ſiege of the capital, and it was important; becauſe the conveyances of water being cut off, the Mexicans were forced to ſeek it at a diſtance in the brooks that ran from the mountains, a neceſſity which put them to great inconvenience, and employed a number of hands, that might have otherwiſe aſſiſted in the defence of the city. When this buſineſs was finiſhed, Olid marched with his detachment, and took poſt at Cayoacan, as he had been directed by the general. His attempt on the cauſeway would have been attended with difficulty, had he not been aſſiſted by Cortez, who had, by this time, meaſured his ſtrength with a vaſt fleet of Mexican canoes. The general was preparing to aſſiſt at the ſeveral attacks, when a fleet of five hundred canoes, filled with the principal nobility, was diſcovered, advancing towards him, from Mexico, followed by another fleet, ſo numerous, that the whole might amount to above four thouſand veſſels of different ſizes. Cortez did not think it adviſable to leave this formidable power behind, nor to decline a conteſt that was expected by the whole city of Mexico, as appeared by the crouds of people which filled the windows and balconies. His officers concurring with his opinion, he drew up his ſquadron in form of a creſcent, that he might extend his front, and engage with freedom; and then advanced ſlowly towards the enemy, that his rowers might break in with greater force upon the canoe-fleet, when it ſhould be within a proper diſtance. It was perfectly calm at this time, ſo that his whole dependence in ſinking the enemy was upon the vigour of his rowers; but a breeze ſpringing up aſtern, Cortez hoiſted ſail, and bore down with ſuch irreſiſtible force, that the ſhips overturned every thing in their courſe; while the artillery, fire-arms, and croſs-bows, played with great fury, and extraordinary ſucceſs. The nobles of Mexico, who led the van, made ſome reſiſtance; but the reſt were immediately involved in diſorder and confuſion, the canoes running foul of each other, to avoid being run down by the brigantines, or ſunk by the artillery. In a word, the Mexicans ſuffered a complete defeat, ſome hundreds of canoes were deſtroyed, and thouſands of their people ſlain by the arms, or drowned by the veſſels of the Spaniards, who now acquired the reputation of being invincible by water as well as by land, and rode triumphant on the lake, inſulting the city of Mexico with impunity.

After this victory, Cortez reſolved to proceed to Iztapalapa, to aſſiſt Sandoval; but a fleet of canoes having been diſcovered, making all poſſible diſpatch to Cayoacan, he

thought d' Olid might ſtand in more immediate need of ſuccour. In vain he exerted his utmoſt endeavours to come up with the canoes, as a calm obliged him to truſt wholly to his oars; however, he arrived very ſeaſonably to the relief of that officer, who being engaged on the cauſeway, was obliged to make a front to the enemy that defended it, and to the canoes, who attacked him on each ſide. He was on the point of retreating, and yielding up the ground he had gained, when the Spaniſh ſquadron arrived. The Mexicans had drawn up the bridges that covered thoſe chaſms by which the waters of the higher lake diſcharged themſelves into the lower; and raiſed barricadoes of planks, from behind which they annoyed the Spaniards with their miſſiles. D' Olid had already made himſelf maſter of the firſt trench, from which he drove the enemy by his fire-arms; then filled it up with faſcines, over which the troops marched to attack the ſecond. But the Mexican canoes obliged him to act on the defenſive. Theſe, however, were ſoon put in confuſion by the brigantines, who likewiſe played their artillery ſo effectually upon thoſe who defended the trenches, that they fled in diſorder to the laſt rampart between them and the city. Night now came on, and prevented the confederates from purſuing their advantage. However, they maintained the ground which they had gained, and next morning advanced to the attack. They found the laſt bridge fortified with ſuch variety of ſtrong works, and defended by ſuch a multitude, that the enterprize ſeemed hazardous, if not impracticable. Yet the greateſt difficulties appeared after they were engaged, when a retreat would have been diſgraceful. The artillery from the ſhips made a dreadful ſlaughter of the enemy; while d' Olid was employed in filling up the ditch, and deſtroying the fortifications on the cauſeway. When he had completed this buſineſs, he began his attack, and was ſeconded by Cortez, who landed with thirty Spaniards, and infuſed ſuch ſpirit into the troops, that they drove the enemy before them into the city, gained the principal ſtreet, and forced a ſtrong temple which had been occupied by armed Mexicans. Immediately that whole quarter of the city was deſerted by the enemy; and Cortez had thoughts of maintaining his ground, by removing his head-quarters thither from Tezeuco, when he dropt his project by the advice of his officers, who repreſented the danger to which his troops would be expoſed, from the perpetual attacks of the Mexicans, and the difficulty of bringing proviſion. It was the general ſenſe of the council of war, that they ought to make their advances equally at each of the attacks,

attacks, in order to divide the enemies forces, until all the three ſeparate diviſions ſhould have carried their approaches into the city, and drawn ſo near, that they could be mutually aſſiſting to each other. Cortez, convinced by theſe reaſons, immediately relinquiſhed his own deſign.

After the troops were refreſhed, by reſting a whole evening in the poſt they had gained in the principal ſtreet of Mexico, Cortez proceeded in the morning to Iztapalapa, where he found Sandoval reduced to great extremity. He was pinched within narrow quarters, and in a manner beſieged by the Mexican canoes, although he had defeated repeated reinforcements ſent from the city. In this ſituation he was when Cortez arrived, and played the artillery of his brigantines ſo ſucceſsfully upon the canoes which beſet Sandoval, that they retired in the utmoſt confuſion into the canals that pervaded the city. There was ſcarce any attempt made to reſiſt the Spaniſh ſquadron; yet the numbers that were drowned greatly diminiſhed the Mexican forces.

Cortez now perceived, that it would be impoſſible to uſe the cauſeway to advantage, until he had deſtroyed that part of the city of Iztapalapa, which afforded a retreat for the Mexican canoes; and this ſervice he foreſaw would occaſion ſuch delay, as might prove fatal to the other attacks; he therefore determined to evacuate this poſt entirely, and ſend the body of forces under Sandoval to ſeize upon Tapeaquilla, where there was a cauſeway, leſs commodious for attacking, but more advantageous to the deſign which he now formed of ſtarving the Mexicans into ſubmiſſion. Sandoval, on his arrival at Tapeaquilla, found the place evacuated. Then Cortez, who had convoyed him with the brigantines, ſet ſail for Tacuba, where he found Alvarado in poſſeſſion of the city, but ſkirmiſhing continually with the enemy, who preſſed him ſo hard, that his loſs of men more than over-ballanced the advantage of the poſt. On this conſideration, Cortez iſſued orders that all attacks ſhould ceaſe, and he began to aſſemble a fleet of canoes ſufficient to obſtruct all convoys to the city. When he had collected the number he thought neceſſary, he manned them with Indians, and diſtributed this reinforcement among the brigantines, which he now divided into three ſquadrons. From this time an entire ſtop was put to the inſults of the Mexicans; and the beſieged found themſelves greatly ſtraitened for water and proviſion. To remove theſe obſtructions the Mexicans employed all their addreſs and ingenuity; and, indeed, the variety of contrivances upon which they fell, ſufficiently evince, that the Spaniards

had to do with a subtle enemy, fruitful in stratagem and invention. Perceiving that all their endeavours to fortify the causeways were ineffectual, they sent by secret and different passages several canoes of pioneers, to clear the ditches which the Spaniards had filled up, that they might fall upon them with their whole force, when they should be obliged to retire. This stratagem not succeeding to their expectation, they made perpetual sallies in the night, and kept the confederates in continual alarm, with intention to attack them with all their strength when they should be spent with fatigue. But the scheme that most discovered their ingenuity, was what they formed against the brigantines, whose superior force they aimed to destroy by separating them, and engaging them single. They prepared thirty large canoes, called piraguas, and strengthened them with great planks, to defend them from the shot of the enemy. With this fleet they sallied out in the night, and took their station behind the reeds in the lake, which grew so high and thick, that they formed several groves impenetrable to the sight. To draw the brigantines into the ambuscade, they had provided some canoes, laden with provision, as a bait, and had also fixed stakes in the water, so that the points were covered, in hopes either to sink the brigantines, or entangle them in such a manner that they might be engaged to advantage. Two of the brigantines being soon after observed cruizing near this station, the Mexicans produced their canoes, in order that the Spaniards might give chace. The stratagem succeeded: the Spaniards, who had no suspicion, pursued the flying canoes with all the force of their oars, fell in amongst the hidden stakes, and were so embarrassed, that they could neither retreat nor advance, when they saw the piraguas coming upon them with the utmost impetuosity. A sharp engagement now began; the Spaniards plied their muskets and artillery with all possible diligence, while the chief endeavour of the Mexicans was to board them, in which they were always foiled. However, all the valour of the Spanish mariners must have sunk under the weight of numbers, had not the shock of the cannon somewhat disengaged their vessels, which were afterwards quite cleared by the endeavours of some expert swimmers; who, by dint of strength, and the assistance of hatchets, removed the stakes. Being now at full liberty, they made dreadful destruction among the enemy, sunk and destroyed most of the piraguas, and pursued the rest as far as their own security would admit. The victory was complete, but it was dearly purchased, at the

Stratagem of the Mexicans.

the expence of the lives of Barba and Pertillo, two officers of equal valour and discretion.

It was not long before Cortez had an opportunity of revenging their death. Having received notice that the enemy had repaired their vessels, and stationed them behind the reeds, in order to draw the Spaniards to an engagement, under the same disadvantages as before, he resolved to countermine their plot. Six brigantines were concealed among some reeds, not far from where the piraguas lay. One of these was ordered to cruize about, as if in search of canoes with provision, and afterwards to draw as near the concealed piraguas as was necessary to let them see they were discovered; and when they gave chace, she was to make all the dispatch possible to the place of the counter ambuscade. Every thing succeeded accordingly. The Mexicans gave chace to the brigantine as to a sure prize, and were suddenly saluted by the artillery of the rest of the squadron. Their attempt to retreat was now in vain; the Spaniards poured in their shot with so much fury, that not a single piragua escaped being sunk or taken.

Cortez makes overtures of peace.

Those successes, though no ways decisive, served to animate the confederates, and dishearten the enemy; who were now reduced to great want of provision. It was reported, that the necessities of the common people had rendered them clamorous, and this circumstance induced Cortez to renew his pacific overtures; for though he had the utmost reason to believe he should succeed in the reduction of Mexico, yet, he was sensible, it would cost him a great deal of blood; and, besides, it grieved him to destroy so beautiful a city. Some noble Mexican prisoners were sent with the proposals, which were received, with more temper than was expected, by the emperor. It was afterwards affirmed by the prisoners, that he called a council of his principal officers and ministers, and laid before them the wretched condition of the city, the prodigious diminution of the number of inhabitants, the murmurs of the people on their being reduced to scanty allowance of provision, the destruction of so many houses and temples; in a word, all the consequences of the war were recited; then he asked their opinion touching the propositions made by the Spaniards, and expressed his own inclination for peace, as far as was consistent with the character of a prince of martial genius and invincible courage. It was the universal sense of the members of this council, that the overtures for peace ought to be admitted; but when the proposition was referred to the priests, they opposed it with

the utmoſt violence, foreſeeing in ſuch a pacification, the overthrow of their temples, and of conſequence the ruin of their influence over the minds of the people. They pretended to have received certain anſwers from their idols, which gave them freſh aſſurances of victory; which ſo animated the council, that all, except the emperor, changed their ſentiments, and declared for the continuance of the war. Guatimozin, or Quautimoc, as Herrara calls this emperor, then declared, that although his own ſentiments were pacific, he would nevertheleſs give up his opinion to that of the clergy and council; withal prohibiting any one from ever again preſuming to mention peace, from whatever conſideration, on pain of capital puniſhment. By this declaration he thought to animate the Mexicans to deſperate efforts, which might bring the war to a happy concluſion, ſince he could not effect this aim by the way of negociation.

When the emperor's reſolution was brought to Cortez, he determined to reſume his attacks upon the three cauſeways, and to carry fire and ſword into the very heart of the city; with this view he ſent orders to his officers to begin their operations at Tacuba and Tapeaquilla, while he charged himſelf with the neceſſary approaches by the way of Cayoacan, aſſiſted by Chriſtopher d'Olid. During the ſhort ceſſation of hoſtilities, occaſioned by the negociation, the Mexicans had cleared the breaches in the cauſeways, and erected ſome works, which were now ſoon deſtroyed by the artillery of the ſhipping. They had, however, dug one immenſe ditch, for which purpoſe they had broke down about ſixty feet of the cauſeway, and this they filled with the water of ſeveral canals. The oppoſite bank was covered with fortifications. There a ſtrong work was raiſed of timbers, covered with planks, with ſeveral rows of loop holes, through which they could ply their darts and arrows under cover. This work was garriſoned with a multitude of ſelect troops; but it ſoon gave way to the artillery. The moment the cannon was brought to bear, every ſhot broke the fortification to pieces. No ſooner had the Spaniards gained this ſtrong poſt, than more obſtructions appeared; but with ſuch fury did they ply the artillery, that the Mexicans were driven from all their trenches, and all of a ſudden their operations ceaſed. It was then ſuppoſed that the Mexicans were commanded by the emperor to prepare their whole ſtrength to attack the enemy in their retreat. Cortez ſuſpected his intentions; but he had then ſcarce time to return to his quarters before night, and yet found it impoſſible to maintain the poſts he had

had gained without the moſt imminent danger. Having ſet fire to ſeveral houſes, to prevent their obſtructing his next aſſault, he began to retire, and was ſoon alarmed with the ſhouts of an infinite multitude, and the ſound of the ſacred trumpet, which being permitted only to the prieſts, intimated that ſomething extraordinary was tranſacting. The noiſe was diſmal and unharmonious; but adapted to inſpire thoſe barbarians with a kind of ſavage rage, that made them deſpiſe life, through motives of religion. Their van was compoſed of ſelect warriors, who fell upon the rear of the confederates with inexpreſſible fury, and were received with proportionable courage by the fire-arms and croſs-bows, with Cortez at the head of the cavalry. The great ditch now ſtopped the retreat, and Cortez exerted his utmoſt endeavours to give a check to the enemy, until bridges could be laid over, on which the troops might paſs in ſafety; but he found it impoſſible to preſerve order among the confederate Indians, who precipitated themſelves into the canal, in the greateſt confuſion, leaving the general and the Spaniards to maintain the engagement againſt the whole force of Mexico. The ſlaughter he made was terrible; but the enemy preſſed on undaunted, took forty Spaniards alive, wounded the greater number, and muſt have inevitably deſtroyed the whole, had not the brigantines come ſeaſonably to their relief, and carried off Cortez wounded, diſappointed, defeated, and chagrined. It is affirmed, that ſome thouſands of Tlaſcalans periſhed in this retreat, that a piece of cannon fell into the enemies hands, and that the Mexicans celebrated the victory the ſame night, with great rejoicings, and the ſacrifice of the Spaniſh priſoners, the blood of whoſe leaping hearts was ſprinkled upon the altars of their horrible idols.

Cortez is defeated.

While the attack on the ſide of Cayoacan terminated in this unfortunate manner, the operations of a ſimilar nature, carried on by Sandoval and Alvarado, by the cauſeways of Tacuba and Tapeaquilla, were not more proſperous, although the loſs was not ſo conſiderable. They gained bridges, filled up ditches, drove the enemy from their poſts, but were ſo vigorouſly attacked in their retreat, that twenty Spaniards were killed or taken, ſome thouſands of Indians ſlain or drowned, and the two corps abſolutely defeated. This circumſtance extremely diſpirited the troops, eſpecially as the Mexicans in this inſtance appeared to be victorious, without the concurrence of any accident in their favour; whereas Cortez ſuſtained this defeat in conſequence of Julian de Aldarate the treaſurer's neglect of orders. As

ſoon as the great ditch was carried, the general had given him directions immediately to fill it up to ſecure a retreat; but Aldarate's ardour and ſanguine expectations, that Mexico would certainly be carried at this aſſault, looked upon the employment deſtined him as neither neceſſary nor honourable, at a time when the reſt of the army was engaged. He, therefore, advanced to the battle, and his neglect was not diſcovered before the retreat, when it was too late to repair his error. Senſible of his fault, he now haſtened to the general, and offered his head as an atonement for his crime; but Cortez ſatisfied himſelf with a ſevere reprimand, not chuſing to diſhearten the troops, or deprive himſelf of a good officer, upon account of an overfight ariſing from exceſs of courage.

Artifice of Guatimozin.

The Mexicans were highly elated with their advantage, and Guatimozin uſed every artifice to improve it, by weakening the enemy, and inſpiring his own people with confidence. He ſpread a report that Cortez was killed in the late action; he ſent the heads of the ſacrificed Spaniards to all the neighbouring towns, that theſe proofs of his victory might bring back thoſe who had deſerted him; and he aſſerted that the gods being now appeaſed with the blood of their enemies, had informed him they would put a ſpeedy iſſue to the war, and in the ſpace of eight days deſtroy all who neglected theſe warnings. At the ſame time he employed a number of emiſſaries in the Indian camp, who circulated theſe menaces of the gods among the confederates, by which contrivance he ſucceeded ſo happily in his deſigns, that in the ſpace of three nights Cortez found himſelf almoſt entirely deſerted, ſcarce any of his auxiliaries remaining beſides the officers and nobility. Even the Tlaſcalans were terrified with the dreadful denunciation of the gods, and diſbanded, in order to avoid the conſequences of their wrath. At firſt Cortez was alarmed by ſo extraordinary an accident, and deſpaired of the ſucceſs of his enterprize; but when he was made acquainted with the occaſion, he ſent their commanders after them to temporize with their fears until the time of the prediction ſhould be expired, and the Indians thoroughly convinced of the falſity of the oracle; an expedient which produced the effect. When the eight days were expired, the Indians yielded to perſuaſion, laid aſide their fears, and returned with freſh vigour and reſolution to their quarters; by which means the army was greatly augmented, the ſpirits of the people took a ſudden turn, and they flocked in ſuch crowds to the camp, that Cortez, in a few days, found himſelf at the head of two hundred thouſand fighting men.

The Indians deſert from Cortez.

However,

However, the Mexicans reaped ſome advantage from their ſtratagem. They reduced the Spaniards to the neceſſity of ſuſpending all hoſtilities, during which interval they made frequent ſallies, which extremely harraſſed the enemy, but without being able to regain the poſts of which Cortez had taken poſſeſſion. The famine daily gained ground, and Cortez was informed by the priſoners he had lately taken, that the army was diſſatisfied, and the people reduced to extreme neceſſity for want of bread and water. They were forced to drink the brackiſh water drawn from pits, which produced a variety of diſeaſes, of which great numbers died. The inconſiderable ſupplies of proviſions brought by the canoes were engroſſed by the nobles, a circumſtance which became an additional ſubject of diſcontent. In a word, they reported that the vulgar, in general, were become ſo clamorous, as to give ſuſpicion of their fidelity. Such intelligence was of the utmoſt importance, and that it might not be loſt, Cortez aſſembled his officers to deliberate upon the meaſures neceſſary to be purſued in the preſent ſituation of affairs. In this council it was unanimouſly reſolved to continue their attacks, and proſecute both the ſiege and blockade, by leaving for this purpoſe ſtrong garriſons at the head-quarters and poſts, while the reſt of the forces ſhould penetrate to the great ſquare of Mexico, where it was propoſed to eſtabliſh a footing, and thereby prevent the neceſſity of always retreating to quarters. Water, proviſion, and whatever was neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of his troops, being in readineſs, the army marched out of quarters in three diviſions, under the ſame officers who led the former attacks, repaired to their reſpective poſts on the cauſeways as before, and were each ſupported by a number of canoes and brigantines. They now had to diſpute all the breaches again, as the enemy had drawn up the bridges, and erected new fortifications. The brigantines plyed their cannon, and the ſoldiers kept up ſo furious a diſcharge of fire-arms and croſs-bows, that all theſe impediments were ſoon removed, and the three diviſions arrived about the ſame time in the city. Here they eaſily gained ſeveral ruined ſtreets, as they were but faintly defended by the enemy, who relied chiefly upon thoſe ſtreets where the tops of the houſes were ſtrongly garriſoned, or rather crowded with ſoldiers. It was wonderful to obſerve how the three ſeveral corps of the confederate forces obſerved the ſame regulations, as if they had been animated by one ſoul. Although they had as yet no communication, all contented themſelves for that day,

Cortez again puſhes the attack on Mexico.

Establishes a footing in the city.

day, with having got footing in the city, and used their endeavours to fortify quarters, in which they might rest with tolerable security for that night, fully determined next morning to proceed in their attempt to reach the great square of Tlateleuco, which was the center of their several expectations, to which they tended by different lines.

It was matter of surprize and disappointment to the Mexicans, that the confederates had made good their quarters in the city. They had directed all their measures to harrass them in their retreat, and these were now entirely broken and defeated. The rumour immediately spread through the city, and every mind was employed in contriving some new resource. The nobles flocked in consternation to the imperial palace, in order to prevail on Guatimozin to retire to a place of more security; but he positively declared that he would share the fate of his people. Among other expedients, it was proposed, that the confederates should be attacked early in the morning with all the power of Mexico, and, if possible, dislodged; a propofal that met with the emperor's approbation. Accordingly preparations were made, and, as soon as dawn appeared, the whole forces of Mexico, in three bodies, began their attacks upon the three different lodgments. This was a definitive effort, and every Mexican determined to succeed or to perish in the attempt; but they no sooner came within reach of the artillery planted in all the passes before the Spanish quarters, than their resolution vanished. The cannon made such dreadful slaughter in the van, that it fell back upon the center, and threw the whole army in confusion. Divers efforts were made to rally the troops; but the confederates kept up so incessant a fire of artillery and musquetry, that it was impossible for the Mexicans to advance near enough to employ their weapons. Thus were they completely defeated, without the loss of a single man on the side of the besiegers. Nevertheless, the confederates had still manifold difficulties to encounter. For the space of four days they were in continual action, disputing every inch of ground; and beating the Mexicans from the trenches dug, and the works erected in every street; at the same time they were under the necessity of fortifying fresh quarters for their defence in the evening. At last Pedro Alvarado arrived in the spacious square of Tlataleuco, where he found the Mexicans drawn up in battalia; but he charged them with such vigour that they fell in confusion, abandoned the square, and retired to the adjoining streets. He had just possessed himself of a large temple in the neighbourhood,

on

on the top of which he made a ſignal to his friends of his ſucceſs, when Cortez and de Olid arrived with the diviſion under their command, driving before them a multitude of Mexicans, who now were encloſed between the two corps of confederates, and ſo warmly attacked in front and rear, that few of them eſcaped. Finally, Sandoval brought up his diviſion, and gave up the crowds of Mexicans he was driving before him to the fate of their countrymen. The carnage was ſo great, that ſeveral companies of Indians were employed the whole evening in clearing the ſquare of dead bodies; and the Spaniards were forced to keep the ſtricteſt watch to prevent their allies from feaſting on human fleſh, according to the deteſtable rites with which thoſe ſavages celebrated their victories. Here Cortez took up his quarters for the night, after having uſed every precaution to defend himſelf againſt the ſudden attacks of an enemy now driven to deſpair.

Progreſs of the ſiege.

In the morning the troops were drawn out to attack the quarter of the city into which the emperor and court had retired. All the ſtreets in that diſtrict were full of armed men, behind whom were a great number of workmen diligently employed in erecting fortifications againſt the laſt misfortune that hung over this almoſt ruined city. Cortez did not doubt but the Mexicans would diſpute this laſt ſtake with obſtinacy; it was therefore adviſeable, he thought, to ſpare the effuſion of blood, by renewing his overtures of peace, at a juncture when he imagined they would hardly be rejected. Accordingly he choſe out four noble priſoners to carry a meſſage to the emperor, and acquaint him, that the Spaniſh general was far from deſiring the deſtruction of ſo fine a city, and would willingly avoid ſhedding the blood of a greater number of Mexicans, provided they would liſten to equitable terms of accommodation. This overture produced a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, the enemy expreſſing the utmoſt deſire to forward a pacification. In the mean time Cortez employed himſelf in reconnoitring the ground, and viewing thoſe fortifications which the Mexicans were erecting. Nor did he meet with any oppoſition, the Mexicans ſignifying by their ſilence and ſtillneſs, that the negociation was popular. The art with which they endeavoured to diſguiſe their neceſſity was very remarkable. They took the utmoſt pains to perſuade the Spaniards, that although they were no way averſe to the peace in agitation, yet they were able and willing to proſecute the war. They ſent out ſeveral ſoldiers of gigantic ſtature, to challenge the Spaniards, or Tlaſcalans, to ſingle combat. One Mercado, a youth of ſeventeen,

who

who acted in the capacity of page to Cortez, incenſed at their arrogance, flung himſelf into the canal which ſeparated him from the Mexicans, ſwam to the oppoſite bank, engaged the challenger, and, at one thruſt, laid him dead on the ground, to the great joy of the Spaniards, and aſtoniſhment of the Mexicans, who beheld this exploit, in a youth, as a ſpecimen of the irreſiſtible valour of the enemy.

After a ſuſpence of three days, an anſwer arrived from Guatimozin, expreſſing his deſire to terminate differences in an amicable manner; which, however, proved only an artifice to gain time to purſue certain meaſures which had been projected in his council. It was afterwards known, that he had frequently aſſembled the nobility to deliberate upon the anſwer he ſhould return. A majority voted for admitting the propoſed treaty, and this opinion would have prevailed, had not the prieſts again interpoſed. They gave freſh aſſurances of victory from pretended oracles delivered by idols; they excited a kind of fanatical fury in the breaſts of the council, by calling this cauſe the cauſe of heaven; and they practiſed, with the utmoſt addreſs, all thoſe frauds by which the pious impoſtors of all nations are accuſtomed to delude the ignorant. In conſequence of theſe practices, it was unanimouſly reſolved to run every hazard in the proſecution of the war, and immediately to renew hoſtilities, as ſoon as the periguas and canoes ſhould be provided to favour the emperor's retreat, in caſe the enemy ſhould prevail. Orders were iſſued to bring all the veſſels in Mexico to a bay of the lake that run in upon one ſide of the quarter of the city, in which the court at preſent reſided. Cortez had notice of the motions made to execute this order; and, judging of the deſign, directed Sandoval to have a watchful eye with the brigantines upon the bay. Then he marched forward to the enemy's works; but the Mexicans had already received orders to ſtand on their defence, and they had declared the breach of the treaty by their hoſtile cries, before the Spaniards levelled a ſhot, or threw an arrow. Cortez began the attack, and the courage of the enemy forſook them, on perceiving the havock made among their wooden fortifications by the firſt diſcharge of the cannon. They had imagined theſe works were impregnable, and, when they ſaw them ſhattered in pieces, they were ſeized with terror, and gave immediate notice of their ſituation to the emperor. It was now neceſſary to have recourſe to artifice to gain time; Guatimozin accordingly ſent word, that they ſhould demand a parley. This requeſt was made by ſigns, and granted

granted without hesitation, the general entertaining no doubts of their sincerity on account of their defenceless situation. Cortez gave them to understand by the interpreters, that whoever had any proposals to offer from Guatimozin, might advance and deliver them in perfect security; upon which four nobles advanced to the brink of the trench, and acquainted the general, that the supreme majesty of Guatimozin had deputed them, his servants, to treat of an amicable accommodation, and to learn what proposals the captain of the Spaniards had to offer, in order to report to his sublime highness the articles of capitulation. The reply made by the general was, that his only view was peace; and although he now had it in his power to give law to the refractory Mexicans, yet he was ready to renew the treaty which they had wantonly broken. To remove all difficulties, he said it was requisite that the emperor should either appear in person, or at least draw nearer with his council, the sooner to terminate such disputes as might arise in adjusting their differences. He assured the ambassadors that he would willingly agree to every thing that was not injurious to the authority of his own master, the king of Spain; and he promised in the most solemn manner that he would not only cause all hostilities to cease, but take particular care that his royal person should be in the utmost security, and treated with all the respect due to the exalted character of an emperor of Mexico. For the space of four days Guatimozin continued this feigned negociation, until all the vessels were ready for his retreat; and Cortez was so persuaded of his sincerity, that he made some preparations for his reception. At length notice was brought of what was transacting on the lake; and Cortez was now sensible that he had been the dupe of those barbarians. Orders had already been given to Sandoval, narrowly to watch the Mexican piraguas and canoes, and Cortez proposed to give the assault early next morning. Sandoval acted in the most judicious manner. He employed small canoes, hid among the reeds, to observe the enemy, and when he received advice that great numbers of people were seen embarking in the canoes and piraguas, he advanced slowly with his fleet of brigantines, until he was near enough to play his artillery; on the first discharge of the cannon, all the enemy's canoes and several brigantines fell upon him with great fury, resolving to maintain the fight until the emperor should escape. The nobles had charged themselves with this service; and, indeed, they made desperate efforts in defence of their sovereign, attacking the brigantines with undaunted courage, notwithstanding

Negociations of peace.

Guatimozin's policy.

ſtanding the terrible havock made by the cannon. In the midſt of this engagement Sandoval obſerved, that five or ſix piraguas were making the beſt of their way, with the utmoſt force of oars, from the bottom of the bay, and ſuſpecting that the emperor might be on board, he diſpatched captain Garcia de Holguin, to give them chace with one of the brigantines. This officer executed his orders with punctuality, directing his attack againſt the foremoſt piragua, which ſeemed to command the others; and he had no ſooner ſeized upon this veſſel, than all the others lay upon their oars, calling out not to fire, for that the royal perſon of the emperor of Mexico was on board. To make themſelves the better underſtood, the crew threw down their arms, and put on all the appearance of ſubmiſſion; upon which the Spaniſh captain, and ſome ſoldiers, leaped into the prize and ſecured her. The emperor immediately got up, and advanced with an air of intrepidity, ſurrendering himſelf the captain's priſoner, and only expreſſing his concern for the honour of his royal conſort, by whom he was accompanied. Then he made a ſignal to the other piraguas, and they inſtantly lay upon their oars, ceaſed hoſtilities, and ſubmitted. When the nobility, who were engaged in their canoes with Sandoval, were informed of the emperor's fate, they not only ſurrendered without farther reſiſtance, but beſought the Spaniards they might be ſent on board the ſame veſſel, and die at the feet of their ſovereign. Holguin having detached a canoe to acquaint the general with his good fortune, the news ſpread though the confederate army, and ſeized the Mexicans as if by ſympathy; they deſerted their works, uttered diſmal lamentations, and offered ſubmiſſion at the diſcretion of the conqueror. Two companies of Spaniards were ſent to the banks of the lake to conduct the imperial priſoner to the army, and orders were iſſued that all hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe. Cortez went out to meet the captive monarch, received him with the moſt profound reverence, and was aſtoniſhed at the magnanimity which that prince ſhewed under the preſſure of misfortune. When they arrived at the general's quarters, Guatimozin and the empreſs went firſt into the tent, and ſeated themſelves; but the emperor roſe up of a ſudden, and deſired Cortez to take his ſeat; at the ſame time, putting his hand upon the general's ſword, exclaimed, "Why do you heſitate to take away my life; priſoners of any rank are only a trouble to the conqueror. Let me then, at once, have the ſatisfaction of dying by your hand, ſince I have not been ſo fortunate as to loſe my life in defence of my people." Here his conſtancy

The emperor taken priſoner, and Mexico reduced.

ſtancy failed him, and he dropped ſome involuntary tears. Cortez replied, that he was not his priſoner, nor had his dignity fallen into ſo inglorious a condition; but that he was the priſoner of ſo great and powerful a monarch, that the whole univerſe could not produce a potentate equal to him in grandeur, dominion, or noble qualities. From him, he ſaid, he might not only hope to regain his liberty, but likewiſe the throne of his anceſtors, with the honourable addition of his friendſhip: in the mean time he declared, that he ſhould be reſpected by the Spaniards, and treated in ſuch a manner, that he ſhould not be able to diſtinguiſh their ſervices from thoſe of his own ſubjects; a promiſe to which he ought to have adhered with the moſt ſcrupulous regard, as it was made voluntarily (A). A.D. 1521. Auguſt 13.

In this manner ended the conqueſt of the vaſt empire of Mexico; for though ſome provinces ſtill held out, they were eaſily reduced. The ſiege laſted near three months, and coſt Cortez the lives of a hundred Spaniards, with an infinity of Indians. The loſs of the Mexicans exceeded a hundred thouſand men, at the moſt moderate computation, beſides thoſe who periſhed of diſeaſe and famine. Some thouſands of nobility were among the ſlain; but the peſtilence and famine chiefly afflicted the lower ſort of people, who ate the moſt naufeous food in their neceſſity, and drank ſalt water. What greatly contributed to ſpread the contagion, was the intolerable ſtench produced from the heaps of corrupted carcaſes, all the ſlain having been heaped together in empty houſes, that their funeral obſequies might be celebrated at more leiſure. The women diſplayed the moſt maſculine activity during the whole courſe of the ſiege. They attended the ſick, dreſſed the wounded,

(A) Guatimozin was a young prince of extraordinary qualities, high birth, great courage and ability in the art of war, although he was prevented by the policy of his court from leading his own armies in the attacks on the Spaniſh quarters, knowing that the fate of the city depended on his ſafety. He was tall, robuſt, well proportioned, handſome in his features, and ſo fair in his complexion, that he ſcarce reſembled an Indian. In his air he was noble and majeſtic, preſerving, even in his captivity, ſuch a dignity of carriage as commanded the reſpect of his conquerors. The empreſs was alſo young, but ſo graceful in her manner, and ſo lively in her mien, that ſhe attracted admiration and reverence. She was niece to the great Motezuma; and this circumſtance more ſtrongly recommended her to the Spaniards (1).

(1) De Solis, lib. v. cap. xxv.

made

made slings and other weapons, carried water from the most distant pits, and even fought occasionally. The city, according to Herrera, was given up to be plundered, and the booty was immense, although it was suspected that Motezuma's treasures were concealed. Cortez expressed his acknowlegements to the Almighty for the signal success of his arms by a solemn thanksgiving, after which the troops were led back to Cayoacan, and the bulk of the confederates dismissed, with large presents, and honourable rewards. Many of the Mexican nobility were set at liberty, and Cortez exhorted the inhabitants to a perfect resignation and submission, which alone would secure them in all the privileges which they had enjoyed under the government of Guatimozin. With respect to Motezuma's treasures, the most diligent search proved fruitless. It was well known that when Cortez resided in the court of that monarch, he was possessed of immense wealth, which might have possibly been now expended in supporting the war, and preserving the fidelity of the provinces and nobility. This was a consideration that never once occurred to the Spaniards, who regarded the riches of Motezuma as inexhaustible. The soldiers cried out, that Guatimozin had concealed the treasures; and it was indeed affirmed by some of the Mexican nobles, that he had often declared his resolution of throwing all his wealth into the lake, whenever he found resistance would be fruitless, and Mexico must fall. Many, however, suspected that this declaration was an artifice, and so impatient were the soldiers, that Cortez yielded to their pressing instances, to bring the monarch and his prime favourite to a strict account. The latter was put to the torture, but confessed nothing, casting his eyes, as he was expiring upon the rack, upon his sovereign, with all the expression of inviolable tenderness and fidelity, which some construed into a presumption that he was possessed of the secret, but resolved to carry it with him to the grave. It was this suspicion that produced the resolution of trying the effects of torture upon the monarch himself; an action which reflects eternal disgrace upon Cortez. It was piteous to behold the effects which this unworthy punishment of her lord produced upon his consort. Her distress even mollified the hearts of the brutal soldiers, and drew tears of compassion from the eyes of the general, who now ordered Guatimozin to be taken from the wheel, after he had endured, without shrinking, the extremity of pain. Cortez afterwards excused himself for this breach of his engagements, and act of barbarity, by alleging that he was accused of being privy to Guatimozin's concealment

Search after the imperial treasure, and cruelty of the Spaniards.

cealment of the treaſure, with intention to deprive the ſoldiers of their proportion; a ſuſpicion which it was incumbent on him to remove. But the method which he took to clear himſelf was by no means approved. The ſoldiers who had inſiſted upon his making ſtrict inquiry for the treaſure, now taxed him with perfidy and cruelty; they were moved by the heroiſm with which the monarch had ſupported his ſufferings, and glad to ſhift off from themſelves the odium of ſo deteſtable an action, though at the expence of the honour of their commander. In a word, the glory of one of the nobleſt conqueſts related in the annals of mankind, was ſullied by the avarice and cruelty of the victor; and the reputation of Cortez, which would otherwiſe have been handed down to poſterity with untainted luſtre, was greatly obſcured by this mean, perfidious, and inhuman action.

It was now the general's endeavour to reſtore peace and tranquillity in the new conqueſt, as he well knew that the ſecurity of the Spaniards would greatly depend upon the degree of eaſe and felicity which the inhabitants ſhould enjoy under their government. His firſt meaſure was to eſtabliſh a civil policy, by appointing alcaldes, regidors, and other magiſtrates, agreeable to the Spaniſh conſtitution. Next he determined to tranſmit an account of his ſucceſſes to court, to beſeech his majeſty to continue and confirm the new magiſtrates in their reſpective employments, and to make grants of lands to thoſe who had performed the moſt eminent ſervices. Alonſo d'Avila, and Antonio de Quimanes, were the perſons ſelected to carry theſe diſpatches, with the king's fifth of the booty, the preſents from the army, and the private remittances of Cortez to his father and other relations. Among the other preſents ſent to the king, was an emerald of prodigious ſize, of a pyramidal form, together with pearls of immenſe value ſet in bracelets, rings, jewels, and other ornaments, wore by the Indians; a number of gold and ſilver cups of curious workmanſhip; figures of fiſhes, birds, and other animals, in ſolid gold; vizors of moſaic work in fine ſtones; pictures of feathers; hiſtorical paintings on cotton; prieſts veſtments, and an infinity of other particulars, valuable either for their curioſity or intrinſic worth. The new magiſtrates wrote a letter to his catholic majeſty, extolling the gallantry and prudent conduct of their general, to which they aſcribed all their good fortune; and Cortez himſelf ſent a minute relation of every particular, requeſting that ſome perſon of ability and integrity might be ſent to ſurvey the wonders of the new conqueſt; and that a ſufficient

Cortez ſends an account of his ſucceſs to court.

number of the clergy might be conveyed to New Spain, to take care of the intereſts of religion, and aſſiſt in the propagation of the Goſpel.

Several provinces ſubmit to the Spaniards.

Soon did the fame of the reduction of Mexico ſpread itſelf among the provinces, like the motion communicated to the waters of a ſtagnated lake, paſſing from the centre to the extremities in circles, that multiply as they advance. Every tongue ſpoke the praiſes of the Spaniards, and their admiration of the wonders they had wrought in the overthrow of ſo great an empire. The very terror of their name was ſufficient to inſure the ſubmiſſion of a great number of different caziques, of whom Cortez had never heard before. A Spaniſh ſoldier had been ſeduced by the Indians into the territories of the ſovereign of Mechoacan, where he was civilly uſed, and diſmiſſed with ſuch preſents, as induced Cortez to ſend an embaſſy to that monarch, whoſe kingdom was reported to extend near three hundred leagues, in order to obtain ſome account of a country, which would make a valuable acceſſion to the Mexican empire. Montano, with three other Spaniards, and about twenty Indians of the firſt diſtinction, were appointed for this ſervice. They ſet out on their journey, and in four days arrived at Taximaroa, a town on the frontiers of Mechoacan, by the cazique of which they were treated with great reſpect. On approaching the capital, they were met by a numerous and ſplendid deputation from the ſovereign, who aſſured them of his friendſhip and protection; however, when he once had them in his power, he altered his tone, queſtioned them with great ſeverity about their intention, and delivered them over to his guards to be ſacrificed to his gods. Influenced, however, by the remonſtrances and perſuaſion of one of his counſellors, he dropt this deſign, and ſent them away to Cortez, with preſents, attended by an embaſſy of ſome of the prime nobility of his court, a promiſe of ſubjection to the king of Spain, and an aſſurance that he would ſoon make his acknowlegements in perſon. The preſents in gold were eſtimated at a hundred thouſand pieces of eight, beſides ſeveral valuable curioſities in feathers, ſtones, and pieces of elegantly wrought and figured cotton. Theſe ambaſſadors returned with ſo favourable a report of the courteſy and magnanimity of Cortez, as well as the wonders beheld in the Spaniſh quarters, of thunder, and other extraordinary particulars, that the king was more than ever inflamed with curioſity; however, prudence reſtrained his eagerneſs, and determined him firſt to ſend his brother, to make ſure of the good intentions of the Spaniards. At laſt

laſt he ventured in perſon upon the viſit to Cayoacan, where Cortez at that time reſided, and began his journey with a retinue ſcarce inferior in ſplendour to that of the emperor of Mexico. The ceremonies of the ſalutation were extraordinary and formal. The king never condeſcended to addreſs himſelf to the interpreter, but firſt ſpoke to his general, who reported the words to a perſon of inferior quality, and he to ſome other in a ſubordinate capacity, until they at length reached the interpreter, who explained them to Cortez. The king made a long ſpeech, in which he acknowleged his vaſſalage to the king of Spain; but no formal inſtruments were made out, as was uſually practiſed upon ſimilar occaſions. He was treated with the moſt profound reverence; he made preſents of great value, received ſome trinkets in return, and then departed with the higheſt ſentiments of the generoſity, genius, and valour of the ſtrangers.

Cortez relying upon the king's proteſtations of eternal friendſhip and fidelity, detached Chriſtopher d'Olid, with forty horſe and a hundred foot, to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Mechoacan, in the name of his catholic majeſty, and ſettle a colony at Knitzitzitla. He was very well received by the monarch, and for ſome time met with no oppoſition in founding the projected ſettlement, as he proceeded gradually in his endeavours to civilize the native barbarians. It was the general's intention to open a way to the South Sea, for which purpoſe Olid had inſtructions to penetrate into the provinces of Colima; in which divers Spaniards, ſent on the ſame deſign, had been murdered, at the time when Cortez was driven out of the city of Mexico. Gonzalo de Sandoval was detached with two hundred foot, and thirty-five horſe, to facilitate the ſcheme, by reducing all the nations lying towards the North Sea, in order to open an immediate communication. It was in this excurſion, that Sandoval built the town of Eſpiritu Santo. Some diſturbances in the provinces called Miſteca, obliged Cortez to ſend Alvarado, with a party, to reduce the inhabitants under the Spaniſh government; an aim which he effected by blockading an army of natives within a fortified incloſure of ſtone they had erected near Ytzquintepec. Their fortification was a league in compaſs, and it required all the ability of the Spaniſh commander, aſſiſted by a large body of confederate Indians, to prevent the enemy from introducing proviſions. At laſt he obliged them to ſurrender for want of water, after they had been reduced to ſuch extremity, that they were forced

Eſpiritu Santo built.

to quench their thirſt with their own urine [b]. Upon the report of ſome Spaniards, who had been ſent to the provinces of Tepecoantepec, and Zacotecla, on the South Sea coaſt, Alvarado was ordered to aſſiſt the cazique of Tecoantepec againſt another neighbouring cazique. This ſuccour was purchaſed by preſents, and promiſes of acknowleging the ſovereignty of the Spaniſh government. Alvarado quartered his troops in the capital of his enemy, whom he made priſoner by a ſtratagem, but releaſed him afterwards, on his paying a high ranſom. The country being rich in mines, Alvarado founded a colony at Tatutepec, which he called Segura, intended for the ſecurity of the province: but it was ſoon after abandoned in conſequence of the private diſputes of the inhabitants. The natives revolting, Alvarado again marched into the country, reduced them to obedience, and entirely ſubdued the provinces of Socomeſco and Guatimala.

Segura built.

Great diſcoveries were now made in the moſt remote provinces of the Mexican empire. Five Spaniards travelled through the interior countries, between the ridge of mountains and the North Sea, paſſing Xaltepeque, along the foot of Chiapa, until they arrived at Socomeſco, being a journey of about four hundred leagues; and thus great part of the South Sea coaſt was diſcovered. Cortez ordered ſhip-builders to go to Zacotecla, to ſet about equipping a fleet, which he deſtined for the Molucca iſlands; all the rigging, and other materials, being brought from Vera Cruz. Chriſtopher d'Olid, at that time with a party in Mechoacan, was ordered to aſſiſt in this ſervice. He ſet out with his Spaniſh corps, and a body of Indians, had ſeveral engagements with the Catimens, ſuſtained conſiderable loſs, and was forced to abandon the enterprize, until he could be reinforced. Sandoval was ſent to his aſſiſtance, and he was attacked by the Catimens before he could join the troops under Olid. The battle was obſtinate and bloody, the Indians fought with uncommon fury and good order; but they were in the end completely defeated, and ſo weakened, that they ſubmitted without farther reſiſtance. A colony was founded at Colima, and lands were divided among the Spaniſh ſoldiers.

D'Olid having made a ſettlement in Mechoacan, proceeded towards the coaſt of the ſouth, upon being reinforced by Andrea de Tapia. On his arrival at Zacotecla, he committed the charge of directing the ſhipping to his colleague, and returned to Mexico, to aſſiſt in the expedition which Cortez was meditating, in perſon, againſt

[b] Herrera, dec. iii. lib. i. cap. i.

Garay,

Garay, who had now made another attempt to settle in Panuco. The general began his march with three hundred Spanish foot, eighty horse, forty thousand Mexicans, and several field-pieces. In his way he engaged the inhabitants of Ayotuxtetlatlan, who, confident of victory, fell upon him with a greatly superior force, and were defeated. Not dispirited by this check, they retired behind their lakes and morasses, rejected all overtures of peace, and even destroyed the messengers sent with proposals by Cortez. This obstinacy obliged him to march to Chila, where Garay's men had formerly been defeated, to assemble some boats in the night, cross the river with a hundred Spanish foot and forty horse, and endeavour to fall upon the enemy by surprize. His scheme, however, was frustrated: in the night he found the country totally abandoned; but no sooner did day-light appear, than he was attacked with great impetuosity, by such a multitude of Indians, as reduced him to as dangerous a situation as he had ever experienced. He triumphed, however, in the issue, by dint of valour and good fortune. The confederate Indians observing, from the opposite side, that he was engaged with the enemy, crossed the river, fell upon the Panucans in flank and rear, and made a dreadful carnage before they would yield the victory. At last, being entirely broke, they retreated with great precipitation, suffering Cortez to quarter his troops that night in a neighbouring town, where he found the cloaths and arms of Garay's soldiers hung up in triumph, and the skins of their faces stuck up to adorn the walls. In proceeding to the capital, a body of the enemy lying in ambush, was discovered by the horse, and vigorously attacked. The courage and discipline of the Indians never shone so conspicuous as upon this occasion. They kneeled, shot their arrows, fought resolutely, and, though their lines were put in confusion, rallied with the greatest exactness of the military art, and at last retreated, in good order, to the opposite bank of a river, where they maintained their ground until night put an end to the engagement. Next day, however, they abandoned the country, suffered the Spaniards to range about unmolested, and at last to attack their capital in the night, which yielded, after great slaughter was made of the inhabitants. In consequence of its reduction, all the adjacent country submitted, and Cortez founded the colony of San Estavan del Puerto, in the neighbourhood of Chila. This great town and Panuca he wholly destroyed, in revenge for the obstinacy with which they had been defended; or, as Her-

San Estavan built.

rera alleges, because the inhabitants were anthropophagi, sacrificed their prisoners, and fed upon human flesh (B).

From hence the general directed his course to Tatupec, and other towns, which had rebelled, and destroyed all the country, except that which had continued faithful to the Spaniards. He hanged the cazique of Tatupec, and having reduced the whole territory to obedience, returned triumphant to Mexico, where he applied himself diligently to repair the city, which had been greatly damaged during the siege. He now drew a plan of that capital, divided the ground among the conquerors, allotted a particular quarter for the residence of the Spaniards, and marked out places for churches, markets, and other public structures. He surmounted numberless difficulties in the execution of this project, and suppressed a variety of conspiracies which were formed against his own person. To gratify the Mexicans, he committed the superintendency of building one of the wards to Xihuara, who had been general of the imperial forces. To Pedro Motezuma, son to the emperor of that name, who was now baptized, he gave in charge the direction of another, allotting certain islands and streets to other persons of quality, to be disposed of at their pleasure. Finally, he built a magnificent palace for himself; the idols were destroyed, arsenals were formed, and Mexico not only resumed its ancient lustre, but received great addition of strength, beauty, and extent (C).

It

(B) This expedition put Cortez to great expence. Horses were now become so scarce, that they were sold for two thousand pieces of eight a-piece. A horse-shoe was valued at fifty pieces of eight, and every iron nail deemed worth its weight in gold. Dec. iii. lib. i. cap. iii.

(C) While Cortez was thus employed in Mexico, many considerable discoveries were made by Gonzalez d'Avila, in the large province of Nicaragua. This adventurer having built four vessels in the bay of Panama, set sail on the 21st of January, 1522, and coasting about a hundred leagues westward, landed with a hundred men, and proceeded up the country to Nicota, where the cazique made him rich presents, and embraced Christianity. From thence he proceeded to Nicaragua, the monarch of which received him with equal civility, having been prejudiced in their favour by the report of the valour of the Spaniards, and the docility of certain warlike animals in their army, which were horses. This prince followed the example of the cazique of Nicoya, made presents to the amount of twenty-five thousand pieces of eight, and received baptism, together with nine thousand of his subjects; on condition, however, that they should be allowed to dance when they were drunk;

to

It was about this period, that the commiſſion and imperial grants made to Cortez by Charles V. came to his hands; in conſequence of which he redoubled his endeavours to bring the whole Mexican empire under the Spaniſh dominion. He was preparing to diſpatch troops to the moſt diſtant provinces, when another attempt made on Panuco, by Garay in perſon, obliged him to ſend Alvarado, with a ſmall party, to that country, hoping that the certainty of the royal grants in favour of Cortez, would deter Garay from a deſign expreſsly contrary to the emperor's meaning and intention. Alvarado met with de Avalle, one of Garay's officers, who was ravaging the country; he laid before him the intention of the commiſſion lately received by Cortez; upon which they both agreed to proſecute the public ſervice in peace and amity. Garay was not ſo fortunate as his officer. Having ſent ſome of his people to found the inhabitants of the new colony of San Eſtavan del Puerto, he was invited thither, ſet upon by the Indians and Spaniards in the intereſt of Cortez, and defeated, with the loſs of forty of his men, who were taken priſoners. Four of his ſhips were alſo loſt upon the coaſt, and the reſt were, one by one, put by their commanders into the hands of Cortez. His affairs being quite deſperate, the finiſhing blow was ſtruck by Vallejo, governor of Eſtavan, who arreſted Garay, but releaſed him afterwards at the interceſſion of Ocampo; upon which he went to Mexico, threw himſelf at the general's feet, was pardoned, and treated with the utmoſt kindneſs and humanity. *Attempts of Garay defeated.*

to make war upon their enemies; and to wear their plumes, military trophies, and uſual weapons. The cazique was very deſirous of knowing, whether the Chriſtians had any knowlege of the flood that deſtroyed the world, and was aſtoniſhed at their anſwering in the affirmative. He whiſpered the interpreter in the ear, aſking whether thoſe knowing people came from heaven? and whether they were not wafted upon clouds? Prodigious preſents in gold plates were made by the women that received baptiſm; but the people did not long retain their reverence for the Spaniards. They were diſguſted by their inſolence and rapacity. The curioſity which they expreſſed to know where the gold-mines lay, roufed their jealouſy that they entertained deſigns of ſubjecting the country, and eſtabliſhing colonies. The natives aſſembled in their own defence, they attacked the Spaniards, who were careleſsly diſperſed in parties round the country, ſkirmiſhed with ſome ſucceſs, but could not prevent them from uniting, and retiring to their ſhips with the preſents they had received.

A.D.1524. Every thing being settled on this side, Cortez bent his thoughts on finding a passage from Honduras to the South Sea. The command of this enterprize he conferred on Christopher d'Olid; who had, upon many occasions, signalized his zeal and valour, and eminently distinguished himself by his good sense and spirit. Five ships, well provided, and five hundred Spaniards, were assigned him, with which he had orders to repair first to the Havannah, where he was to purchase a great quantity of arms, provision, and other necessaries. He was to proceed afterwards to Ybueras, and there to found a colony. It was during his residence at the Havannah that he was persuaded, by the friends of Velasquez, to throw off all obedience to Cortez, and commit the first breach of that fidelity, which he had hitherto inviolably preserved upon the most trying occasions. As to any private motives he could have, they were never known, but it is certain, that on his return to the continent, after having built the town called Triumpo de la Cruz, in the neighbourhood of Cavallos, he openly avowed his intentions. Against him Cortez sent Francisco de la Casas, who arrived at the new settlement at the time when d'Olid had fitted out two vessels at the new town of San Gil Buenavista, one of the many settlements already planted in this country by the Spaniards. At first the parties cannonaded each other from their vessels, by which means one of d'Olid's caravels was sunk. This accident obliged him to make overtures of submitting to Cortez, on condition that he should be allowed to keep his command. In the midst of the treaty a tempest arose, Casas's two ships were driven a-ground, forty of his soldiers drowned, and the rest, with their commander, forced to save their lives by swimming, and to throw themselves upon the mercy of d'Olid. He treated the prisoners with so much kindness, that most of the soldiers enlisted under his banner. Being thus reinforced, he intercepted and took several out-parties belonging to Cortez, and among others, one very considerable detachment, commanded by Giles Gonzalez. Neither gratitude nor honour could insure the affections of Cortez's soldiers who had enlisted with d'Olid; it is probable they were instigated by Casas. First they demanded their dismission, which being delayed under various pretexts, they broke out into murmuring, and at last formed a conspiracy, which proved fatal to the life of d'Olid. He was assassinated in a base manner, as the just punishment of his perfidy to Cortez, who had always treated him with the marks of the strongest friendship.

The farther actions, and the death of Cortez.

Some writers ascribe the divisions among the Spaniards in Mexico to the policy of Charles V. who dreaded the

ambition and popularity of Cortez. He imagined that his towering ſpirit, the elevation of his genius, and the veneration in which he was held by the Mexicans, might ſtimulate him to uſurp an independent authority over this great empire, and throw off all obedience to the Spaniſh crown. Herrera inſinuates the jealouſy of the court, by obſerving, that Charles paid little regard to the complaints of his general againſt the mutinous ſpirit of his officers; thinking it convenient that ſo great a government ſhould be divided, there being now little danger that the Mexicans would attempt to throw off the Spaniſh yoke. Cortez was preparing to take the field againſt the revolted d'Olid, of whoſe death he had yet received no intelligence, when a number of officers, appointed by the king, arrived in Mexico. Alonſo de Eſpada was ſent in quality of treaſurer, one Albernon came in the character of comptroller, Alernoz Chirinos was inſpector, and Gonzalo de Talazar took upon him the quality of factor and agent, employments which they began to exerciſe with all the petulance of office, making reformations in the whole œconomy of Cortez, endeavouring to retrench his authority, and mortify his ſpirit. They tried to fruſtrate the expedition againſt d'Olid; but Cortez purſued his meaſures with ſucceſs, in deſpite of all oppoſition, and began his march with above a hundred horſe, a hundred and fifty Spaniſh foot, and three thouſand armed Indians, for Ybueras. He was no ſooner gone, than the government, now lodged in the hands of the treaſurer, and the other Spaniſh officers who had lately arrived, fell into anarchy and confuſion. Every man was eager to engroſs more power than fell to his ſhare; and theſe magiſtrates agreed in nothing but their enmity to Cortez, and a reſolution to plunder his houſe, and make their own fortunes, upon a report that he had periſhed in the attempt to reduce d'Olid. There was ſomething unaccountably licentious in their behaviour. They ſold off the general's effects, and thoſe of his principal officers, as if they themſelves had been the neareſt heirs, and they had been certain of his deceaſe; they even arreſted, tortured, and hanged the faithful Frederic Paze, the ſteward and kinſman of Cortez, becauſe they ſuppoſed he had concealed the general's treaſure. The treaſurer carried his inſolence and cruelty to ſuch a pitch, that he ordered a Spaniard's wife to be publicly ſcourged, only becauſe ſhe expreſſed her ſuſpicon, that the report concerning the general's death was ill-founded.

In this manner was Cortez treated by his ungrateful countrymen at Mexico, while he was hazarding his life, and ſupporting incredible fatigue in the ſervice of the public. A.D. 1525.

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He marched through a wild, uncultivated, deſart, marſhy country, having, in the ſpace of thirty-five leagues, croſſed fifty rivers, over which he laid bridges with infinite labour, and ſubdued various nations, who had been ſeduced to revolt by the diviſions among the Spaniards. After a victory obtained over the lord of Patouchan, he founded a little ſettlement in his dominions. For ſeveral months he traverſed barren countries, ſuffered all the extremities of want, exhibited freſh and aſtoniſhing proofs of conſtancy and perſeverance, built La Natividad on the bay of St. Andrews; and, after having paſſed through the vaſt tract of country between Mexico and Honduras, returned again to the capital. It appears from Herrera's relation, that Cortez took with him the royal captive, Guatimozin, upon this expedition; probably to prevent any deſigns to ſet him at liberty, during his abſence from Mexico. This monarch ſtill retained the ambitious notion of one day re-aſcending his throne, for which purpoſe he was continually forming ſome new conſpiracy. At this juncture, when Cortez was preſſed with the united misfortunes of famine, fatigue, and diſeaſe, Guatimozin ſet on foot a project for murdering him and his principal officers, and ſent advice of his deſign to his friends in Mexico, that they might be in readineſs to ſecond his enterprize. Happily, however, remorſe ſeized the breaſt of Mexicatſin, one of the conſpirators, who diſcovered the whole affair to Cortez, and at the ſame time confirmed his relation by giving the names of all the accomplices. The general called a court-martial: the emperor, and his principal officers, were tried, condemned, and hanged, with all the formalities which the ſituation of the place would permit; the credulous Mexicans perſuaded themſelves, that he came to the knowlege of their contrivances by means of a ſea-compaſs, which he always carried with him, and which he now made ſubſervient to his policy, by cheriſhing the deluſion of the Indians. It was at Truxillo that Cortez was firſt made acquainted with the diſturbances in Mexico, the ſale of his own effects, the death of his ſteward, and the arbitrary conduct of the new officers, with whom he had intruſted the government. No time was to be loſt in deliberation; he immediately iſſued out commiſſions to ſome of his friends, in whom he had the greateſt confidence, to ſuperſede to preſent magiſtrates, and take the government upon themſelves, until his arrival. Theſe he diſpatched by a truſty Spaniard, eſcorted by ſome Indians. The arrival of this meſſenger, and the certainty that Cortez was living, diffuſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction among his friends in the capital, and confounded his enemies, who were immediately depoſed and taken into cuſtody.

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The expedition to Ybueras was not finiſhed before the year 1527. Next year he found it adviſeable to make a voyage to Spain, to ſolicit the court in perſon for more ample powers, to juſtify his conduct from the aſperſions raiſed by the malignity of his enemies, and to procure a ſtronger curb on the ſeditious, headſtrong humour of the inferior officers, each of whom aſpired at being the firſt in command. He was well received by the emperor Charles V. who created him marquis of Guaxaca, procured him an honourable marriage, and conferred on him the whole vale of Atriſco, as the inadequate reward of his eminent ſervices; but, however, he ſuffered Cortez to return the enſuing year to Mexico, with a very limited commiſſion, which did not at all anſwer the purpoſe of his application. In progreſs of time the marquis of Guaxaca loſt all civil authority, in conſequence of a viceroy's being appointed; but he retained the dignity and power of captain-general. When Mendoza came over to Mexico, with the commiſſion of viceroy, the government was immediately diſtracted by the oppoſition between the civil and military officers. Cortez had conquered Mexico, and he reaſonably imagined he ſhould reap the reward, by enjoying the full authority, civil and military, during life. However, he never once loſt ſight of his patriotiſm, nor ſuffered private animoſity to prejudice the ſervice of his country. He went on with all poſſible alacrity in reducing provinces, and making diſcoveries in the moſt remote parts of the ſouthern continent of America. He even co-operated cordially with his rival, in attempts towards the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage, and likewiſe in the reduction of the provinces of Sibola and Quivera, ſituated at the immenſe diſtance of five hundred leagues from Mexico. A great number of expeditions were made to the northward. The Spaniards went to a country governed by a great lord, called Ticoantipe Cician Pipe, who received them hoſpitably, and ſent ambaſſadors to Cortez, imagining that he had dropt from the clouds, and believing his veſſels to be ſea-monſters of an extraordinary nature. This prince greatly admired the Spaniſh horſes and fire-arms; and offered them fifty thouſand men to aſſiſt in reducing Tatepec, who had declared himſelf his enemy, on account of his partiality to the Spaniards. In the year 1542, the marquis of Guaxaca reſolved to make another voyage to Spain, in conſequence of certain diſputes with the viceroy, relating to the late diſcoveries. His reception, and the ſucceſs of his application, were the ſame as before; he was much reſpected and careſſed by the emperor, who, however, artfully evaded taking cognizance of

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the dispute between the marquis and viceroy. Cortez was too penetrating not to discover the partiality of the court to his rival; however, he determined to extinguish every spark of suspicion by his conduct. He redoubled his assiduities towards the emperor, attended him in the famous expedition against Algiers, charged as a volunteer, was unhorsed in battle, and is reported to have lost two emeralds in the field of immense value. This was the last military action of his life; the remainder was spent in a retired manner; and he yielded up his last breath at a village near Seville, on the 2d day of December, in the year 1554, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Such was the end of this illustrious conqueror, the greatest hero, and one of the brightest ornaments in the Spanish annals; who, by dint of personal merit, raised himself to the highest pinnacle of wealth and renown, in despite of the malice of public and private enemies. Courage, magnanimity, constancy, prudence, and deep policy, were united in the character of this great conqueror, with a certain allay of human infirmity from which no mortal was ever wholly exempt.

SECT. VIII.

Containing an Account of the Origin, Kings, Laws, Religion, Learning, &c. of the ancient Mexicans.

Origin of the Mexicans.

IF we may give any credit to the Mexican tradition, that empire was first inhabited by a savage and barbarous people, who lived naked upon fruits, roots, and the game they took in hunting, at which they were very dexterous. They had no idea of assisting nature, or cultivating the earth; they lived in caves, or hollow trees; laws, and all the acts of civil society, were utterly unknown to them; whence, says Herrera, they were called Chichimecas, or Otonnies, signifying, in the language of the country, *barbarians*. Some of these nations remained unconquered and uncivilized in the mountains in the days of Cortez; and we find that general forming alliances with them, and making them subservient to his purpose, in consequence of the information he had of their love of liberty, and detestation of the Mexican government. Like the Tartars of the northern parts of Asia, they migrated from one province to another, just as it answered their convenience; and when they went to the chase, they were attended by their women, who left the

the children ſuſpended upon the boughs of trees till their return.

The Chichimecas either removed voluntarily from the plains of Mexico, or were driven from thence by another people, equally ſavage, whom the Spaniſh writers call Navatlacas, without giving any other account of their origin, than their emerging into light from the ſeven caves, according to their own tradition, and as the name imports; but where theſe caves were ſituated, or what was directly meant by the word, we have no information. Acoſta indeed relates in general terms, that the Navatlacas were compoſed of ſeven tribes, who anciently dwelt in thoſe countries, lying between the thirtieth and fortieth degrees of northern latitude; that about the year 820, they began to remove to the country denominated Mexico, and ſpent eighty years in their progreſs. This migration was effected by ſingle tribes, who ſet out in ſearch of new habitations, and moved on gradually without regard to the reſt of the nation, if a people unconnected by laws, or any kind of civil policy, can with propriety be called a nation. Colonies were planted by the way ſo leiſurely, that, according to the Chriſtian computation, it was not before the beginning of the tenth century the firſt tribe called Suchimilcans, or *Gardeners of Flowers*, eſtabliſhed themſelves on the ſouth ſide of the great lake of Mexico, where they built a city, which was denominated after the name of its founders.

The next tribe that migrated from the northern continent, in queſt of more comfortable habitations, were the people called Chalci, or the race of Chalcas. Their migration was ſeveral years ſubſequent to that of the Suchimilcans. They likewiſe arrived on the banks of the Mexican lake, were pleaſed with their ſituation, laid the foundation of the city, called by their name Chalcas, ſignifying, according to the interpretation of Herrera, *the People of the Mouths*.

The people called Tepeacans were the third tribe that removed from their own country, and fixed themſelves on the fertile banks of this beautiful piece of water. The city which they founded was called Azapuzalco, or *ants neſt*, a term given to expreſs the extraordinary increaſe and induſtry of the firſt inhabitants.

The people of the adjoining mountains, termed Calhua, compoſed the fourth tribe, colonized the eaſtern banks of the lake, built the city Tezeuco, and were much admired for the politeneſs of their manners, and the ſweetneſs of their language, which, according to the Spaniſh writers, greatly excelled all the other dialects of the Mexican tongue;

tongue; whence it appears that all thoſe tribes had one original fundamental language, from which aroſe the different dialects.

Before the arrival of the tribe called Tlatleucans, the four ſides of the lake were occupied, which obliged that people to continue their journey acroſs the mountains, and poſſeſs themſelves of the ſpot called Eagle's Valley, or Quahuahunac, now known by the name of the Marquiſate. Here they built the city Quahuahunac, which ſome writers call Queruavaca, in a fruitful, flat, and pleaſant valley.

The tribe denominated Tlaſcatelcans, advanced ſtill farther, and ſeized upon the country called Tlaſcala, or the *Land of Corn*, from its exceeding fertility in grain. They combated the utmoſt difficulties, not only from the roughneſs of the countries over which they paſſed, but from the arms of the natives, who are reported to have been of gigantic ſtature, and to have obſtinately oppoſed the pretenſions of the ſtrangers. At laſt, after many bloody battles, they were forced to yield to ſuperior numbers, and retreat, like the reſt of the Chichimecas and Otonnies, to inacceſſible mountains, where they preſerved their liberties againſt all the power of the Mexican empire, until the invaſion of the Spaniards.

At laſt arrived the ſeventh tribe, about three centuries after the migration of the Suchimilcans. Some alleged they were called Mexicans, from their leader Mexi. They advanced ſouthwards to ſeek out new habitations, being told by their god Vitzliputſli, that they ſhould obtain the dominion over all the tribes who preceded them, and poſſeſs a country abounding in fine feathers, precious mantles, gold, ſilver, and the moſt valuable jewels. Relying on this prophecy, they began their tedious journey, carrying the image of their god incloſed in a cheſt, ſupported on the ſhoulders of four prieſts, to whom the deity, according to their tradition, revealed the courſe they ſhould take, and the accidents that would occur in the journey. From theſe prieſts, who found means to perſuade this ſimple people that they were inſpired, the Mexicans received laws, religious rites, and all the regulations of civil ſociety. They never pitched or removed their camp but by the advice of theſe ſacred impoſtors; the prieſts directed when they ſhould decamp, and when ſettle, probably as it anſwered their own conveniency, and contributed to ſupport their influence. Whenever they halted, an altar was erected in the midſt of the camp, under the auſpices of the prieſts, upon which the idol reſted, who was ſuppoſed to iſſue directions with reſpect to ſowing, reaping, and building. Many years were conſumed

consumed in this migration, before the Mexicans reached the promised land. Colonies were left behind, and the course of their journey was marked with instances of their ignorance, superstition and industry. At length they arrived at Mechoacan, where they proposed terminating their labours: but the god was displeased with their design; he thundered down his vengeance, and in one night a multitude of the Mexicans perished. Probably disputes arose about the place they should chuse for their abode, and the bloodshed which followed was ascribed to the anger of the divinity. For this reason the Mexicans again began their peregrinations, but with such reluctance, that they poured out their complaints in the bosom of a sorceress among them; which coming to the ears of the priests, they declared it was the will of the deity, she and her family should be left behind. The sorceress finding herself abandoned, founded a town called Malinalco, which hath been ever since reputed famous for witchcraft, and assigned for the residence of the magicians employed in the service of the emperors. All the lands round the lake being already occupied, this tribe was forced to have recourse to arms and intrigue, to procure a settlement in the spot fixed upon by their deity. At last they obtained a little establishment on certain islands in the lake, on condition of paying a tribute to their countrymen, who founded an exclusive right in conquest and possession. This proving irksome to the free spirit of the people, the priests gave out, that Vitzliputsli appeared to them in a dream, and commanded the Mexicans to fix their abode in that part of the lake where they should find an eagle perching on a fig-tree, rising out of a rock. Immediately they set out in search of this habitation, and found a most beautiful eagle sitting on the fig-tree, the wings expanded, the eyes fixed upon the sun, and a little bird struggling to get out of her talons. All fell down and worshipped the object; Herrera alleges, that they offered human sacrifices, and sprinkled the tree with the blood of one of the children of the sorceress, who had been left behind at Malinalco. It was on this very spot the Mexicans built the city of Tecnahtitlan, or the *Tuna-tree* on a rock. Hence were taken the Mexican arms, of an eagle with her wings displayed, gazing upon the sun, a snake in her talons, and one foot resting on the branch of a fig-tree, to which the emperor Charles V. made some additions after the conquest of the empire by the Mexicans. Gratitude to the god was the first care of the Mexicans. Accordingly they erected an altar in the midst of the island, on which they placed the idol of their god, and then fell to work in building

Mexico built.

ing a city, which they divided into four quarters, now called the wards of St. John, St. Mary Rotunda, St. Paul, and St. Sebastian. They exchanged fish, hogs, and wild fowl, caught in the lake, with their neighbours for timber, stone, and other materials for building; they joined several islands by bridges, filled up great part of the lake with timber and stone-work, and thus raised the foundation of the famous city of Mexico, by very early proofs of their genius, invention, and industry. The inhabitants being distributed into several wards, the great god Vitzliputsli, or rather his priests, directed, that each should have its tutelary deity to preside over the ward in a subordinate capacity to the supreme divinity. To these the priests gave names, and assigned places of worship; which was no impolitic method of increasing the number of the sacerdotal tribe, and extending their influence.

Herrera mentions an eighth tribe, which migrated from the north, after the building of Mexico; and, notwithstanding this circumstance is omitted by other historians, it seems to be as well founded as the rest, every one of which is replete with fable and absurdity. This tribe was distinguished by long hoods, which were afterwards adopted by the Mexicans in their dances. They first settled at Tulo, and were ever afterwards distinguished by the appellation of Tuloticans, although their last abode was at Guaxaca. They were charitable, devout, ingenious, and excellent husbandmen. They contributed greatly to civilize the barbarous inhabitants of the lake, and were held in such high esteem, that when any man was complimented on his genius, wisdom, and justice, it was usual to say he was a Tulotican.

The above mentioned partition of the city of Mexico could not prevent the inhabitants from falling into parties and factions that threatened the destruction of the infant state. Colonies were therefore sent abroad in search of new habitations, that sufficient room might be made for those who remained. Most of the swarms sent off in this manner united, and settling themselves at Tlatelulco, soon forgot all respect for the mother-country, grew turbulent, and waged perpetual cruel wars with the Mexicans. These foreign attacks, together with the civil commotions which still continued, brought the Mexicans to the brink of despair, and obliged them to deliberate upon some method of establishing the tranquillity of the city. Several propofals were made; but all were attended with some inconvenience, as being calculated to elevate one faction upon the ruins of another. The project most universally received was, that a king should be elected, with full power to execute whatever

ever he might think conducive to the ſafety and intereſt of his people; but ſo many of the chiefs put in their claim for this diſtinguiſhing proof of ſuperior merit, that in the end it was reſolved to chuſe a ſovereign out of ſome of the ſurrounding nations. The Mexicans had been long at variance with the monarch of Culuacan, and it was hoped that, by chuſing his grandſon, the two cities might be united in one common intereſt, and connected by a perpetual alliance. The overture was made to the ſovereign of Culuacan, and accepted. His grandfather married the prince Acamapixtli to a young lady of the firſt quality in his dominions, and then ſent the youthful monarch with his conſort to govern the Mexicans, by whom he was received as a guardian angel. On his arrival he was, in a ſtudied harangue, given to underſtand that he was raiſed to that exalted dignity, not to gratify his appetites and tyrannize over his ſubjects, but to watch over their welfare, promote their happineſs, and take upon him the whole burden of public affairs. Acamapixtli promiſed all that was enjoined, and confirmed it with an oath; then a crown was placed on his head, and his hand filled with arrows, to expreſs that he was the defender of the city.

The Mexicans elect a king.

Firſt king.

For a ſeries of years the Mexicans had been diſtracted by civil broils and foreign wars; now they became a moderate people, obedient to their ſovereign, and ſenſible of the benefits they deduced from this change in their political ſyſtem. They not only enjoyed felicity at home, but roſe daily in reputation abroad, which excited the jealouſy of the neighbouring princes and ſtates, by which their tranquillity was again diſturbed. Among other enemies was the king of Azaputzalco, to whom they were forced to pay a yearly tribute; which mark of their ſubmiſſion ſo elated that tyrant, that he ſoon became capricious and whimſical in his demands, inſiſting that the Mexicans ſhould not only ſupply him with timber, but ſow corn in the water, and pay him the annual produce. The Mexicans murmured at the unreaſonableneſs of the impoſition; but their god Vitziliputſli comforted them with aſſurances, that this inſolence of the Tepeacans would be retorted upon their own heads. He gave directions how to comply with the abſurd demand, and promiſed future rewards, ſhould they perſevere in the taſk without murmuring. He taught them to make floating baſkets of reeds, which they filled with earth: in theſe they ſowed corn, the produce of which they paid by way of tribute to the proud tyrant. Azaputzalco was aſtoniſhed at their ingenuity; but inſtead of relaxing in his demands, he inſiſted upon things which he believed were

ſtill more impoſſible, to try whether the Mexicans were really magicians as he ſuſpected. The next tribute he impoſed was very extraordinary: he demanded, for the acknowlegement of the enſuing year, that certain birds ſhould be brought to him, with their eggs ſo ready to hatch, that the young ſhould break their ſhells in his preſence; with which command the god likewiſe enabled them to comply. Acamapixtli in vain endeavoured to break the galling yoke; the god, ſay the Mexicans, reſerved this bleſſing for a proper ſeaſon, and this excellent prince yielded his laſt breath, after a reign of more than forty years, ſpent in beautifying the city, building bridges, regulating his dominions, and performing every duty of a great and good monarch. Many of the canals and aqueducts, ſo much admired by the Spaniards, were the work of Acamapixtli; who, notwithſtanding he left a numerous family, would appoint none of his children for his ſucceſſor, ſaying, that his people had a right to diſpoſe of themſelves as they thought proper, and that to impoſe a ſovereign upon them was to deprive them of their natural liberty.

Second king. The children of the deceaſed monarch reaped the fruits of this inſtance of moderation. With one voice the Mexicans proclaimed Vitzilocutly the ſucceſſor to his father's dignity, as ſoon as the funeral obſequies of the late prince were performed. He was crowned and anointed with the utmoſt ceremony, and adored in a manner little inferior to the gods. It was the cuſtom of the Mexicans to appoint one of the elders of the city to infuſe ſalutary maxims in the breaſt of the new monarch, by a formal harangue, pronounced before the aſſembled people. The ſage choſen for this purpoſe recommended it to Vitzilocutly, to be the guardian of the infirm, the aged, the widow, and orphan; to be the father of the public, and to ſtudy the happineſs of the people, whom he called the feathers of his wings, the balls of his eyes, and the ornament of his countenance. Immediately after his coronation, the young monarch, by the advice of his council, married the daughter of Azcapualco, the inveterate enemy of his country, in hopes of reconciling the two nations; and the project ſucceeded ſo far, that the whole tribute was remitted, except two fowls and ſome fiſh, which were yearly ſent as a teſtimony of the vaſſalage of the Mexicans.

Third king. This prince dying, after a ſhort reign, the people elected in his room his ſon Chiluapopoca, out of reſpect to his grandfather, although he was then but ten years of age; but Azcapualco dying, the treacherous Tepeacans murdered the minor king of Mexico, and thereby revived the ancient

ancient animoſities betwixt the two nations. To conduct the war that enſued, the Mexicans choſe Izcoalt for their fourth king.

Izcoalt was a prince of great valour and prudence, inheriting all the virtues of his illuſtrious father, the royal Acamapixtli. He declared war againſt the Tepeacans, and purſued it with ſo much ſucceſs, that the enemy were entirely ſubdued, and their dominions reduced to a province of the empire. His nephew Tlacaellec, the greateſt warrior of his time, was at the head of the Mexican troops; and this general no ſooner finiſhed the Tepeacan war than he turned his arms againſt the cities Tacuba, Cacoaycan, Suchimilco, and all the tribes ſurrounding the lake of Mexico, whom he defeated, and compelled to acknowlege the ſovereignty of his monarch. Every thing ſucceeded with the fortunate Izcoalt, who may properly be deemed the founder of the Mexican empire; becauſe in his reign the city firſt extended her authority over the warlike nations of the lake, acquired the reputation of ſuperior power and valour, and eſtabliſhed that ſyſtem of legiſlation, which was ſoon adopted by all the barbarians inhabiting this immenſe track of country. He made ſome very conſiderable alterations in the political conſtitution of the Mexicans, by convincing them of the inconvenience reſulting from popular elections, and perſuading them to transfer their right of chuſing their ſovereigns to ſix electors, whom he nominated, namely, the kings of Tezeuco and Tacuba, and four princes of the blood royal. The people conſented to this innovation, and were never afterwards permitted to intermeddle in elections. Some of the great cauſeways were alſo built by Izcoalt, particularly that of Suchimilco. *Fourth king.*

After a proſperous reign of twelve years Izcoalt died, and the electors met to chuſe a ſucceſſor. The general Tlacuellec was one of the number, and had by his virtues acquired ſuch influence, that his nephew Motezuma, the firſt of that name, was raiſed unanimouſly to the throne of Mexico. To this prince is aſcribed the barbarous cuſtom of ſacrificing all priſoners taken from the enemy, to add to the ſolemnity of his coronation. To expreſs his readineſs to lay down his life for his country, Motezuma being placed before the ſacred fire in the temple, where the oath was adminiſtered to him, drew blood from the veins of his arms and legs, with the ſharp bone of a tiger, and ſprinkled the altar. Immediately after this ceremony, he invaded the Chalci in perſon, and returned triumphant with a multitude of captives, the principal of whom he ſacrificed on *Fifth king.*

the day of his inauguration. The Chalci, however, were obſtinate; they were defeated, but not conquered. The war went on with great vigour, and coſt Motezuma the life of a brother; who, being taken priſoner by the enemy, had an offer of being raiſed to the royal dignity. This extraordinary propoſal he rejected until he could ſpeak with his countrymen; and to gratify a prince who had gained on the affections of the Chalci, they ordered a ſcaffold to be erected, from which he was allowed to harangue the Mexicans. "The gods forbid (ſaid he) that I ſhould be ſo far dazzled by the ſplendor of a crown as to commit treaſon. Learn of me, ye Mexicans, the duty which you owe to your king and your country;" ſo ſaying, he flung himſelf headlong from the ſcaffold, and periſhed. All admired the virtue of this young prince, the Chalci were inconſolable, and Motezuma was animated to revenge his death. Several bloody battles were fought, and the Chalci entirely ſubdued, after an obſtinate ſtruggle. The Mexican altars reeked with the blood of the priſoners, who were ſacrificed to the manes of the prince; and hence this cuſtom came to be eſtabliſhed, it being afterwards uſual in all the wars, to offer up the blood of their unfortunate captives to the gods.

Tlacaellec was ſtill at the head of the forces. To his good conduct chiefly was owing the reduction of the Chalci, and of all the nations bordering on the North and South Seas; but he was leſs ſucceſsful in the wars againſt the Tlaſcalans. This brave people had formed themſelves into a republic, and defended their liberties with unparalleled courage. They foiled all the addreſs of the Mexican general, and withſtood the utmoſt efforts of the numerous armies of the enemy. The Mexicans had a tradition that Motezuma ſuffered the Tlaſcalans to maintain their independency, only that he might have an enemy to exerciſe the Mexican youth in war, and furniſh the altars of the gods with ſacrifices; notwithſtanding which boaſt, it is certain, that many ſerious attempts were made to reduce a nation which was conſidered as a galling thorn in the ſides of the Mexican emperors. When Motezuma had ſecured himſelf againſt all foreign attacks, he turned his attention to the civil œconomy of his kingdom; which, upon account of his vaſt conqueſts, required extraordinary regulations and changes. He ſettled the royal court with great ſtate and magnificence; he eſtabliſhed courts of judicature in all the provinces; appointed cenſors to examine into the manners of the people; and, laſtly, built that celebrated temple

temple to the god Vitzliputſli, ſo much admired by the Spaniards, and ſo minutely deſcribed by all the hiſtorians of that nation.

After a reign of twenty-eight years, in which he diſ- *Sixth king.*
played the virtues of a good citizen, an experienced general, and a wiſe monarch, Motezuma died, leaving the crown to be diſpoſed of at the pleaſure of the electors. The general Tlacaellec had conſiderably enlarged his influence during the late reign. His victories had rendered him extremely popular; the conqueſts he had made, added greatly to the grandeur and power of the empire; and the civil regulations which he had projected, contributed to ſecure the happineſs of the people. It was no wonder then, if the Mexicans were deſirous of raiſing to the ſupreme dignity a perſon ſo well qualified to govern. All the electors voted with one voice that he ſhould be rewarded with the imperial diadem; but the prudence of Tlacaellec triumphed over his ambition, and reſiſted all the importunity of the Mexicans. He poſitively refuſed to accept the crown for himſelf, while he recommended Tezazic, the eldeſt ſon of the late monarch, to their favour. It is difficult to imagine what could induce the general to this choice. Tezazic was puſillanimous, weak, and equally unfit to extend his dominions by war, or to render his empire reſpectable in peace; however, as Tlacaellec undertook to ſupply the deficiencies of his capacity, the young prince was elected, anointed, and crowned, with the uſual ceremonies. The practice of the laſt monarch had eſtabliſhed it as a cuſtom, that every new elected ſovereign ſhould immediately diſtinguiſh his merit, by the reduction of ſome neighbouring nation. Tezazic, much againſt his inclination, was obliged to comply with a cuſtom now regarded as eſſential to the conſtitution, and an indiſpenſable condition of his election. He therefore began his march with an army to ſubdue a province, and behaved ſo ill, that he returned with great loſs, and diſappointed in his purpoſe. However, he kept up the appearance of a conqueror, endeavouring to divert the attention of the Mexicans from his miſconduct, by ſhews and feſtivals; at one of which he was poiſoned, after a ſhort inglorious reign of no more than four years.

Although the recommendation of Tlacaellec proved unfor- *Seventh king.*
tunate in this inſtance, he nevertheleſs preſerved his influence. The choice of a ſucceſſor was referred to him; and the general, out of gratitude to the memory of Motezuma, nominated Axayaca, the ſecond ſon of that monarch, and brother to the lately diſeaſed ſovereign. Old age having diſqualified Tlacaellec from commanding the army in perſon,

ſon, his ſon was raiſed to the dignity of general in chief of the Mexican armies by the grateful Axayaca; ſoon after which event the venerable Tlacaellec died, and was buried with all the honours due to his extraordinary merit, and attachment to the royal family.

The firſt expedition made by Axayaca was againſt the province of Tecomtipique and Guatulco, two hundred miles to the ſouthward of Mexico, which he ſubdued, after having defeated the enemy in a pitched battle. He returned in triumph to the city, attended with a crowd of captives, whom he ſacrificed in the temples at his coronation, and then ſet out upon another expedition againſt Tlatelulco, in which he was equally fortunate. The remainder of this prince's reign was pacific and happy; eleven years he ſpent, from the time of his coronation, in ſubduing his enemies, enlarging his dominions, augmenting his reputation, and promoting the felicity of his people.

Eighth king. When the throne became vacant by the death of Axayaca, the electors raiſed Autzal, one of their own number, to the ſupreme dignity. This prince was nothing inferior to the moſt glorious of his predeceſſors in valour, wiſdom, affability, and every virtue that graces and diſtinguiſhes the monarch. Being informed that the inhabitants of Quaxacatatlan had committed ſome violence againſt the tributaries of his crown, he took the field with an army to puniſh their inſolence, and ſoon reduced the city to ſubmiſſion. Proceeding in the courſe of conqueſt, he extended his dominions as far as Guatimala, annexing that province, and divers others, to his crown. But the fame of his victories was ſtill inferior to the reputation acquired by his clemency to the conquered, his generoſity to his ſoldiers, charity to the poor, and humanity to all without diſtinction. Void of all oſtentation, he ſtudied only the good of his ſubjects, and prudently checked that ambition of conqueſt, which frequently renders the ſubjects wretched, while it makes the ſovereign great. Autzal ſpent his treaſures in beautifying and enlarging the city of Mexico, in promoting induſtry, and rendering their habitations convenient to the inhabitants. With this view he brought a river of freſh water into the city; but was ſo unfortunate as to drown ſeveral houſes by an accident. However, he repaired this loſs by dint of induſtry and genius, and completed his deſign to the great aſtoniſhment of all men, who beheld with admiration, ſo vaſt a body of water directed according to the pleaſure of the king, ſometimes making its way over, and ſometimes under mountains. This aqueduct has always been regarded as one of the moſt ingenious pieces of art in the

the great city of Mexico. He reigned about eleven years, honoured and admired; and died deeply regretted, leaving the throne to be filled by a prince of a different character, equally splendid in his virtues and vices, but more unfortunate than undeserving. This was Motezuma the second of that name, whose history we have already related, the principal event of which was the invasion of the Spaniards. *Ninth king.*

Such is the history of the ancient Mexican kings, deduced entirely from oral tradition, and consequently replete with manifold falsities, the most glaring and absurd of which we have thought proper to expunge, though we will not presume to vouch for the truth of all we have been obliged to retain. *Learning and kalendar of the Mexicans.*

We may form some idea of the genius and learning of the Mexicans from the manner in which they adjusted their kalendar. This they disposed and regulated by the sun's motion, making his altitude and declination the measure of times and seasons. To every year were allowed three hundred and sixty-four days, which they divided into eighteen months, assigning to each month twenty days. Thus the remaining four days, they added at the end of each year, to make it answer the course of the sun. They believed that these four days were designedly left by their ancestors to be employed in mirth and recreation, for which reason they devoted them entirely to dissipation. Industry ceased, shops were shut up, the course of justice was stopt, and even the rites of religion were neglected during this period. Nothing but diversion was regarded. The Mexicans signified by this festivity their intention of renewing the labours of the ensuing year with renovated vigor, the beginning of which they placed on the first day of the spring, differing from the solar year, according to the computation of their astronomers, only three days, which they took from our month of February.

Besides the division of the year into days and months, the Mexicans had an intermediate division of time into weeks, each consisted of thirteen days, with particular names, marked in their kalendar by certain images. Their age consisted of fifty-two years, or four weeks of years, the distribution of which was extremely ingenious, and described in the following manner by the elegant Antonio de Solis. They drew a large circle, which they divided into fifty-two degrees, allowing one year to each degree. In the centre stood the image of the sun, from which proceeded four rays of various colours, equally dividing the circle, and leaving thirteen degrees to each semi-diameter. These

diviſions were calculated to repreſent the ſigns of their zodiac, upon which their ages had their revolutions, and the ſun his aſpects, proſperous or adverſe, according to the colour of the deſcendent ray. In a larger circle, incloſing the other, they noted with their hieroglyphical ſigns and characters all the accidents and occurrences of the age, worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity; ſo that the Mexican kalendar was a kind of chronological regiſter of facts, and annals that greatly aſſiſted their oral tradition, by giving the fundamental points of thoſe tranſactions upon which their writers, poets, and hiſtorians expatiated. De Solis calls the kalendar a ſpecies of ſecular maps, or public inſtruments, which ſerved for a proof of their hiſtory; ſtill, however, theſe hieroglyphical ſigns and characters were imperfect, and liable to miſconſtruction. Schools were inſtituted, wherein the youth were taught to celebrate the great actions of their heroes, and the moſt memorable events of the preceding ages, upon which the Mexicans relied much more than upon their kalendar. Upon the whole, imperfect as this method muſt appear to us, who are acquainted with the uſe of letters, it muſt be acknowleged to be an ingenious ſubſtitute, and among the wiſeſt inſtitutions of the Mexican government; as the very recital of thoſe martial atchievements muſt have neceſſarily inflamed the youth with a deſire of emulating the glory of their anceſtors.

In the Mexican computation of their ages, there was a ſtrong tincture of abſurd ſuperſtition. They believed that the world was in danger of being deſtroyed when the ſun had completed the courſe of thoſe four greater weeks; and when the cloſe of this period arrived, they ſeriouſly prepared to ſuſtain the ſhock of this dreadful calamity. On the laſt night they bid farewell to the light of the ſun with tears and moans; they expected death without previous ſickneſs, they extinguiſhed their fires, broke their houſhold furniture, neglected their food, and abandoned themſelves to ſorrow. Thouſands might be ſeen walking about the fields, agitated with the moſt violent tranſports of deſpair, until the dawn of the ſucceeding day revived their hope, when they ſaluted the riſing ſun with all their muſical inſtruments, with hymns and ſongs that expreſſed their tumultuous joy. They congratulated each other, that a new age was begun, and they ſhould no more be ſubject to ſimilar dangers for the ſpace of fifty-two years; they crowded to their temples, to return thanks to their gods by ſacrifices, and to receive from their prieſts new fire, which they kept burning with the utmoſt violence for the whole day before the altar, the night concluded with ſongs, dancing,

dancing, and other diverſions, dedicated to the renewal of time, in much the ſame manner as the Romans celebrated their ſecular games. Herrera affirms, that in Yucatan, and ſeveral other provinces of New Spain, the inhabitants had bound books, with leaves, on which were inſcribed the virtues of plants and animals, the equation of time, and all the memorable events of preceding ages. "In the province of Mexico Proper, ſays he, they had a library of hiſtories and kalendars, wherein they painted ſuch things as had proper figures in their natural repreſentations; and others that had none, with arbitrary characters." By which expreſſion he would ſeem to intend, that ſenſible beings were repreſented by their pictures, and abſtract ideas typified by certain fixed characters and ſymbols, ſimilar to our art of writing and painting.

Religion of the Mexicans.

With reſpect to the religious rites and ceremonies of the Mexicans, they were replete with ſuch abſurdities, cruelties, and obſcenities, as detract greatly from the good ſenſe otherwiſe conſpicuous in that people, and cannot well be deſcribed conſiſtently with the ſtrict decorum to be obſerved in hiſtory. Amidſt a multitude of leſſer gods, and the obſcurity and blindneſs of their idolatry, they ſtill acknowleged one ſupreme Deity, the creator of the heavens and the earth, the author of all good things, and the principle by which we live, move, and have our being. To expreſs this great original of all things, the Mexican language wanted a term, no words being thought ſufficient to deſcribe his attributes. They only ſignified their belief in the exiſtence of this deity by caſting their eyes towards heaven with marks of profound veneration; and giving him, after their way, the attribute of ineffable, in the ſame manner as the Athenians worſhipped the Unknown God. Notwithſtanding they aſcribed omnipotence to the ſupreme Deity, they had no conception of ubiquity and omnipreſence; they could not believe, that it was poſſible that the ſame God could govern the whole univerſe without the aſſiſtance of inferior miniſtering gods. They imagined there were no gods in the other parts of the heavens, until men began to grow miſerable in proportion as they multiplied. They regarded the inferior gods as favourable ſpirits, produced occaſionally, without ſhrinking at all at the abſurdity of ſuppoſing them to owe their exiſtence and divine nature to the miſeries of human nature. They entertained an imperfect notion of the immortality of the ſoul, and of eternal rewards and puniſhments in a future ſtate; though their ideas of virtue, vice, and moral rectitude, were extremely groſs

groſs and abſurd. Like moſt other ſavage nations, who puſhed their inquiries into futurity, they blended the moſt ridiculous ſuperſtitions with evident truths, and buried great quantities of gold and ſilver with their deceaſed, to bear the charges of a tedious journey to the next world. Princes were honoured with mauſoleums of great extent and magnificence; and it was uſual with women to bury themſelves with their huſbands, to teſtify their affection. The *Funerals.* funeral of a prince was a dreadful ſpectacle; his whole houſhold was obliged to accompany him to the next world, or to be ſtigmatized in this with ingratitude to their benefactor; a vice of all others the moſt abhorred among the Mexicans. The dead bodies were conducted with great pomp and ſolemnity to the temples, from whence the prieſts came forth to receive them with their copper cenſors, burning incenſe, and ſinging elegies and dirges to the accompaniment of hoarſe, ill-tuned flutes; the whole forming a melancholy, dreadful diſcord. The funeral obſequies of a great man continued for ten days, during each of which ſome of his vaſſals or ſervants offered themſelves voluntary ſacrifices, in order to attend him in his dreary journey to eternity.

Next to the ſupreme God, the ancient Mexicans held the ſun, moon, the morning-ſtar, and the ſea, in the greateſt honour. It was to compliment Cortez with divine honours they called him the offſpring of the ſun. The idol Vitziliputſli, their greateſt ſenſible god, preſided over all the leſſer idols; and, as ſome imagine, was the repreſentative of the inviſible God. The idol neareſt in quality to this god, was the deity of penance and remiſſion of ſins, whom they called Tezcaltliputca, made of black marble, adorned with gold, ſilver, and jewels. In his left hand was a pen of beautiful feathers, iſſuing from a plate of finely burniſhed gold, in which he held ſome darts, intimating the puniſhment inflicted upon the wicked; and his throne was adorned with human ſkulls and bones, to denote his preſiding over famine and peſtilence. At Cholula, the inhabitants adored a famous idol, ſtyled the god of commerce, becauſe the people of that city employed themſelves in merchandize. The figure and ornaments of this deity were expreſſive of his attributes: but one eſſential quality of all the Mexican idols was, an aſpect hideouſly ugly, by way of inſpiring terror. It would be tedious to ſpecify all the leſſer deities of both ſexes adored by the Mexicans; we ſhall therefore only obſerve, that they frequently raiſed living men to divine honours, giving their priſoners the name of the idol to whom they were to be ſacrificed. For the

the ſpace perhaps of a whole year, thoſe victims were treated with the honours uſually given to the idol, worſhipped in its ſtead, adorned with the jewels of the god, and fed with the moſt delicious offerings. When a priſoner was intended to be ſacrificed, he walked along the ſtreets, the people flocked round and worſhipped him; they held forth their children and ſick, that he might come and bleſs them; but care was taken that he ſhould always be attended by a ſtrong guard, to prevent his eſcaping.

Mexican prieſts.

The Mexican prieſts were divided into the ſame orders and claſſes as the gods whom they ſerved; thoſe of the great idol Vitzliputſli ſucceeded to the ſacred office by a kind of inheritance, the right of becoming the miniſters of this god being veſted in certain families. The prieſts of the other temples were elected, though many of them had been deſtined to that function from their infancy. The ſacerdotal office was one of the moſt lucrative and important in the ſtate, as the clergy had great influence in all political and civil affairs, directing not only the conſciences of the people, but the judgment of the ſovereigns; in return for which credit, they were obliged to perform certain rigid and painful penances, as the price of the honour and eſteem in which they are held by all degrees of mankind. The high-prieſt was likewiſe the ſacrificer; he firſt plunged the knife into the breaſt of the unhappy victim, and tore out the heart; which operation his blind zeal enabled him to perform without remorſe, and regard as an action of ſublime piety and devotion.

Marriages.

Among the Mexicans, marriages bore the form of civil contracts, blended with certain religious ceremonies. The preliminary articles being adjuſted, the contracted pair appeared in the temple, and one of the prieſts founded their inclinations, by certain ceremonial queſtions, appointed by law for that purpoſe. He then took the tip of the woman's veil in one hand, and a corner of the man's garment in the other, and tied them together, to expreſs the indiſſoluble union of the lovers, and inſeparable tye of their affections. Nor did this ceremony complete their marriage; they returned to their habitation, under this emblem of the nuptial yoke, viſited the domeſtic fire, accompanied by the ſame prieſt, and offered worſhip to that element, a rite which they believe eſſential to their union and happineſs. Having ſurrounded the fire ſeven times, they ſat down to receive equal ſhares of the treat, and then the marriage was thought to be accompliſhed. The portion brought by the bride was regiſtered in a public inſtrument, that every part of it might be faithfully reſtored, in caſe of a ſeparation,

which

which frequently happened. Here the law laid no reſtraint on inclination; mutual conſent was judged ſufficient cauſe for a divorce. The parties were ſuppoſed to be beſt acquainted with their own affections; and as their happineſs was chiefly concerned, they were left to be their own judges; an inſtitution which, under certain reſtrictions, ought perhaps to be adopted, even on political principles, by more civilized nations; unleſs marriage be ſuppoſed a religious rite, ordained by the Chriſtian doctrine in its preſent form. When the nuptial tye was diſſolved, and the parties ſeparated, the boys remained with the father, while the mother was enjoined to provide for the girls; and it was capital to re-unite or cohabit again; that a due reſtraint might be laid on caprice and ſudden tranſports of anger and violent paſſion. Thus, notwithſtanding the natural fickleneſs of the people, divorces were extremely rare, and more inſtances of connubial happineſs were to be ſeen in Mexico than in any other country. The danger incurred by attempting cohabitation after the diſſolution of the nuptial bond, was ſufficient to prevent their giving way to ſlight ſallies of reſentment, while any ſparks of mutual affection remained; and the law thought it unreaſonable to oblige two perſons to inſeparable union, who entertained for each other only ſentiments of diſguſt. The Mexicans were extremely delicate with reſpect to the chaſtity and conduct of their wives, as a point in which the honour of the huſband was deeply concerned; ſo that amidſt that boundleſs licentiouſneſs with which they indulged their ſenſual appetites, they abhorred and puniſhed adultery with the utmoſt rigour.

Baptiſm. As ſoon as a child was born, the infant was carried to the temple with great ſolemnity, and received by a prieſt, who pronounced a grave and pathetic oration upon the troubles and miſeries to which it was doomed on entering into this life of wretchedneſs and corruption. In the right-hand of infants of diſtinction the prieſt put a ſword, and in the left a ſhield, to expreſs the military life to which they were deſtined. Mechanical inſtruments were put into the hands of the male children of plebian extraction, and the females of every degree touched with the ſpindle and diſtaff; intimating the proper ſphere of the more tender ſex. After this ceremony, the infants were brought up to the altar, and a kind of circumciſion was performed, by drawing blood from the privy parts with the prickle of maguey; then they were dipped in water, while certain barbarous incantations were repeated. A ridiculous kind of communion was likewiſe obſerved at ſtated periods by the

rhe Mexicans, which the prieſts adminiſtered with great devotion, by dividing into ſmall bits, a paſte idol, which they called the god of penitence. We need not obſerve the near reſemblance of theſe inſtitutions to thoſe of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian religions; it muſt ſtrike the imagination of the moſt careleſs reader; but we cannot avoid once more repeating, that many of the rites and ceremonies of the Mexicans were ſo barbarous in their nature, ſo ſhocking to humanity, ſo abſurd, beſtial, and incongruous, as to ſeem altogether incompatible with the regularity and undeniable œconomy obſervable in other parts of the government. One of the moſt deteſtable, though originally founded on policy, was that of human ſacrifices made to the gods; which was carried to ſo great a pitch of religious fury, that twenty thouſand, have ſprinkled the altars with their blood in one day. In a word, the Mexican religion was an abominable compound of impiety, abſurdity, and cruelty, rendered more glaring by the accidental rays of natural reaſon, which ſometimes enlightened the dreadful object.

Government.

It has already been obſerved, that the ancient government of the Mexicans was at firſt popular or republican; that the factions into which the people were divided obliged them to elect a ſovereign; that the power of election was lodged in the hands of the whole body of the community: but this being found attended with inconveniences, it was delegated to the kings of Tezcuco and Tacuba, and four princes of the blood royal. We alſo obſervee that the king elect, after the reign of the firſt Motezuma, was obliged, previous to his coronation, to invade ſome neighbouring nation, to augment the dominions of the crown, and to return with a number of captives, whom he was to ſacrifice to the gods at his inauguration. In his return in triumph from this expedition, the monarch was met by the nobility, the miniſters of ſtate, and the chief perſonages of the ſacerdotal function, who conducted him to the temple of the god of war, ſhed the blood of the human victims, then clothed the prince in the imperial robes, put a golden ſword, edged with ſharp flints, in his right hand, and in his left a bow and arrows, to expreſs his ſupreme authority over all matters civil and military. The diadem was then placed on his temples by the ſovereign of Tezcuco, the firſt elector of the empire; and one of the oldeſt miniſters made him a ſpeech, congratulatory and exhortatory, to the purpoſe we have already related. He was anointed by the high-prieſt with a kind of balm, jet-black, ſprinkled with conſecrated water; and, after having received

received the bleſſing of this religious ſage, adorned with a mantle, on which were painted the images of ſkulls and human bones, to remind him of his mortality. Several drugs, medicines, charms, and incantations, were likewiſe uſed at the coronation, to preſerve the prince from the infection of diſeaſes, and the power of inchantments; after theſe preliminaries, he offered incenſe to the god Vitzliputſli, and took an oath to maintain the religion and cuſtoms of his anceſtors, to preſerve the people in all their rights and privileges, and to render his ſubjects happy, and his empire powerful. It is alſo reported that he was obliged to ſwear, that the ſun ſhould ſhine by day, and the rains fall in their proper ſeaſons; and that the land ſhould neither be infeſted with plagues, famines, nor inundations, during his reign; by which ceremony it was not underſtood that the prince had power over the elements, but that he ſhould do nothing to cauſe the vengeance of heaven, or draw down the puniſhment of his ſins upon his innocent people.

Immediately after the king's coronation, his court was appointed. His houſhold and guards were magnificent beyond imagination; but as we have deſcribed many of theſe particulars in the hiſtory of the conqueſt of Mexico, it will be ſufficient to repeat that Motezuma II's court was ſplendid beyond that of any of his predeceſſors. No leſs than two hundred noblemen of the firſt diſtinction formed his body-guard, and ſerved him with profound reverence at table. De Solis makes the number ſtill greater, and deſcribes the worſhip paid to the emperor as of a piece with the adoration ſhewn to the gods. No leſs than three thouſand women were kept in the palace to gratify this monarch's luſt, in other reſpects, he was a prince of great ſpirit, policy, and magnificence. In former reigns, the palace was crouded with concubines; but Motezuma greatly augmented the number, and ſelected them from the virgins of the firſt quality in his empire, who were either given by their relations, or violently extorted by way of tribute to the ſovereign. Two of theſe ladies, the prince's favourites, were particularly diſtinguiſhed, and the Spaniſh writers honour them with the title of queens; but whether they acquired this pre-eminence from their ſuperior quality, from the peculiar favour of the ſovereign, or in conſequence of ſome contract before they were taken to the royal bed, we are not informed.

Revenues. The revenues of the crown were indeed enormous, but the chief fund aroſe from the voluntary or extorted contributions of the people. All the laborious citizens and merchants

merchants of this vaſt empire contributed a third of their profits to ſupport the imperial dignity. Officers were appointed, who made regular circuits to collect the revenue, in which they never ſuffered any deficiency, from whatever accident it might ariſe. The poor were ſtripped of their all, and the rich obliged to pay for the neceſſities of their inferiors. Whatever became of the ſubject, the monarch was maintained in the utmoſt ſplendor and luxury of pomp.

Councils.

Theſe were groſs imperfections in the Mexican government, which nevertheleſs was not devoid of excellencies. There was a remarkable harmony among the different departments of the conſtitution. There was a council of ſtate, a council or board to manage the royal revenue, a council of war, which regulated every thing relative to the army; a ſupreme council of juſtice, and a board of trade and commerce. In the council of ſtate were debated all matters of great importance; ſuch as the impoſing taxes, framing laws, forming alliances, or declaring war or peace. In this the king was ſupreme, and, indeed, arbitrary, when he choſe to diſſent from his counſellors, whom Motezuma II. conſulted, rather out of form than regard to the conſtitution. The ſupreme tribunal of juſtice reſided at Mexico, and conſiſted of twelve judges, who determined all appeals from the lower courts, and gave a final verdict, unleſs the emperor thought proper to interpoſe. The towns and provinces had their proper judges and officers, who heard the parties and decided cauſes. Their deciſions were ſummary and verbal; both ſides appeared with their claims and witneſſes, and judgment was immediately given, except when the point in litigation was thought too intricate for the determination of that court, in which caſe it was remitted to the ſuperior tribunal of Mexico. Unadorned facts and naked truth, undiſguiſed by ſophiſtry and rhetoric, alone prevailed; and if juſtice was at all perverted, the cauſe of this perverſion was immediately known, that it was the pleaſure of the ſovereign, in which the people readily acquieſced. Cuſtom and the inſtitutions of their anceſtors uſually regulated the conduct of the judges. Rewards and puniſhments were diſpenſed with the greateſt caution, and moſt rigid regard to juſtice. Murder, theft, adultery, and even the appearance of treaſon, were puniſhed with death; ſodomy and robbery too were deemed capital crimes; but ſome writers allege, that the firſt inſtance of theft and robbery was puniſhed only with the loſs of liberty, and the ſecond with the loſs of life. Corruption in the miniſters was capital; but ſlighter miſdemeanors were eaſily

eaſily pardoned, ſays de Solis, in a country where religion itſelf deformed juſtice by tolerating vice. The crimes committed by the magiſtrates were cloſely inſpected by the prince, and always ſeverely puniſhed. This muſt be confeſſed from the ſuperficial view of the Mexican policy exhibited by the Spaniſh writers, that they were poſſeſſed of ſome moral virtues. Their integrity and ſtrict regard to that kind of juſtice with which they were acquainted, was ſufficient to redreſs injuries, and maintain ſociety among fellow-citizens. The Mexicans amidſt all their impieties, impurities, and abſurdities, ſtill preſerved ſome regard to that primitive equity implanted in the human ſoul, when men had no laws, becauſe they were ignorant of crimes.

The council of war nominated all inferior officers, iſſued out the pay of the ſoldiers, took care that the army was properly ſupplied with proviſion and every other neceſſary, and recommended to the royal notice the officers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal, courage, or capacity. As the government was in a great meaſure military, the ſoldiers were more favoured than any other degree of people. They ſooner roſe to great fortunes, to dignities, poſts, and employments, and even to civil titles and honours, than perſons of the ſame quality of any other profeſſion. Wherever the troops reſided, they were diſtinguiſhed by particular privileges and immunities; for this reaſon the nobility and gentry flocked to the army as the regular channel of preferment. It was therefore eaſy for the Mexican government to maintain a prodigious army, where men of fortune ſerved at their own private expence, in hopes of raiſing themſelves to the royal notice by their merit. Beſides, the caziques, and curacas, or governors of provinces, were obliged to bring a certain number of men into the field when required; and, if we may credit de Solis, the emperor of Mexico had thirty vaſſals, who could each of them raiſe a hundred thouſand able-bodied ſoldiers. Theſe troops were commanded by their reſpective princes in perſon, who all received their orders from the emperor or his repreſentative. In all wars of great importance the emperor took the field. Military honours were inſtituted as rewards to thoſe who had eminently ſignalized their valour; and they were of different kinds, in order to diſcriminate between the different degrees of merit. Some wore the eagle for a badge, others the tyger, and a third the lion, as the devices of their ſeveral orders. There was one of a ſuperior nature, to which none but princes were raiſed: of this order the emperor himſelf was always a member

Rewards of merit.

member. They wore their hair tied back with a red ribbon, to which were ſuſpended a number of taſſels, according to the exploits they had performed, which hung down their ſhoulders, a new one being added every time they performed any ſignal action. This was an admirable contrivance to excite emulation; and the honours were eagerly ſought after, becauſe they were never abuſed or conferred on the unworthy by court-favour. Signal ſervices alone gave a title to thoſe dignities, and it was neceſſary that the exploits of which they were the rewards, ſhould be performed in the preſence of the whole army, before thoſe promoted could procure reſpect or eſteem.

The council of trade and commerce was ſtrictly united to that of the revenue. They conferred together on the means of rendering the impoſitions on commerce moſt advantageous to the crown, and leaſt oppreſſive to the ſubject. The board of trade examined all projects offered for the benefit of commerce, promoted them if approved, and rejected them if they were found inadequate to the purpoſes intended. They alſo adjuſted and regulated all differences among merchants, and rated the market-prices of all commodities.

Education of children.

We muſt take notice of the care taken by the Mexicans of the education of their children, and the diligence with which they ſtudied their inclinations, as one of the moſt laudable inſtitutions of their policy. Public ſchools were erected for the children of plebeians; and colleges, or ſeminaries of more polite learning, for the ſons of the nobility. The method of education was adapted to the peculiar genius of the child, and the ſtation in life in which he was to act. There were reſpective maſters for every different branch of education, for infants, children, and youth, who had the authority of the king's miniſters, and were juſtly regarded in that important light, becauſe they formed thoſe principles and qualifications, which afterwards fitted their pupils for the ſervice of their country. In theſe ſeminaries the young men ſpent their lives, until they were fit to emerge into light, embark in the public ſervice, and purſue thoſe profeſſions in which they were inſtructed. One of the firſt branches of education was to decypher thoſe ſigns and characters, of which their kalendar and hiſtorical regiſter was compoſed; and to recite, by memory, thoſe ſongs which contained the valiant actions of their anceſtors, and the praiſes of their gods. In the next ſuperior claſs, they were taught modeſty, humility, and gentle mild behaviour, and thoſe qualities of the mind

which endear men to the world, and prove so agreeable and useful to the peace and felicity of society. This was a species of ethical learning, by which moral habits were inculcated instead of refined speculative principles; the masters were, therefore, of greater reputation and ability than the former, eminently skilled in the human heart, and fully practised in the means of contending with youthful inclinations, and correcting violent passions. When the youth had acquired what was deemed a sufficient moral knowlege, and were supposed able to bend their passions to reason, they passed on to the third class, where they employed themselves in robust exercises, and were taught to govern strength by dexterity and address. They raised heavy weights; they wrestled, and vied with each other in running and leaping. They were instructed in the use of arms, how to handle the sword, throw the dart, and shoot the arrow with force and exactness, in which exercises many became extraordinary proficients. They were innured to hunger, thirst, fatigue, hardened against the inclemencies of the weather, and formed in all respects in the rudiments of the military art, as far, at least, as it was understood in Mexico. When the young nobility returned home, they were then allowed to pursue their inclinations, and to embrace a civil, military, or religious life, just as they thought proper; it being very reasonably supposed, they would succeed best in that sphere to which they were led by inclination, without any compulsion from their parents. The military life was generally preferred as the most certain path to preferment and honour; but before it was irrevocably embraced, the children of nobility passed another trial, which merits attention. They were sent to the army, to experience the hardships of a campaign before they enrolled themselves in the military list, and undertook a profession which they might find disagreeable in practice, however pleasing it might appear to the imagination. In the course of this probation, they were obliged to carry loads of baggage like the meanest soldiers, to inure themselves to fatigue, mortify their vanity, and acquiesce in subordination and obedience; the most essential part of discipline, and the most difficult to be acquired by a proud ambitious spirit. They were obliged to give proofs of their perseverance, constancy, and valour: none was admitted who changed countenance at sight of the enemy; and it was observable, that these probations proved of the utmost service in battle, all being emulous to signalize themselves, and many plunging headlong into danger, from a persuasion

ſion, that ſome degree of temerity was inſeparable from juvenile valour. With theſe inſtitutions it is ſcarce conceivable how the Mexican empire ſhould have ſo eaſily been overthrown: but there was a fatality that ſeemed to haſten the downfal and ruin of this, the moſt powerful and poliſhed nation of all America.

SECT. IX.

Containing the firſt Diſcovery of Peru; and the Progreſs of the Conqueſt of that Kingdom.

Attempts towards the diſcovery of Peru.

WE have already mentioned the intimations which Nunez de Balboa, in his expeditions, had of Peru. After this officer was ſuperſeded in his command, and put to death by Peter Arias d'Avila, ſeveral attempts were made to proſecute the enterprize, but they proved unſucceſsful. The navigation ſouthward, from the bay of Panama, was at laſt deemed impracticable, on account of the winds and currents driving northward. Hence the towns of Porto Bello and Panama, ſituated on oppoſite ſides of the iſthmus, began to flouriſh extremely, particularly the latter, which appears to have been the ſeat of government, or at leaſt the reſidence of the governor. Early in the year 1526, Arias made an expedition to Nicaragua, on pretence that Hernandez, one of his officers, had revolted, although it was generally ſuppoſed his intention was to oppoſe Cortez in the reduction of that province, and prevent his penetrating farther to the ſouthward. He knew he was to be ſupplanted in his government by Pedro de los Rios, who was daily expected from Spain, and he wanted to make a new eſtabliſhment independent on the new governor. Thus the diſcoveries ſouthward were wholly abandoned; however, Arias had, previous to this undertaking, authoriſed an enterprize, conceived by Franciſco Pizarro, Jacobo Almagro, and Ferdinando de Lugue, to make diſcoveries to the weſtward. In all probability he had no opinion of this expedition; as he ſtipulated for himſelf no ſhare of the profits which might ariſe, as was uſual upon ſimilar occaſions. Theſe three adventurers entered into articles never to abandon each other, or to be diſcouraged by any hazards or diſappointments, until they ſhould have fully executed their deſign of diſcovering and conquering Peru; an agreement to which they ſwore in the moſt public and ſolemn manner. Pizarro had ſerved in all the wars in the iſland of Cuba and Hiſpaniola, and

Pizarro, Almagro, and de Lugue, engage in an expedition to that country.

afterwards accompanied Ojeda to the gulf of Uraba, where he ſaved from deſtruction the infant colony of Darein, by his prudence and valour. He was one of the captains who had the good fortune to make the firſt diſcovery of the South Sea; he attended Arias when he ſettled the colony of Panama, and was employed by that officer in the reduction of Veragua. When he entered upon this enterprize Pizarro was in the decline of life, and his fortune eaſy, but he had a reſtleſs enterprizing diſpoſition, and eagerly aſpired at being the rival of Cortez in glory. As to Almagro, he was of obſcure birth (B), but had raiſed himſelf by his conduct to affluence and conſiderable reputation; while the third partner in the expedition, Ferdinando de Lugue, was an eccleſiaſtic, proprietor of the iſland of Tobago, who had avarice and ſpirit enough to embark his fortune with theſe bold adventurers.

Pizarro ſets ſail.

The commiſſion was no ſooner granted, and the agreement between the parties finiſhed, than two ſhips were purchaſed, the command of one of which Pizarro took upon himſelf, and ſet ſail from Panama in the month of November, 1525, having on board one hundred and fourteen Spaniards, according to Garcilaſſo, or eighty men and four horſes, if we chuſe to follow the relation of Herrera. It was matter of aſtoniſhment to ſee perſons of diſcretion and property embark their fortunes in an enterprize already judged, by repeated experiments, to be deſperate; but our adventurers were not diſcouraged. Arriving at Port Pinas, Pizarro landed with his ſoldiers, leaving the mariners on board. He marched up the country along the banks of the river Biru, in expectation of finding proviſions in the territories of the cazique of Biruquetta, and encountered all the difficulties which the roughneſs of the country, the want of proviſion, fatigue, and heavy rains, could throw in his way. At length neceſſity obliged him to return and embark, though he perſuaded himſelf that he was now in the fair tract to Peru; that the river Biru

(B) Moſt authors agree that Franciſco Pizarro was a baſtard, who had been expoſed in a church-porch; but being afterwards owned by captain Gonzales Pizarro, was employed in keeping hogs at the village of Truxillo, from whence he ran away to Seville, where he embarked for the Weſt Indies. As for Diego Almagro, his colleague and rival, his birth was ſo obſcure that he did not know who was his father, but took his name from the village where he was born (1).

(1) Mariana, Thuanus, Sandoval.

took

took its riſe in that kingdom, and that the dominions of the cazique of Biruquetta bordered immediately upon thoſe of the incas. He now continued his courſe along the coaſt for ten days, every man on board being limited to two ears of Indian corn a day, a pint of water, and ſcarce any animal food; a ſcarcity that obliged him to put to ſhore at the firſt port, land with his ſoldiers, and ſend the ſhips back for proviſion to the Pearl Iſlands, in the neighbourhood of Panama. During the abſence of the veſſel he was reduced to the utmoſt extremities, and forced to live on bitter palmetoes, and a kind of acorns, in conſequence of which unwholeſome food, twenty of his people periſhed. At laſt he found ſome cocoa-nuts, and a buſhel of Indian wheat, which the natives had left behind. This was immediately ſeized as a treaſure of ineſtimable value. In a word, the neceſſity to which the Spaniards were driven, in this inhoſpitable country, almoſt exceeds belief; but they were ſoon forgot on the return of the ſhip loaded with wheat, animal food, and great abundance of fruits, roots, and pulſe. *The diſtreſs he underwent.*

By this time twenty-ſeven of the crew were dead, but Pizarro kept up the ſpirits of the ſurvivors by liberal promiſes of wealth and glory. Again they embarked, with a full determination to proceed, and after having ſailed ſome days, landed in a bay, which they called Puerto de Candelaria. They marched up the country, perceived by the tracts cut through the woods that it was populous, arrived at a town which was deſerted by the natives, where, however, they found great abundance of proviſion, and a booty equal to ſix hundred pieces of eight, in gold. Aftewards they proceeded by ſea to a place called Pueblo Quemado, from whence the ſhip was diſpatched to Panama to be careened, Pizarro and his ſoldiers reſolving to employ the intermediate time in diſcovering the nature of the country. The natives aſſembled to oppoſe them, and placed centinels all round the Spaniſh quarters to watch their motions, that they might fall upon the out-parties, An action was ſoon brought on, in which the Spaniards loſt three ſoldiers, who were killed by the Indian poiſoned darts, an advantage which ſo elated them, that they attacked Pizarro with great reſolution in the town, while Mentengro was abſent with ſixty men. They were received with valour; but the Spaniards muſt have ſunk under the infinite ſuperiority of numbers, had not the out-party returned ſeaſonably, fallen upon the rear of the enemy, and obtained a complete victory. Not many days after this action, the ſhip returned

refitted, bringing a reinforcement of men, and ſupplies of proviſion, to the great joy of the adventurers. They now proceeded to Chinchama, where they were joined by Almagro with another ſhip, having on board ſixty-four Spaniards, and abundance of arms, ammunition, and proviſion. Here freſh conſultations being held, it was reſolved that Almagro ſhould return to Panama to inliſt more ſoldiers, while Pizarro endeavoured to gain ſome farther knowlege of the country. It was not long before Almagro returned with a commiſſion from Arias, by which he was raiſed to an equal command with Pizarro; this was an affront to the pride of the latter, but he then ſuppreſſed his reſentment, and determined to make uſe of the freſh ſupplies towards promoting the end of the expedition.

The Spaniards find ſome treaſure.

Sailing in company from Chinchama, they coaſted along to a river, which they called St. John's. On the banks of which they ſurpriſed a town, where they found a booty of fifteen thouſand pieces of eight, with ſome proviſions. A new reſolution was now formed, to apply the profits of the expedition towards raiſing a ſtill more formidable armament, for which purpoſe Almagro again returned to Panama with the treaſure. Pizarro continued on ſhore with the bulk of the ſoldiers; and the pilot, Bartholomew Ruyz, was diſpatched, with the other ſhip, to make diſcoveries along the coaſt. He advanced to the iſland del Gallo, diſcovered the bay of St. Matthew, and took a large float, with a triangular ſail, upon which were two boys and three women, who appeared to be Peruvians, a circumſtance which afforded the utmoſt ſatisfaction. Ruyz proceeded on his courſe, until he arrived at de Raſſado, under the line, and then returned to Chinchama.

The new governor, Pedro de los Rios, gave more countenance to the enterprize than his predeceſſor had afforded. He aſſiſted Almagro in enliſting troops, gave him forty of the ſoldiers he had brought with him from Spain, equipped him in every neceſſary, and put on board ſeveral horſes, with which ſupply Almagro joined his colleague Pizarro. All now advanced under the direction of Ruyz to the iſland of Gallo, where a diſpute aroſe between the commanders, which had almoſt blaſted the whole hopes of the enterprize. This infuſed doubts, fears, and jealouſies among the troops, who were all unanimous in returning to Panama; but theſe murmurs were at length quieted, and Almagro once more diſpatched to Panama for farther ſuccours. All poſſible care was taken to prevent the ſoldiers from tranſmitting home an account of the unfortunate occurrences

currences of the voyage, the ſickneſs, and famine that prevailed among the adventurers.

Deſperate ſtate of the Spaniards.

It was from the iſland of Gallo that Almagro took his departure. Here Pizarro thought of remaining till his return; but perpetual rains pouring down from the heavens, the great ſcarcity of proviſions, the diſcontent which appeared among the natives, and the prodigious ſwarms of moſquitos that tortured the ſoldiers, occaſioning ulcers and ſores in different parts of their bodies, obliged him to make preparations for returning to the continent. While he was thus employed a veſſel arrived from Panama, with advices from Almagro, upon which the people grew clamorous to return, obliged the captain to take them on board, and only thirteen Spaniards and a mulatto remained with Pizarro.

In all appearance the enterprize was now entirely defeated; Pizarro's affairs appeared quite deſperate, but he determined to periſh in the attempt rather than return without ſucceſs. In a little time farther ſupplies arrived from Almagro, who, incenſed at the deſertion of the troops, immediately ſent another ſhip to carry off Pizarro with his few faithful attendants. Bartholomew Ruyz, who commanded this veſſel, agreed with Pizarro to purſue their diſcoveries, inſtead of returning to Panama according to the intention of Almagro. Accordingly, holding their courſe ſouth-weſt, they arrived, in twenty days, at an iſland on the coaſt of Tumbez, and ſoon perceived the country was rich, from the great number of bits of gold and ſilver which they found in the form of hands, heads, women's breaſts, and one ſilver pitcher, that contained twelve quarts. This diſcovery revived their hopes, and encouraged them to purſue their voyage, in the courſe of which they took a large bark, manned with fifteen Indians, clothed in tunics and mantles, made of fine yellow wool. Next day they fell in with four more barks, which they underſtood were deſtined on an expedition againſt the natives of Puna. Pizarro diſmiſſed the Indians after having treated them kindly, deſiring that they would inform their caziques that his intentions were friendly. This conduct produced the propoſed effect. The caziques, marvelling at what they had been told of the ſails, the rigging of the ſhip, the complexion, the beards, and the civility of the Spaniards, immediately diſpatched twelve floats, loaded with all manner of proviſions, and a lamb, ſent by the virgins of a temple, a preſent that excited aſtoniſhment among the Spaniards, who little expected to meet with this ſpecies of quadruped upon that coaſt. An ore-

The Spaniards arrive at Puna.

jan, or nobleman of Peru, came on board in perſon, with whatever the country afforded. A Spaniſh ſoldier had the reſolution to land ſingly, enter the fort at Tumbez, and ſuffer himſelf to be brought before the great monarch Huyana Capac, who treated him civilly, and ſent him back with ſeveral preſents. The ſoldier's relation of the prodigious wealth he had beheld was ſo incredible to the Spaniards, that they diſpatched Pedro de Condin, a perſon of approved integrity, for farther information. Condin was conducted to the governor of the fort, and ſaw, with aſtoniſhment, the truth of the ſoldier's report. He fired his muſquet, at the deſire of the cazique, who was highly delighted with the novelty of the artificial thunder, and poured abundance of liquor down the barrel, ſaying, "Drink, ſince you can vomit fire, and imitate the heavenly thunder." Condin was diſmiſſed, after both ſides had gratified their curioſity, and informed his companions that he had ſeen a rich temple, built by Huyana Capac, dedicated to the ſun, and inhabited by two hundred noble and beautiful virgins, to whom none of the other ſex were admitted, except on particular occaſions. Here he ſaid was treaſured up ſuch an infinity of gold and ſilver, in curiouſly wrought veſſels, as exceeded belief. The fortreſs of Tumbez, he ſaid, was filled with ſilver-ſmiths, who converted into wrought plate the taxes levied by the crown officers; in a word, he ſo inflamed the imagination of Pizarro and his crew, that they imagined this immenſe wealth as already within their graſp, and determined to acquire it in ſpite of danger. It was reſolved to proceed to Paita, where Pizarro was informed there was a good harbour; and he accordingly ran down the coaſt to the ſeventh degree of ſouth latitude, as far as where Truxillo was afterwards founded. Pizarro would have purſued his courſe, as he found the natives had received a favourable impreſſion of his people, from their behaviour at Tumbez; but his crew being impatient to return to Panama, he yielded to their remonſtrances, from the conſideration, that what he had already diſcovered would give ſufficient reputation to the expedition, and that to execute his whole deſign, a much greater force and more extenſive powers would be neceſſary. Towards the cloſe of the year 1527, he arrived ſafe at Panama, after having ſpent three years in a voyage attended with incredible hardſhips.

The ſucceſs of the enterprize was confirmed by the ſpecimens of woollen cloth, gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, ſhewn by Pizarro. Theſe were inducements enough to purſue the undertaking, but there were likewiſe impediments

diments that appeared inſurmountable. The three colleagues had exhauſted all their fortune in the armaments which they had already made; however, this difficulty was removed by the reputation of their diſcoveries, which enabled them to borrow money. No ſooner was this obſtruction conquered, than another no leſs important aroſe: the governor refuſed to renew their commiſſion, and they were now forced to ſit down with their loſs, tantalized with the near proſpect of wealth and honour, or to apply to the court of Spain for powers, with very little certainty of ſucceeding. This laſt reſolution, however, was taken, and the event juſtified their expectation. Pizarro took upon himſelf this commiſſion. He ſet ſail for Old Spain, and was honoured with an audience of the emperor. He related the particulars of his expedition in the South Sea, diſplayed the ſpecimens he had brought of the produce of the countries he had diſcovered, and obtained the commiſſion of adelentado, or lieutenant of Peru, of captain-general, and governor of all thoſe territories which the Spaniards, under his auſpices, might conquer in Peru, together with the rank and title of a nobleman; for which reaſon we afterwards find him ſtyled Don Franciſco, by Garcilaſſo de la Vega (C). According to this writer the ſame honour was conferred on Almagro, whom he, at length, diſtinguiſhes conſtantly by the title of Don Diego. Pizarro, attended by four brothers, embarked at Seville, and arrived at Panama, where conteſts ſoon aroſe. Almagro reſented his claiming to himſelf the whole authority of commander, though he (Almagro) had been an equal contributor to the diſcovery, had ſpent a large fortune in the ſervice, and loſt an eye in one of the ſkirmiſhes with the Indians. He demanded at leaſt an equality; and there were not wanting buſy friends to inflame the riſing animoſity. Mutual intereſt at length ſilenced the parties, though it did not extinguiſh the ſparks of jealouſy. They proceed-

Pizarro ſets ſail for Spain.

(C) Herrera adds, that Pizarro was alſo allowed to build forts, and erect ſettlements, where he thought proper, the government of them to be in him and his heirs; with a ſalary of a thouſand ducats yearly during his life. He was beſides entitled to a twentieth part of the profits ariſing from his conqueſts, provided this ſhare did not exceed one thouſand five hundred ducats yearly. Almagro was made governor of Tumbez, and raiſed to the dignity of a gentleman; while Lugue was recommended to be made biſhop of Tumbez, and protector-general of the Indians (1).

(1) Dec. iii. lib. v. cap. i.

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ed in their undertaking, and ſuppreſſed, but did not forget their reſentment. Two ſhips well manned, having on board ſome horſes, and well provided with all other neceſſaries, were bought up by Almagro, and put under the direction of Franciſco Pizarro, upon that gentleman's transferring to him the title of adelentado, and promiſing to exert his intereſt with the court of Spain, to procure a ratification of this aſſignment.

He reſumes the expedition to Peru.

Two hundred men being by the intereſt and influence of the three colleagues, drawn together, another veſſel was added to render the navigation more commodious, and Pizarro, attended by his brothers Hernando, Juan Gonzalo, and his half-brother Martin de Alacntara, began his voyage towards the beginning of the ſpring of the year 1530.

He failed from Panama, with intention not to touch at any port before he arrived at Tumbez; but meeting with adverſe winds and currents, he landed a hundred leagues ſhort of this deſtination, deſigning to proceed by land, and ſend the ſhips back to the ſettlement. The Spaniards encountered numberleſs difficulties in this march, through a barren country deſtitute of proviſions. The way was rough and tedious, over mountains, rivers, and moraſſes. They were often obliged to make floats with great labour and fatigue, over which they paſſed with equal danger and difficulty. Don Franciſco Pizarro was himſelf the ſole guide and director, and indeed he conducted every thing with equal prudence and vigour, animating his people by his exhortations and example, and bearing a principal ſhare in every hazardous and laborious action. Such was his patience, humility, and perſeverance, that he often aſſiſted in carrying the ſick upon his own ſhoulders. At length he reached the province of Coaqui, which Herrera calls Quaque, and proceeded to the capital of the ſame name, ſeated among the high mountains. Here he found great abundance of proviſion, with a booty in gold and ſilver to the value of twenty thouſand pieces of eight, and a great number of fine emeralds, many of which the Spaniards deſtroyed, by making injudicious experiments. The inhabitants of the town thought it ſtrange that the Spaniards ſhould plunder men who never injured them; they admitted them freely into their houſes, but when they ſaw them begin to pillage, they fled to the mountains. The cazique hid himſelf in his palace, but was diſcovered, and brought to Pizarro, who found ſome difficulty in convincing this honeſt barbarian that he had not violated the laws of hoſpitality. This rapine entirely deſtroyed the reputation

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of gentleneſs, lenity, and integrity, which the Spaniards had acquired in the preceding run upon the coaſt, and could only be excuſed by the neceſſity they were in for money to raiſe farther ſupplies. The value of twenty-four thouſand ducats was now remitted in gold to Almagro, together with ſome emeralds of extraordinary ſize and beauty, among which there was one belonging to Pizarro of the ſize of a pigeon's egg. Two ſhips were diſpatched to Panama, and one to Nicaragua, while Pizarro remained ſome months in the neighbourhood of Coaqui, under the equinoctial, expoſed to the intemperature of the climate, the intenſe heat by day, and the chilling damps in the night. Garcilaſſo relates, that the Spaniards were afflicted with a loathſome diſeaſe, which at firſt appeared in ſwellings on the head and face, reſembling wens, or large warts, that ſuppurated and became running ſores. Beſides the unhealthineſs of the country, the Spaniards had other dangers to encounter. It was eaſily perceived that the natives had not forgot the pillaging of their town, though they did not break out into open hoſtilities. A Spaniſh ſoldier durſt not ſtir out of the town ſingly and unarmed. The Indians killed two who had ventured to roam about careleſsly, an aſſaſſination which obliged Pizarro to ſeize upon the perſon of the cazique. But he ſoon releaſed him upon his promiſe to keep his people in better order, and reſtrain them from violating the laws of hoſpitality. This miſunderſtanding, however, determined him to proceed to Tumbez, even before the return of the ſhipping. On his march thither, he overtook a body of Spaniards, under the conduct of Sebaſtian Balalcaſar, and Juan Fernandez, who had come from Nicaragua to make conqueſts in Peru. They chearfully united their forces to thoſe of Pizarro, and put themſelves under his direction; ſo that he now imagined his ſtrength was equal to the enterprize which he had meditated againſt the fort of Tumbez, and the iſland Puna. This fortunate reinforcement of upwards of thirty men, was acquired in the province of Puerto Viego, from whence the Spaniards proceeded for Tumbez.

The Spaniards remit money to Panama.

Advice of all that was doing by the ſtrangers was regularly ſent to Atahualapa, king of Quito, a province of the empire, which had been given as an appenage to this prince, by his father Huayna Capac, with the conſent of his elder brother Huaſcar. But by this time, he had taken upon him the tuft, or taſſel, which is the badge of regal dignity in that country. He was, fortunately for the Spaniards embroiled, at the juncture, with his brother, a circumſtance which probably prevented his ſending an army againſt them; for

The court of Quito receives information of their progreſs.

for he expreſſed great uneaſineſs at their invaſion, wondering that they ſhould traverſe ſeas and lands, encounter enemies, ſickneſs, and famine, merely for the ſake of making diſcoveries, and changing the religion of other nations, which were the only motives they thought proper to avow. Pizarro meeting with no oppoſition from this monarch, advanced directly to the ſtrait oppoſite to Puna, and was preparing to paſs over, when his troops began to murmur, and inſiſted upon returning to Puerto Viego, to found a colony; however, he perſuaded them, with many arguments, of the bad conſequences that would neceſſarily attend their betraying any ſymptoms of fear to the Indians. He repreſented Puna and Tumbez as the keys of Peru, extremely rich in themſelves, and the proper places for founding ſettlements, in order to aſſiſt and promote their future conqueſts. At laſt, the ſoldiers conſented to make the experiment, whether the wealth of thoſe places would anſwer the trouble of the conqueſt. The iſlanders were at perpetual war with the people of Tumbez, and it was Pizarro's intention to enter into a confederacy with them, the more eaſily to effect his deſigns againſt the Puneſe and Tumbezans. The former were no ſooner acquainted with the intention of the Spaniards, than they turned into ridicule the fear and ſimplicity of the Tumbezans, for admitting ſuch warlike ſtrangers into their country; however, they ſent Pizarro an invitation to come over to their iſland, though their purpoſe was to deſtroy his whole army, by cutting the timbers of the floats upon which the Spaniards were tranſported. The cazique Tomala accordingly ſent a great number of floats ready made; but the officious behaviour of the Indians created ſuſpicion of ſome evil deſign. The interpreters intimated their fears, and Pizarro prudently deferred his embarkation, until his brother Hernando arrived with the remainder of the forces. This delay made the cazique impatient, fearing leſt his deſign ſhould miſcarry. In order to expedite meaſures, he paſſed over in perſon to the continent, to pay his compliments to Pizarro, and endeavour to prevail on him to accept his invitation without delay. He ſeemed greatly aſtoniſhed, when the Spaniſh commander taxed him with treachery; but as there appeared no ſymptoms of guilt upon his countenance, Pizarro, ordered ſome men to get upon the floats, and keep conſtantly upon their guard. Theſe were ſafely wafted over to Puna, and entertained with ſo much kindneſs, that it was ſoon believed the whole ſuſpicion was groundleſs. Nor is it at all impoſſible that fear might have ſuggeſted that idea of treachery upon this occaſion to the Spaniards, notwithſtanding

withſtanding the diſputes which afterwards enſued with the iſlanders.

Pizarro brought with him to the iſland ſeveral natives of Tumbez, a circumſtance which gave great offence to the Puneſe, who could not bear to ſee their inveterate enemies walking about their territories, under the protection of the Spaniards. It was this affront, according to ſome accounts, that gave the firſt diſguſt, made them offer ſacrifices to their gods, and interrogate their idols about the means of revenge. After long deliberation, it was at laſt concerted that the Spaniards ſhould be invited to a great hunt, where they might eaſily be ſurpriſed, and deſtroyed. Notice was given to Pizarro, by his interpreters, of the conſpiracy, ſome hints of which, had dropt from the natives. Some aſcribe the diſcovery to the Tumbezans, and others treat the whole as a fiction, propagated by the Spaniards, to palliate their unjuſt attack, and perfidious breach of the rites of hoſpitality. Be this as it may, all writers are agreed about the iſſue; that he fell upon the iſlanders, took their ſixteen caziques priſoners, whom he delivered over to their enemies the Tumbezans, routed the Puneſe in divers engagements, reduced the whole iſland, and acquired immenſe booty of which his allies the Tumbuzans had their proportion (D). The misfortunes of the Puneſe did not diſpirit them; they were defeated by the Spaniards, inſulted by the Tumbezans, forſaken by the inca, and their caziques were priſoners; but they reſolved upon making

The Spaniards reduce Puna and Tumbez.

(D) The iſland of Puna ſtanding in the bay of Guaquil, in the third degree of ſouth latitude, contained upwards of twelve thouſand inhabitants, though it was not ſix leagues in diameter. In the diviſion of the empire, between the two ſons of Huayna Capac, it fell to the ſhare of the elder, Huaſcar, although Atahualapa pretended a right to it, as part of his kingdom of Quito. It was this diſpute which had now revived the ancient animoſity between them and the Tumbezans, who had firſt reduced them under the dominion of the incas of Peru. The Puneſe, indeed, relying upon the natural ſtrength of their ſituation, had long practiſed piracy, infeſting all the coaſt of Guaquil, and robbing the Tumbezans upon all occaſions. The war was carrying on with great vigour at the time Pizarro arrived upon the coaſt, and he had the addreſs to make his advantage of the mutual enmity of the Indians. The Puneſe were canibals, their iſland was fertile, but the ſcarcity of water rendered it unwholeſome, and intolerable to any beſides the natives. Prodigious quantities of gold and ſilver were found in the temples, all which Pizarro remitted to Panama, to be employed in augmenting his fleet and army.

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the boldeſt efforts to extricate themſelves from thoſe galling circumſtances of oppreſſion. Their firſt attempt was upon a Spaniſh ſhip lately arrived on the coaſt, to attack which they ſent three hundred archers upon floats, while the reſt of the natives ſhould fall upon the Spaniards on the iſland. The attack of the floats was deſperate, but abortive; the cannon of the ſhip ſunk and deſtroyed them, before they could reach within the diſtance required by the archers. On ſhore, their projects were equally unſucceſsfull. The Spaniards repulſed them in every aſſault; and drove them to the mountains, whence they made excurſions, that rather harraſſed the Spaniards, than effected the original purpoſe of the revolt. And now their ſchemes were totally defeated by the arrival of Ferdinando Soto, ſent with men, horſes, and proviſions, by Almagro. The reſolution was now taken of paſſing over to the continent, Pizarro relying upon the friendſhip of the Tumbezans, whoſe affections he imagined he had gained by the conqueſt of their enemies, the ſhare of the plunder, and the Puneſe caziques whom he had ſurrendered into their hands, as well as the priſoners of their own nation whom he had ſet at liberty. He gave them notice of his intention; and Garcilaſſo alleges from Gomara, that they put the meſſengers to death. Herrera affirms, he had ſo little doubt of their friendſhip, that he embarked a part of his people on floats, and paſſed over without any previous intimation, a ſtep which the Tumbezans reſented ſo much, that they ſeized upon the firſt men who landed, conducted them to the town, pulled out their eyes, cut off their privities, and then flung them into cauldrons of boiling water, in which they periſhed miſerably. What motive could prompt them to this act of violence, is not aſcertained. Probably they either dreaded the reſentment of the inca, for entertaining foreigners, whoſe views were ſuſpicious, or they apprehended ſharing the fate of the Puneſe. All the floats were in the utmoſt danger, the ſtream being rapid, and the Indians, who navigated them, treacherous. The greater part of Pizarro's baggage was plundered; but he getting ſafe on ſhore with the horſe, fell upon the town, and made terrible ſlaughter of the inhabitants. A variety of ſkirmiſhes and battles were fought; but the Indians perceiving themſelves worſted upon every occaſion, began to entertain an opinion, that the Spaniards were invincible, that they were aſſiſted by ſome divinity, and that themſelves were guilty of enormous crimes, in attempting to oppoſe the will of heaven. They now endeavoured to appeaſe the

Spaniards

Spaniards with immenſe preſents of ſilver, upon which metal they obſerved they ſet a great value. One Indian, in particular, of ſome quality, entered into an intimacy with the Spaniards, and had ſuch particular favour ſhewn him, that a croſs was put up in his houſe, to ſhew that it was exempted from being plundered. He related marvellous ſtories of the wealth of the empire, and the grandeur of Cuzco, where the inca Huaſcar reſided. He aſſured the Spaniards, that they might with great facility effect the conqueſt of the empire, amidſt the preſent civil commotions, and ſo inflamed the ambition of Pizarro, that he inſtantly took the field to examine the country, and endeavour to reduce ſome of the neighbouring little princes. Firſt, however, he diſpatched a veſſel to Panama with all the treaſures found in Tumbez, to be laid out by Almagro as the former remittances were, in inliſting men, and purchaſing ſupplies of proviſion, arms, and ammunition. The ſovereign of Tumbez had taken refuge in the mountains, upon the late defeat of his troops; and Pizarro laboured to get him into his hands, which was one of the chief objects of his expedition. In this excurſion he reached the beginning of the great road of the incas, leading to the principal cities; but his men being harraſſed with fatigue, he was forced to return without having accompliſhed his aim. Ferdinando Soto, had been detached with a party, on a ſimilar deſign: he marched as far as Caxas, ſaw many flocks of Peruvian ſheep, a number of magnificent buildings, found ſome bars of gold and ſilver, defeated the natives in battle, diſcovered the great road called Huayna Capac's, and then returned to Tumbez, where he joined Pizarro, who had finiſhed his unſucceſsful expedition a few days before. It was after this junction that Pizarro determined to found a colony among the vales of Tongarala, to ſerve for a place of arms, retreat, and refreſhment. Accordingly he built the city of St. Miguel de Piura, and appointed the ſoldiers that were leaſt fit to endure fatigue as a garriſon, and magiſtrates (E).

They receive intimation of the great riches of Peru.

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(E) St. Miguel was the firſt Spaniſh colony planted in Peru, now called New Caſtile; but it did not continue long in that ſituation, which was found to be unhealthy. The Spaniards, therefore, removed it from Tongarala, to the place where it now ſtands, nearer the coaſt, ſurrounded by beautiful and fruitful vallies. Theſe they cultivated with great diligence, raiſing great variety of European vegetables, which flouriſhed as if in their native ſoil, though the climate be extremely dry

Civil war in Peru.

While he was employed in the business of the colony, various accounts arrived, touching the incidents of the civil war that now raged between the brothers Huascar and Atahualapa. Pizarro thought it necessary to keep a strict eye upon every event, as great part of his hope was founded upon the intestine commotions of the empire, which would prevent either of the brothers from paying much regard to the accidental arrival of a handful of strangers upon the coast. He ordered his brother Juan to penetrate farther into the country with fifty horse; at the same time he employed himself in making the necessary preparations for following this party, and in gaining the best intelligence concerning the country, the customs and manners of the inhabitants, their civil and military policy, method of fighting, power, and the cause of the present war, together with the disposition of the people in general, with respect to the rival princes. He learned that Atahualapa, was much more popular than the emperor, though only a natural son of the late prince, by one of his concubines; that in the wars carried on by his father, he had signalized his courage, and gained the affections of all the commanders of eminence; that he was politic, affable, liberal, and generous, by which means he had engaged a strong party to support him in disputing the imperial crown with his brother; though he alone, of forty brothers, had the ambition or boldness to lift their minds to so great an enterprize. In Quito he was already acknowleged as inca; though, by the emperor's will, this province was only given him as a fief and dependency on the imperial crown. Huasca taking umbrage at this presumption, sent notice to Atahualapa, that he could not possibly shut his eyes to a conduct so injurious to his own person, so dangerous to his crown, so impious in itself, and so contrary to the established laws of the empire: he therefore requested, that he would desist from his ambitious practices, which would necessarily terminate in civil discord, in his own, and perhaps, the ruin of his people. At the same time he levied an army, to give weight to his demand, and enforce obedience.

Little attention did Atahualapa give to a remonstrance which he expected, and for which he was prepared. Elated with his popularity, and hurried on by his ambition, he

dry, and the soil sandy. Vines and figs in particular bear astonishingly, and two crops of wheat are produced every year. Formerly this valley was populous, and the inhabitants independent of the inca of Peru. (1)

(1) Her. dec. iii. lib. v. sec. iii.

with

thought probably of rivalling his brother, by building a city at Quito equal to the imperial reſidence at Cuzco, and then he enlarged his views to the conqueſt of the whole Peruvian empire. He began to ſound the ſentiments of ſome of the leſſer provinces, and finding them averſe to every meaſure that threatened to diſturb the public tranquillity, he directed his march towards the capital, to meet his brother the emperor, to whom he gave battle with ſuch ſucceſs, as obliged Huaſcar to retire precipitately to repair and augment his ſcattered forces. Meanwhile, the victor proceeded to the capital, ſubduing all the provinces in his way. On his arrival at Caxamalca, he received a more particular account of Pizarro's tranſactions at Puna and Tumbez, and formed the reſolution of remaining there with part of his troops, while the reſt were ſent to give battle once more to his brother, who had again taken the field with a freſh army. The two armies met in the vale of Xauxa, with nearly equal forces, each exceeding a hundred and forty thouſand men. The conflict was bloody, and victory, a ſecond time, declared for Atahualapa. A third battle was fought with ſimilar fortune; and the emperor being, ſoon after, treacherouſly ſeized in the heart of his capital, was delivered up into the hands of his brother and rival. He was thrown into a dungeon; his women were infamouſly and inhumanly treated, and his effects plundered.

This ſeries of proſperity gave Atahualapa more time to reflect upon the arrival of Pizarro; but when he was told that this adventurer's troops did not exceed two hundred men, he made light of the affair, and thought it impoſſible that ſo inconſiderable a body could ever give the leaſt ſhock to ſo vaſt an empire. Accordingly, he contented himſelf with ſending an orejon, or nobleman of his court, to dive into the deſigns of the Spaniards, for which purpoſe that nobleman employed a number of emiſſaries in Tumbez. Such was the ſituation of the empire, when Pizarro departed from St. Miguel on the 4th of September, on his way to Caxomalca, at the diſtance of twelve days journey (F). Floats were prepared for croſſing the river, and in three days he came up with an officer whom he had ſent with a detachment to reduce the cazique, or caraen, of Piura. In the vale of this name, Pizarro continued ten days, making the neceſſary proviſion for his march, and A.D.1532.

(F) We find this city variouſly wrote by the Spaniſh hiſtorians. It is called Caxamalca by Herrera, and moſt modern geographers; but Garcilaſſo conſtantly writes it Caſſamaſca.

procuring the beſt intelligence poſſible of the progreſs and ſtrength of Atahualapa. Before he renewed his march, a general muſter was made of the forces, which amounted to ſixty-ſeven horſe, and a hundred and ten foot, of whom nine returned to fort St. Miguel, on Pizarro's declaring, at the head of the army, that all who had no inclination to proceed ſhould have lands aſſigned them in the new colony; for that he repoſed more confidence in the valour of a few, than in the ſhew of a number. So bold a declaration enhanced his reputation with the ſoldiers; and he well knew how to turn every incident of this kind to his advantage.

Pizarro advances into Peru.

His affairs being thus adjuſted, Pizarro advanced through a hoſtile country altogether unknown to him, with all the caution required in ſuch critical circumſtances, and ſoon reached the frontiers of the Curaca Paver, a powerful vaſſal of the imperial crown, notwithſtanding he had been grievouſly oppreſſed by the late inca, Huayna Capac. The Spaniards, upon his invitation, took up their quarters in this town, and were kindly treated. Here Pizarro gained exact information of the ſtate of the war, the ſituation of the country, and every particular that could forward his deſigns. Among other articles of information, he learnt, that a body of Atahualapa's forces lay at Caxas, a town in his way to Caxamalca, at the diſtance only of two days journey. A captain, with a party, was detached before, to view the place, and endeavour to cultivate an alliance with the people. Pizarro followed ſlowly, and halted at a town called Zamen, to wait for the return of the detachment. In five days a meſſenger returned from Caxas, with the following relation, that the captain had endeavoured to ſurpriſe the town, but found it unneceſſary, the people being extremely civil; that the inca's officer, who was collector of the tribute, had received him in the moſt cordial manner, and given him all the information he could require of the preſent condition of the empire; that in particular, he related wonders of the wealth of Cuzco, the metropolis, at which Atahualapa now reſided. The captain had orders to rejoin the main body with his detachment, upon which Pizarro proceeded firſt to Caxas, and then to Guacacamba. At the former of theſe was a large building, encloſed with mud walls, like a fortreſs, the reſidence of a great number of women, who were employed in ſpinning and weaving cloth for the royal army. In going out of the town, he perceived a number of men ſuſpended by the heels, and was told they were puniſhed in this manner for preſuming to enter the female hoſpital, which

which was deemed sacred. In his march he was accosted by an Indian of distinction, who, calling himself an ambassador from Atahualapa, presented him with two cups of stone, curiously wrought, and a load of a kind of perfumed powder; and assured him, that the inca desired nothing more than the friendship of the strangers, with whose valour and heroic qualities he was not unacquainted. It was not difficult for Pizarro to discover that this Indian was sent as a spy; but disguising his sentiments, he ordered him to be well treated, and dismissed with presents and promises of duty and respect towards the inca. To keep the colony of St. Miguel in spirits, he sent back an account of his progress, with the cups, and several pieces of beautiful woollen and cotton cloth, finely adorned with flowers of gold and silver, charging the garrison to live upon terms of amity with all the surrounding Indians. Guacacamba, a day's journey from Caxas, was a city of more consequence, secured by a fine fortress built of stone, a large river, and a variety of bridges and causeways. Through these towns passed the great road of the incas, extending four hundred leagues from Cuzco to Quito, paved with the utmost art, and so broad, that six horses marched easily upon it a-breast. In every part it was supplied with water, brought at a vast expence in pipes from distant mountains, and at the end of every four leagues were tambos, or houses of refreshment for travellers, supported by a small toll.

It would seem that Pizarro now quitted the great road leading to Cuzco, upon information that the inca was at Caxamalca; for we find him passing through a desart, in which he was reduced to the utmost necessity for water, before he reached Motex. The curaca of this town was now serving, at the head of three hundred men, in the inca's army; nevertheless, the commanding officer in the town consented, that the Spaniards should have free quarters, to refresh themselves for a day or two after their fatiguing march. It was matter of astonishment and horror to Pizarro and his people, to observe the periodical human sacrifices that were here offered to the idols. On a certain day in every month, the faces of those false deities were sprinkled with fresh blood, issuing from the veins of the wretched victim; and in such reverence was this religious ceremony held, that when sacrifices were wanting, many voluntarily devoted themselves to death, and rejoiced at the happiness of being cut in pieces by the sacred hands of those ministers of fraud and imposture. The length of

the march, the sultry closeness of the atmosphere, the scarcity of water, and sometimes the intolerable fervour of the sun-beams reflected from the sand, had harrassed the Spaniards to such a degree, that nothing could have supported their spirits, but the hope of the ending their toils in the utmost affluence and splendour. After a variety of hardships, Pizarro at length arrived on the banks of a river, the opposite sides of which was covered with towns and villages. To prevent the Indians from obstructing his passage on floats, he ordered his brother, captain Hernando, to swim over with a party of horse; at whose approach the natives retired in the utmost consternation, being equally astonished and terrified at the novelty of the men swimming over upon the backs of animals, whom they guided in the water as if they had been canoes. Hernando seized some of the inhabitants in their flight, convinced them that no violence was intended, and that they might safely return to their habitations; yet could he obtain no information, until he put one to the torture, who then declared, that Atahualapa expected the Spaniards in a warlike posture; that his army was divided into three columns, each determined to dispute the progress of the strangers; that one corps was at the foot of the mountain, on the way to Caxamalca, another on the summit, and a third on the opposite declivity. The Indian added, that the inca would now have been pursuing the conquest of the provinces; but that he thought it advisable to destroy the Spaniards before their numbers should be augmented, or that they had raised a party in the country. Upon this information Pizarro made floats, crossed the river without opposition, quartered his troops in a fort of which he took possession, and sending for the curaca, was told by him, that the army at Caxamalca exceeded fifty thousand fighting men. The curaca declared himself the enemy of Atahualapa, who had put to death four thousand of his subjects, because he had supported his lawful sovereign against an ambitious usurper. What the curaca chiefly lamented was the loss of five hundred women, who had been violently forced from the arms of their husbands and parents, and surrendered to gratify the brutal licentiousness of the conqueror's soldiers.

Marches to Caxamalca.

Pizarro found it necessary to refresh his men in this friendly town, and employ the interval in procuring still more minute intelligence. An Indian offered himself for this service, but refused to act as a spy. He said, he would throw himself at the feet of the inca, deliver any message the Spaniards might think proper to send, and bring back the

the beſt information in his power; but he would not take upon him any employment that would injure his character, or ſubject him to a violent and ignominious puniſhment. The generous ſentiments of this barbarian greatly delighted Pizarro; he believed he might ſafely truſt a man who had expreſſed himſelf ſo boldly, and ſo virtuouſly; accordingly, he diſpatched him to Atahualapa, to ſalute that prince in his name, to offer him the beſt ſervices of the Spaniards, and to ſignify that they were in full march to have the honour of proſtrating themſelves before him, and of meriting his friendſhip; their ſole intention being to fight his enemies, without injuring his ſubjects. The Indian ſet out on his embaſſy; and Pizarro, after having fully refreſhed his troops, reſuming his march, in three days reached the mountain, where Atahualapa was ſaid to have a body of forces. He aſcended the hill without any other oppoſition than what he met with from the ſteepneſs and roughneſs of the aſcent. At the head of forty horſe, and the bulk of the infantry, he quietly approached a fortreſs, ſeated on a high eminence, of ſo difficult acceſs, that it was ſcarce poſſible to advance with the horſe, the whole rock being cut in the form of an irregular ſteep ſtair. Round the fortreſs was a ſtone-wall, built upon the brink of a perpendicular rock upon every ſide, except the paſs we have deſcribed. Had the leaſt oppoſition been given, it would have been utterly impoſſible to gain poſſeſſion of this fort with double the number of men that compoſed the Spaniſh army; and it was matter of great rejoicing, that a difficulty, ſurpaſſing imagination, ſhould be ſo eaſily overcome. Here Pizarro halted for the remainder of his forces and the baggage, forming to himſelf the moſt favourable preſages from this fortunate incident. All conjectured that the inca had no intention to treat them as enemies, elſe he would certainly have diſputed this poſt; but it afterwards appeared, that his policy was to ſuffer the Spaniards to advance into the heart of the country, that he might then have them in his power, without the poſſibility of their eſcaping.

He receives an embaſſy from Atahualapa.

While the Spaniards were repoſing themſelves on the tops of the mountains, an embaſſy arrived from the inca, in conſequence of the meſſage from Pizarro. The ambaſſador, who had a pretty numerous retinue, preſented the general with ten Peruvian ſheep, ſent by his imperial majeſty, with ſome other things of a trifling nature; and then deſired to know, in the name of his maſter, at what time the Spaniards propoſed reaching Caxamalca, that accommodations might be prepared for their reception. He gave

a detail of the inca's victories, and contradicted all the reports of his having forces with him at Caxamalca; ſaying, that he only ſtaid there to make preparations for the reduction of ſome provinces that ſtill held out for his brother, who was now a priſoner. Pizarro, in his anſwer, expreſſed his ſatisfaction at the proſperity of his imperial majeſty, and thanked him for the good will he had ſhewn towards ſtrangers, whoſe commiſſion was of more importance than he could well imagine. He deſired the ambaſſador to acquaint Atahualapa, that he was the ſervant of the greateſt monarch in the univerſe, ſent to reclaim him and his people from the moſt impious and abominable errors in religion: he, therefore, hoped that he would receive him peaceably, in which caſe he might rely upon his faithful ſervices; but if, on the contrary, any hoſtilities ſhould be offered, and his majeſty preferred war to peace, he would ſoon find that the Spaniards could make themſelves as dreadful to their enemies as uſeful to their friends. With this anſwer the ambaſſador took his leave, and the Spaniards proceeded on their march, halting that night in a beautiful valley at the foot of the mountain. Here Pizarro was honoured with another embaſſy, and more preſents, of much the ſame nature as the former. The retinue of this miniſter was extremely magnificent, and all his ſervants drank out of ſilver vaſes, a circumſtance which gave the Spaniards the moſt exalted opinion of the extraordinary wealth of their maſter, which, indeed, the ambaſſador cheriſhed by his diſcourſe. Next morning the Indian meſſenger returning, was ſo incenſed at the report which the ambaſſador had made, that he flew upon him, called him a treacherous liar, and would have certainly put him to death, had he had not been prevented by force. He now told Pizarro, that he was not to believe a ſyllable of what was advanced by thoſe meſſengers, who were only ſpies upon his conduct, and held out falſe lights to miſlead him. He aſſerted, that the inca was at the head of a numerous army; that Caxamalca was deſerted, and all the troops were in the field; that he had not only been refuſed acceſs to Atahualapa, but even diſmiſſed without eating, notwithſtanding he was on the point of periſhing with fatigue and hunger; in a word, he declared that all the deſigns of the inca were hoſtile, and thoſe of his meſſenger perfidious. Pizarro had no doubt of the truth of this relation; however, he concealed his ſentiments before the Peruvian meſſenger, and diſmiſſed him with preſents. Garcilaſſo de la Vega mentions an ambaſſador who came about this time from the unfortunate Huaſcar, beſeeching the Spaniards

to

to revenge his cauſe; and in the name of juſtice, truth, religion, and the ſons of the god Virachoca, to puniſh the ambition and uſurpation of his unnatural brother. This meſſenger was treated with extraordinary kindneſs, and aſſured, that the Spaniards were in full march to procure the enlargement of the unhappy monarch.

In proportion as the Spaniards approached Caxamalca, the embaſſies from the inca began to multiply. While Pizarro was deſcending from the mountain, a third ambaſſador arrived, more ſolemn than any of the preceding. He was brother to the inca, and appeared with a numerous and ſplendid retinue. He told Pizarro, that his ſovereign lord had ſent him to bid the Spaniards welcome, and preſented them with ſome of the produce of the country, as a proof of his regard and affection. It was great joy, he ſaid, to the inca, to ſee his kinſmen, deſcended from the ſame common father, the Sun. "Inca Virachoca, ſaid he, ſince it hath been my fortune to carry you this meſſage, I preſume to beſeech you, that you will be generouſly pleaſed to grant me three requeſts: the firſt is, that you will eſteem Atahualapa, your friend, and enter into a perpetual league of friendſhip with him; the ſecond is, that you will forgive all thoſe crimes and treſpaſſes which his ſubjects may have committed, either through ignorance, or want of reflection; the laſt is, that you would remit, towards the inhabitants of Caxamalca, thoſe puniſhments, which by the direction of your god and father, the ſupreme Virachoca, you inflicted upon the inhabitants of Puna and Tumbez; and that, as you are an inca, the deſcendent of the Sun, you would exerciſe clemency, which is one of your attributes." He then ordered the preſents to be diſplayed, which conſiſted of a variety of quadrupeds and birds, many fruits of different kinds, curious pieces of cotton and woollen manufactures, honey in the comb, pepper, a variety of liquors diſtilled or brewed from the grain, veſtments of the richeſt kinds, and a ſervice of ſilver cups, plates, toys ſtudded with turquoiſes and emeralds, with abundance of other curioſities, which were of very great value. As a particular mark of the inca's reſpect, he preſented Pizarro with a pair of hoſe, of the ſame kind with thoſe worn by the emperor, and a couple of rich gold bracelets, this being deemed a military honour in Peru, and beſtowed on this occaſion, in acknowlegement of the general's valour. Titu Antouchi, for that was the name of the ambaſſador, apologized for having preſumed to make ſo trifling a preſent to the children of the Sun; but he ſaid, that he hoped his maſter would find other opportunities of ſhewing them his reſpect

and eſteem: in a word, no miniſter, of the moſt civilized prince could have acquitted himſelf with more addreſs and politeneſs than appeared in the deportment of this barbarian; who, in courſe of the converſation, likewiſe diſplayed a fund of good ſenſe, policy, and ſagacity. Garcilaſſo alleges, that Atahualapa had no miniſter deſign in this embaſſy, which was ſent merely to appeaſe the reſentment of the Sun, for the injuries which had been done to his children by the inhabitants of Puna and Tumbez. He affirms, that the inca's courage began to forſake him on the approach of the Spaniards, and the report of the wonders they had performed upon the coaſt. He mentions a prophecy, uttered by the father of the preſent emperor, ſimilar to the tradition which prevailed in Mexico, when Cortez entered that country; and ſays, that Atahualapa was perſuaded the ſeaſon was arrived for the completion of this prophecy, becauſe he could not imagine that ſuch a handful of men could defeat the armies of Puna and Tumbez, and dare to penetrate into the heart of his empire, unleſs they were invigorated and ſupported by the almighty power of the Sun.

The Spaniſh general diſmiſſed the ambaſſador, with preſents, and aſſurances of perfect reſpect and reſignation to the will of the inca; but the ſentiments of the adventurers were greatly divided about the intention of the embaſſy, and the preſents. Some regarded them as a blind to conceal the inca's real deſigns, and lull the Spaniards into ſecurity; whence they inferred the neceſſity of redoubling their vigilance and circumſpection. Others aſcribed the preſents wholly to the magnificence and hoſpitality of the emperor; while a few of the more ſanguine believed, that they could diſcover his fears under this appearance of courteſy. It was, however, the unanimous opinion, that they could not be too cautious in their march to Caxamalca. As they drew near the town, they had a view of the inca's army, which extended the ſpace of a whole league, and preſented the moſt formidable appearance, were victory to depend on numbers. In the evening they reached Caxamalca, and found it deſerted by the inca and principal nobility; though orders had been left to feaſt and treat the children of the Sun with the utmoſt reſpect, if we may credit Garcilaſſo, whoſe relation is diametrically oppoſite, in this place, to that of Herrera. According to this laſt writer, the Spaniards found not a ſoul in the town, except a few women, who openly avowed the deſign of deſtroying the Chriſtians, and pitied their unhappy fate. Immediately Pizarro ordered the place to be diligently ſearched, leſt any troops might be concealed; and after having taken every precaution for his ſecurity,

Pizarro arrives at Caxamalca.

ſecurity, ſent an Indian to the emperor, to know what quarters he had provided for his friends, agreeable to the promiſes of his ambaſſadors.

The arrival of the Spaniards in Caxamalca had greatly diſconcerted Atahualapa, whoſe fears increaſed in proportion as the danger drew nearer; however, he betrayed no other ſymptoms of the terrible apprehenſions he was under, than what might be perceived from his holding more frequent councils than uſual. On the other hand, Pizarro deliberated with his officers, whether it was not requiſite he ſhould ſend a formal embaſſy to the inca, to acknowlege the civilities received, requeſt the continuance of his favour, and acquaint him with the purpoſe of his expedition. After various debates, this propoſition was carried in the affirmative. Accordingly Hernando Pizarro and Ferdinando Soto were appointed to execute this commiſſion, with a retinue of twenty horſe; Soto was directed to proceed with this party to the emperor's preſence, and Pizarro to remain at a little diſtance behind, with another party, to bring him off in caſe any violence ſhould be offered to his perſon. The Spaniards found the Peruvian army drawn up to receive the ambaſſadors, notice of whoſe arrival had been given by an Indian ſent to prepare the way. As they paſſed the ranks, the Indians gazed with aſtoniſhment at the horſes. Soto leaping over a ditch, advanced, rearing, and curveting with his horſe, to the unſpeakable amazement of thoſe ſimple ſpectators, who could hardly ſeparate, in imagination, the rider from the horſe, taking both to be one animal. The inca had diſpatched one of his generals to receive the ambaſſadors, and ſhew them all poſſible reſpect. When this officer approached Soto and the Spaniards, he ſaluted them with the moſt profound obeyſance; then turning round to his people, declared that thoſe were the deſcendants of their god Virachoca, whom they ought to worſhip with the moſt humble adoration. Immediately all the Indian files began their proſtations, which they continued even as they accompanied the Spaniards into the inca's preſence. The amazement of both parties was pretty nearly equal. The Spaniards admired the riches, grandeur, and magnificence of the inca; while the monarch was ſurpriſed at the habit, beards, complexion, manners, arms, and horſes of the Spaniards. Some minutes paſſed in profound ſilence; when at length the Spaniards recollecting themſelves, approached the throne of gold on which Atahualapa was ſeated, and made the moſt ſubmiſſive obeiſances as they advanced. When Soto came within a proper diſtance, the inca roſe up, embraced him cordially, and bid him welcome into his dominions:

He ſends an embaſſy to the inca's camp.

nions: "Behold, ſaid he, the very face, attitude, and habit of our god Virachoca, in the exact manner deſcribed by the inca Virachoca, our anceſtor, to whom the deity appeared." After this compliment, an elegant entertainment of bread, fruits, and divers kinds of liquors, was ſerved up by ſix virgins, and as many boys, well dreſſed. Two beautiful maidens of the royal blood advanced before theſe, holding in their hands ſmall cups of gold, filled with the liquor uſually drank by the inca; of which they gave one to Atahualapa, and another to the ambaſſador, who drank peace and friendſhip to each other; this ceremony being deemed in Peru a mark of the moſt cordial reception and ſincere welcome. At length, the Spaniards began to deliver their commiſſion; but they had ſcarce uttered a ſentence, when they were ſtopt by the inca, who deſired he might admire a little longer, in their form and figure, the image of his god. Soto mounting his horſe, made him prance, leap, and curvet to the great ſatisfaction of Atahualapa, who ſuffered the beaſt to come up and ſmell him, without ſeeming afraid, though the Indian ſoldiers fled in crouds when the animal approached. The emperor's curioſity being now ſatisfied, the ambaſſador was permitted to ſpeak, but a charge was given that he ſhould be conciſe. Accordingly Soto began to inform the inca, of the exalted dignity of the Roman pontiff, and the vaſt power of Charles V. emperor and king of the Romans, who, deſirous of reſcuing the Peruvians from the groſs ignorance and idolatry in which they were immerſed, had ſent don Franciſco Pizarro, with his companions, and ſome prieſts, to teach them the knowlege of the true God, and to enter into a perpetual alliance and amity with his imperial highneſs. He concluded with acquainting the inca of the arrival of the Spaniards in Caxamalca, and referring him for farther particulars to a perſonal interview with Pizarro.

Difference among the Spaniſh writers.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the Spaniſh writers differ widely about the particulars of this audience, and indeed the whole of the inca's conduct. Herrera relates, that he received the embaſſy politely, but gave immediate orders that the army ſhould march to Caxamalca, to cruſh Pizarro at one blow; reſolved to take all his people priſoners, and offer them up as ſacrifices to the gods; for which purpoſe he had prepared a kind of toils, in which they were to be caught alive, like wild beaſts[b]. According to Garcilaſſo, the inca had given up all thoughts of defence, ſeeming to regard his empire as loſt, from the time the Spaniards ventured to ad-

[b] Dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. i.

vance

vance to the heart of his dominions. In answer to the ambassador, he said, that although he could not but be pleased to think that the prophecies of his ancestors were to be completed in his days; yet it could not but give him some uneasiness to reflect, that the end of a vast and flourishing empire was approaching. He told the Spaniards, that notwithstanding the advices he had constantly received of the victories obtained by them in Puna and Tumbez, and of the fortifications they were erecting in his dominions, he had taken no measures for their expulsion, because he fully persuaded himself that they were the children of the great god Virachoca, and the messengers of the Pacachamac, and had therefore published it as a law in the schools of Cuzco, that none should presume to take up arms against them, on pain of being held guilty of sacrilege, and the grossest impiety. He desired, however, that the ambassador would inform him how it came to pass, that while the Spaniards professed that their sole intention was to cultivate an alliance, and promote peace, they had made such dreadful slaughter in the countries through which they had passed, without so much as informing themselves of the dispositions of the inca, and the imperial court? "But I conceive, added he, that the two princes, your employers, enjoined you to act with the utmost severity against us; wherefore I resign myself wholly to your will, only imploring that you will shew some compassion to my subjects, wives, and relations, whose misfortunes affect me more deeply than my own." These two accounts are extremely different; yet they may be reconciled, if we suppose that their scheme was designed to blind the Spaniards, and conceal the stratagem the Indians had formed to seize them alive. Yet we must consider it as a little extraordinary, that all the nobility and soldiers, within hearing of the inca, should be so deeply affected with Atahualapa's speech, which they knew to be perfidious. According to Garcilasso, they shed tears, groaned and sighed piteously, and gave themselves up to despair, with such appearances as could not be counterfeit. Indeed the inca himself, if we may credit this historian, was so strongly impressed with the prophecy, that he neglected all means of resistance, regarded the Spaniards as the messengers of heaven, and prepared his mind for an entire resignation. The fact probably is, that neither the Spaniards nor Peruvians rightly understood each other; for the interpreter, who was a native of Puna, knew very little of the Spanish, and was but imperfectly acquainted with the language spoke at the inca's court, which was very different from

from the provincial dialect [c]. In one particular, both writers agree, that the inca told the ambaſſadors he would viſit Pizarro in Caxamalca, but that he hoped it would give no umbrage if he ſhould be attended by his army, as was cuſtomary in the country when the emperor travelled.

As ſoon as the dawn appeared, great fires were ſeen lighted in the Peruvian camp, and every thing was perceived to be in motion; circumſtances which gave the alarm to Pizarro, as he had no great confidence in the fair words given to the ambaſſador. He drew the Spaniards up in order of battle, in a great ſquare, and firmly waited the approach of the inca, who was four hours in marching three leagues, the diſtance between the town and the camp. He was carried in a golden litter of rich workmanſhip, ſupported upon the ſhoulders of Indians of the firſt diſtinction, and attended by a body of twelve thouſand orejans, or noblemen, who had arms concealed under coats of mail of palm-leaves, contrived to ward off the edge of the Spaniſh ſwords. Beſides this guard, there followed an army of ſeventy-five thouſand men, attended by near thirty thouſand ſervants, women and children. All the Indians were richly adorned with plates of gold and ſilver, and great abundance of precious ſtones. Pizarro obſerved them at a diſtance; and the glittering appearance they made, ſerved rather to whet his avarice, than raiſe any emotions of fear. He exhorted his men to be of good courage, and ſent an Indian to acquaint the emperor, that he impatiently expected his arrival; to which intimation Atahualapa made no other reply, than requeſting that the Spaniards would keep up their dogs and horſes, which were ſo terrible to his people, and not take offence at ſeeing his people armed, contrary to his orders and promiſe, as he again aſſured them no hoſtilities were intended. From this meſſage Pizarro was convinced that his ſuſpicions of treachery were well founded. He communicated his ſentiments to the chief captains, and a reſolution was taken to improve the circumſtance to their own advantage, and to place the horſe and dogs in ambuſh, under pretence of complying with the inca's requeſt. Obſerving that the emperor now pitched his tent in the fields, Pizarro, apprehending his deſign was to poſtpone the interview until night might furniſh the Indians with an opportunity of practiſing ſome inſidious purpoſe, ſent Aldena, a Spaniard, to beſeech him to haſten his march. Atahualapa received the meſſenger with marks of indignation, and at firſt ordered him to be ſeized and puniſhed; but afterwards

[c] Lib. i. cap. 23.

ſurpreſſing

ſurpreſſing his reſentment, he diſmiſſed him courteouſly, deſiring him to acquaint Pizarro, that he would be with him immediately. This incident, more and more, betrayed the deſign of the inca, and put the Spaniards on their guard. Pizarro ordered a body of muſqueteers to take poſt on an eminence in the ſquare, and to fire, at the word of command, among the thickeſt of the enemy, while the cavalry ſhould ſally out upon different quarters, to ſecure the paſſes, that none of the principal Indians might eſcape. There was ſomething uncommonly bold and deſperate in the reſolution of attacking an army of near a hundred thouſand fighting men, with a party of leſs than a hundred and ſeventy ſoldiers; but the Spaniards knew the genius of the Indians, their dread of the fire-arms, horſes, and dogs, their ignorance of the art of war, and their great defect in point of courage; nor were they ſtrangers to the ſtrong impreſſions left upon their minds by the victories obtained at Puna and Tumbez.

The inca is defeated and taken priſoner.

The inca advanced with great order and ſolemnity, amidſt the ſound and din of warlike inſtruments, ſending out ſcouts to obſerve the poſture of the enemy, who returned with the joyful intelligence, that only the general, and fifteen of his companions, were waiting on foot in the great ſquare. This advice rendered the Indians ſo bold and tumultuous, that they poured in without order into the ſquare, confident that they could eaſily bring all the Spaniards bound to Atahualapa. The inca followed the crowd, and raiſing himſelf up in his litter, exhorted his people to behave with courage and vigilance. They were preparing to fall upon Pizarro, when he thought it neceſſary to juſtify his own conduct, by once more making pacific overtures, with which he ſent the friar Vincenti Valverde, accompanied by the interpreter Filippo. The friar was admitted to the preſence of the inca, who beheld his habit, different from any thing he had before ſeen, with wonder, aſked him ſeveral queſtions about the god-head, the pope, and the emperor. He deſired to know why the Spaniards required that the tribute ſhould be paid to Charles, who was of inferior quality to God the Creator and Father, to God the Son, to God the Holy Ghoſt, and to the pope? He likewiſe aſked how Jeſus Chriſt, who was a God, came to loſe his life, and how he (the friar) came to be informed of all the particulars which he mentioned in his ſpeech concerning the Divinities of the Trinity? Vaverde declaring, that he learned all theſe things from the book he held in his hand, which was a breviary. Atahualapa took it in his hand, put it to his ear, and not hearing it ſpeak, flung it upon the

the ground, as if he imagined the friar wanted to impoſe on his underſtanding. "You believe, ſaid he, that Chriſt is God, and that he died: I adore the Sun and Moon, which are immortal. I owe no tribute to any mortal prince, and know none ſuperior to myſelf. I ſhould be glad to be a friend to the monarch who has ſufficiently diſplayed his power, by ſending armies to ſuch diſtant countries; but I diſdain being vaſſal to any but the gods. I know of no duty I owe the pope, nor can I ſee what right he has to diſpoſe of my kingdom. As to changing my religion, it would be equally fooliſh and impious in me to abjure the doctrine received by my anceſtors, until you have convinced me that it is falſe, and that yours, which you would have me adopt in its ſtead, is true."

With this anſwer the friar returned, not chuſing to attempt convincing the mind of the inca by reaſoning, when he knew that more powerful arguments were preparing. He was no ſooner returned, than Pizarro gave the ſignal for exeeuting his orders. Then the muſqueteers poured in a moſt terrible fire, while the cavalry ſallied out from different quarters, and trod down the affrighted Indians. At the ſame time the foot preſſed on with their croſs-bows, pikes, and ſwords, making dreadful ſlaughter of a confuſed multitude, who were entirely diſconcerted by the ſuddenneſs of the attack, the unuſual noiſe of the muſquetry, the vigour of the onſet, the death of their companions, the fury of the horſes and dogs, and a method of fighting to which they were utter ſtrangers. Pizarro, ſenſible that the whole depended on the fate of the inca, fell deſperately, with his fifteen targetteers, upon the corps, that ſurrounded the royal litter, and met with an obſtinate reſiſtance. Great numbers of the orejans were ſlain; but their place was undauntedly filled up by others; inſomuch, that the Spaniards muſt have relinquiſhed their deſign of ſeizing the monarch, through mere fatigue, had not Miguel, a reſolute ſoldier, pierced through the middle of the guard, laid hold of the litter, and made way for Pizarro, and ſome other ſoldiers, who immediately laid hands upon Atahualapa, overturned
A.D. 1533. the carriage, and took him priſoner. The conſternation of
May 3. the Indians was inexpreſſible upon this event; they endeavoured to eſcape at the outlets of the ſquare, and there met the fate they endeavoured to avoid. Several thouſands were ſlain, or trampled down, and a multitude periſhed amidſt the ruins of a wall that ſunk under their weight. At laſt a heavy ſhower of rain put a ſtop to the carnage, and obliged the Spaniards, who were quite ſpent with ſlaying, to look for ſhelter, carrying with them the inca in triumph

triumph, whom they juſtly eſteemed ample ſecurity for their future ſucceſs. Atahualapa was conveyed to his quarters, put under a ſtrong guard, and, as Gomara alleges, loaded with irons, which were taken off next morning by order of Pizarro. The booty was collected, and it appeared immenſe. The veſſels in gold and ſilver found in the inca's tent were incredibly rich, one of theſe alone being reputed worth a hundred thouſand ducats. Beſides theſe, a prodigious number of ornaments in gold, ſilver, and jewels, were taken from the dead; and one would imagine that the whole wealth of Peru had been collected only to reward the valour of the conquerors. Above five hundred women, belonging to the emperor and his principal attendants, ſurrendered to Pizarro, and were kindly treated. Many of them were of the blood-royal, others were favourite concubines of the emperor, and a few veſtals taken from the temple of the Sun, to pray for the ſucceſs of the imperial arms, and the deſtruction of the Spaniards.

At firſt, the Indians imagined that Atahualapa was ſlain; but finding he was only taken priſoner, above five thouſand returned to Caxamalca, to attend him in his confinement, and bear a ſhare in his affliction. Nothing could be more moving than the fidelity and affection they expreſſed on this occaſion to their ſovereign, which convinced the Spaniards they could not be too vigilant, as nothing would be neglected by his ſubjects to procure his liberty. As to the imperial general, Yiumiravi, he made the beſt of his way to Quito, carrying off above three thouſand loads of treaſure, and there exerciſed the moſt cruel tyranny (A). Every nobleman of ambition profited by the misfortune of the prince, erected a little dominion for himſelf, and go-

(A) Yiumiravi, or as Garcilaſſo calls him, Rumminavi, had the bulk of the army at command, and, under pretence of revenging the cauſe of his ſovereign, was actually aſpiring at the imperial diadem. He immediately ſeized upon all the ſons and kindred of Atahualapa, under pretext of ſecuring them againſt the violence of the Spaniards. He ſoon afterwards put them to death, particularly a brother of the inca, who had ventured to commiſerate the misfortunes of the empire. He maintained a court at Quito, which was the aſylum of all deſperadoes, robbers, murderers, and outlaws, whom he cheriſhed and protected, becauſe he was ſenſible it was their intereſt to ſee the government ſubverted (1).

(1) Garcilaſſo, cap. xxviii. lib. i.

verned

verned with the moſt deſpotic authority; at the ſame time that others conſtantly attended the perſon of the unhappy inca, dried up his tears, and, by their fidelity and attachment, mitigated the poignancy of his grief, and poured comfort into his wounded boſom. Pizarro not only gave orders to the Spaniards to treat him with the utmoſt reſpect, but ſuffered his women and attendants to have free acceſs to his apartments. In the end he gained ſo much upon Atahualapa, who, at firſt, was ſullen and dejected, that he ſeemed ſomewhat reconciled to his ſituation, and condeſcended to converſe freely with the Spaniſh general, who ſeized that opportunity of diſcloſing to him more fully the purport of his expedition. Atahualapa obſerving that the Spaniards were extremely covetous of gold and ſilver, judged that this metal would be the key to his liberty, and accordingly made propoſals of paying a prodigious ranſom. It is reported, that he offered as many veſſels of gold and ſilver as would fill the apartments in which he was confined, up to a certain line he had drawn upon the wall, as high as he could reach, amounting, according to Herrera, to upwards of ten thouſand bars, beſides jewels, and precious ſtones, of ineſtimable value. He ſent for great quantities to the adjacent provinces; but not being able to fulfil his promiſe, the Spaniards murmured, alleging that he had ſome ſiniſter intention in this delay. The inca excuſed himſelf, by alleging the great diſtance of the places, whence the ranſom was to be drawn, and deſiring that Pizarro would ſend ſome of his Spaniards to ſatisfy themſelves about the treaſures in Cuzco, whom he would order his ſubjects to conduct with ſafety, and treat with the utmoſt kindneſs; affirming, that they had nothing to fear during his impriſonment. This offer was embraced, Pizarro not chuſing to deprive him of hope, leſt the treaſure might be deſtroyed. Hernando de Soto, and Pedro del Barco, were appointed to go to Cuzco, while Hernando Pizarro undertook to give an account of the wealth contained in Pacacamec, and other provinces ſpecified by the inca, where his treaſures were depoſited. Before their departure, Atahualapa ordered proclamation to be made throughout his dominions, that the Spaniards ſhould be hoſpitably received wherever they went, and ſhewn every thing they deſired.

The inca offers an immenſe ranſom.

Full of expectation of great wealth, and confident of ſafety, under protection of the inca, the Spaniards ſet out upon their journey, in a kind of litter, which the Peruvians call huantu and rampa, ſupported on the ſhoulders of twenty Indians, who were relieved by others, poſted at certain

tain diſtances. Soto and Barco were the firſt who began their journey, directing their courſe to Cuzco They met with the moſt profound reſpect from the natives, who not only honoured the inca's paſſport and commands, but regarded the Spaniards as the meſſengers and miniſters of ſome powerful divinity, who had, for certain purpoſes, brought affliction upon their ſovereign. Many ſacrificed to them, and others loaded them with rich preſents, to appeaſe their reſentment, and expiate the crimes they had ignorantly committed againſt heaven. There were ſome who regarded Soto and Barco as inferior deities, of a malicious cruel nature, to be ſatisfied only with gold and ſilver, of which they made liberal offerings. Not long after their departure, Hernando Pizarro began his journey to Pacacamec, in the temple of which place the inca affirmed there were immenſe treaſures. On the road they met with one of the inca's brothers, attended by ſome hundreds of Indians, loaded with plate for the payment of the ranſom, amounting to upwards of a million of pieces of eight. The name of this prince was Quitliſchaca; he had eſcaped the ſnares laid for him by the perfidious Yiumiravi, and had uſed his utmoſt influence with the curacas to raiſe a ſufficient price for the inca's liberty, for whom he had the moſt tender fraternal affection. By him the firſt intelligence was received at Caxamalca, of the revolt of the general; but as no meaſures could be taken for puniſhing his treachery, until Atahualapa ſhould be ſet at liberty, the affair was dropt, in hopes that the return of the Spaniards from Cuzco, and the other places mentioned, might produce a favourable criſis.

Pizarro having reached the temple of Pacacamec, where he ſaw every thing correſponding with the inca's relation, returned after a fatiguing journey, with a good deal of treaſure, and one of the inca's generals, named Chalchuchima, who had been aſſembling troops to attempt the recovery of his prince, but had yielded to the remonſtrances of Pizarro. Hernando was ſo bold, as to go attended only by an interpreter, into the midſt of the Indian camp, and, by the force of eloquence and argument, prevailed upon the general to attend him to Pacacamec, to diſmiſs his troops, to ſubmit quietly to the fate of his ſovereign, and to repair to the place of his confinement, to endeavour, with the reſt of his friends, to alleviate his misfortunes, until the ranſom ſhould be paid. On their journey, Hernando Soto, and his fellow-traveller Barco, touched at Sanſa, where the inca Huaſcar was detained priſoner by the officers of Atahualapa. Curioſity made them deſirous of viſiting this

prince, and the Indians readily gratified their request, upon examining their passport. Little, however, could be made out at the interview, for want of an interpreter. The Spaniards had just learned enough of the language, to make themselves barely intelligible in common affairs, with the help of signs; but they found it impossible to conduct a political negociation. The royal prisoner, however, being given to understand that they were his brother's conquerors, that they professed redressing injuries, and distributing exact justice, conceived great hopes of being reinstated. He complained of the tyranny, cruelty, and usurpation of his brother, who, not content with robbing him of his crown and dominions, was now going to deprive him of life, for which reason he was kept in close confinement. He conjured them not to leave him in that condition, but to take him under their protection to Cuzco, where his presence would operate to their advantage. He promised not only to fulfil the engagement made by Atahualapa, respecting the ransom, but to pay the Spaniards much larger sums than his brother had in his power, as great part of his treasure had been concealed during the late war, and depoposited secretly in the hands of his faithful vassals. It was certainly unpolitic in the Spaniards to refuse these proposals; but they feared that attempts might be made to rescue the prince out of their hands, when they had no power to protect him; and therefore contented themselves with promising, that, on their return from Cuzco, they would conduct him safe to their commander. In consequence of this caution, Huascar lost his life, and the Spaniards immense treasures, no account of which could ever afterwards be obtained. Atahualapa's officers soon gave him notice of Huascar's promise, as to the Spaniards; and he dreading the consequences, determined to remove so dangerous a rival out of the way; upon which he immediately sounded Pizarro, desiring, in the most artful manner, to know how he stood affected. He told him, that his officers had unadvisedly killed Huascar; and finding Pizarro extremely indifferent about the fate of that prince, sent a private order that he should be immediately strangled, an order which was punctually executed, while Soto and Barco were at Cuzco.

The Spaniards send to Cuzco.

On the arrival of the Spaniards in that city, they were astonished at the respect and deference shewn them by the Indians of both parties. The friends of Huascar, imagining that prince was still living, endeavoured to engage the strangers in his interest, by the most liberal presents and offerings; those of the opposite faction practised the same civilities and attention, in expectation of procuring the release

leaſe of Atahualapa. The veſtals, called Mamaconas, dedicated to the Sun, were ordered to attend upon the ſtrangers, whom they regarded as the children of that luminary. Unfortunately, however, the Spaniards abuſed the reſpect ſhewn them, laughed at the ſimplicity of their votaries, and thereby incurred their hatred and contempt; a ridiculous weakneſs, which Herrera aſcribes to the folly and inſolence of four Spaniards, who attended Soto and Barco on this expedition. To their miſconduct, the ſame writer imputes the great effuſion of blood that enſued; for had the Spaniards indulged the natives in their ſuperſtitious veneration, they would probably have quietly received the yoke, and ſubmitted to the will of their conquerors, whom they beheld as the deſcendants of the great god Virachoca. As the emperor's chief treaſures were lodged in the great temple, application was made to the high-prieſt Vilavina, to iſſue out what was neceſſary for Atahualapa's ranſom, which he readily granted. Immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver were accordingly brought to the Spaniards, who ſet out with it for Caxamalca. Pizarro was aſtoniſhed at the prodigious wealth that flowed in, which greatly ſurpaſſed his moſt ſanguine expectations; but not yet ſatisfied, he obtained a grant from his priſoner of the treaſures contained in the temple of Pacacamec, in the province of the incas, which his brother Hernando had ſurveyed.

By this time Pizarro was joined by Almagro, who had brought an hundred and fifty Spaniards, and fifty horſes from Panama, with great difficulty and danger. Endeavours were uſed to revive their mutual animoſities, and create jealouſies that might have proved deſtructive to the enterprize; but Almagro diſcovering that his ſecretary was in the conſpiracy, ordered him to be hanged, and for that time quieted the ſuſpicion that he had planned an expedition independent on Pizarro. He now offered to attend the general's three brothers to Pacacamec; and accordingly ſet out upon that journey, being every where well treated by the natives, though great part of the treaſure was concealed before his arrival. The report of the behaviour of the Spaniards at Cuzco having reached Pacacamec, determined the prieſts of the temple of the Sun to diſappoint their avarice. It is affirmed, that four hundred load of plate had been carried away, and concealed in ſuch a manner that it never afterwards appeared. Notwithſtanding this ſecretion, the Spaniards found as much as amounted to ninety thouſand pieces of eight, beſides ſeveral pieces of

Almagro joins Pizarro.

rich plate, ſtolen and plundered by the ſoldiers, with which they returned to Caxamalca.

Diviſions among the Spaniards.

All the treaſure being now collected, and the inca's promiſe punctually fulfilled, he demanded his liberty according to agreement; but diviſions ariſing among the Spaniards, the execution of their promiſe was poſtponed. Their buſineſs was to amaſs wealth, and little regard was paid to the ſentiments which the natives might entertain of their integrity and honour. Almagro's people inſiſted upon ſharing all the acquiſitions made ſince the arrival of the Spaniards in Peru, becauſe they had contributed equally to the ſucceſs of the expedition, as if they had been actually preſent. This aſſertion, indeed, was true of Almagro himſelf, but not of the ſoldiers he had enliſted ſubſequent to the impriſonment of the inca. Pizarro readily admitted the claim of his partner, and ordered that the value of a hundred thouſand ducats ſhould be diſtributed among his followers, with which they appeared ſatisfied. Agreeable to the power veſted in him as lieutenant-governor and generaliſſimo, he then paſſed a decree, ordaining, that the king's fifth ſhould be deducted, and the remainder of the treaſure divided in a certain proportion to each, according to the merit that ſhould be adjudged him by his commander. He then ſhared to the amount of one million five hundred and twenty-eight thouſand five hundred pieces of eight, deducting the king's fifth, and all other expences. In this diviſion the Spaniards reaped the fruits of all their labour, as far as riches could afford a recompence; but the effects did not correſpond with their wiſhes. Wealth is not always productive of felicity; and it appeared, on this occaſion, that the prodigious treaſures they had amaſſed ſerved only to diminiſh the enjoyment of the adventurers, who were infinitely more happy in expectation than actual enjoyment. The great plenty of gold and ſilver diminiſhed its value one half; thoſe who imagined themſelves rolling in wealth, were aſtoniſhed to find they, in reality, had but half what they expected. Diſappointment begat jealouſy, the parent of diſcord; it alſo naturally produced avarice, each ſtriving to acquire a fortune equal to what he firſt imagined he enjoyed. Gaming roſe to an exhorbitant height among them, and property was continually ſhifting from one hand to another. The tides of affluence and indigence brought along with them an infinity of vices, which foiled all the authority and influence of the commander, and rendered the Spaniſh conquerors the moſt profligate, corrupt, and abandoned ſet of miſcreants in the univerſe. No regard was paid to the moſt ſacred obligations; wealth

was

was the only purſuit, and power the only rule of right; nor was Pizarro himſelf untainted with the general depravity. Atahualapa, in the moſt preſſing manner, urged the compact for his liberty, every particular of which he had fulfilled. He offered to lay himſelf under the ſtricteſt ties, to act in nothing contrary to the intereſt of the Spaniards, to acknowlege himſelf a vaſſal of the emperor Charles V. to pay a regular tribute, to receive baptiſm, as ſoon as his underſtanding could be convinced, and, at all events, to live upon terms of the ſtricteſt amity with the Spaniards; but his remonſtrances were vain, and freſh pretexts were invented to prolong his confinement. Upon theſe delays, ſome of his commanders propoſed attempting his releaſe, by force of arms; to which he very prudently refuſed his conſent, admoniſhing them in the ſtrongeſt manner not to have recourſe to violence, which might endanger his life, and the total ſubverſion of the empire. In obedience to him they laid aſide their deſigns; but the diſcontent which appeared in their countenances excited ſuſpicions in the Spaniards, which were corroborated by the whiſpers of the yuaconas, or Peruvian ſlaves, who were grown rich, haughty, and inſolent, during the late confuſion, and deſirous of a change in the orejans, or nobility. They ſpread a variety of reports, the foundation of which could never be traced, though they were readily believed by the Spaniards, who wanted an apology for their own perfidious conduct. Pizarro doubled the guards, and very probably cheriſhed rumours which he could not poſſibly credit. Atahualapa grew extremely uneaſy, and remonſtrated with him upon the ſubject; but receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer, he poured his grievances into the boſom of Hernando Pizarro, who had gained his confidence and affection. The whole blame of theſe diſturbances were charged upon the Indian general, Qualiquietriama, who would certainly have been ſacrificed to the vengeance of the Spaniards, had not Hernando interpoſed, and aſſerted his innocence.

It was now the ſubject of great grief and mortification to Atahualapa, that he was going to be deprived of the only perſon, among the Spaniards, for whom he had entertained a friendſhip. The general thought it neceſſary to tranſmit an account of his ſucceſs to the court of Spain, to remit the king's fifth, and thereby inſure the countenance and protection of the emperor and miniſtry. His brother was appointed to diſcharge this commiſſion; and the inca was no ſooner informed of the reſolution, than he imagined his ruin was determined. He told Hernando his fears, and

bewailed himſelf in the moſt piteous manner, ſaying, that he was now deprived of hope, as he had loſt his only remaining friend and confident. In this reflection, he diſcovered his penetration, for Hernando was departed but a few days, when all that Atahualapa had foreſeen came to paſs (C).

The Spaniards break their engagements with the inca.

The diſcontents of Almagro's ſoldiers, which were again revived, their refuſal to be led to the reduction of the provinces, the difficulty of keeping ſo mighty a potentate as the inca ſecurely confined, the apprehenſion of attempts which would probably be ſet on foot to procure his releaſe, and the almoſt impoſſibility of eſtabliſhing the dominion of the crown of Spain over ſuch an immenſe tract of country, greatly perplexed Pizarro, and ſuggeſted the firſt hint of the neceſſity of putting Atahualapa to death. This ſtep he regarded as equitable, becauſe it was convenient; for it was a maxim of his policy, to ſtick at nothing which contributed to his own intereſt, the ſecurity of his people, and the good of the public, however contrary to the faith of treaties and engagements. A notion that it was eſſential to the accompliſhment of the conqueſt of the Peruvian monarchy, was the actuating motive to this baſe action, whatever the Spaniſh writers may allege of intrigues carried on by Fillippo, the interpreter, in conſequence of a paſſion which he entertained for one of the inca's women. It is not indeed improbable that Fillippo might be employed as a tool to Pizarro, to ſtir up thoſe diſcontents among the yuaconas which we have mentioned. Garcilaſſo alleges, that the inca, who at firſt adored Pizarro as a god, began to fall off from his reſpect, on obſerving that he was rough, unpoliſhed, ignorant, and void of honour. The ſame writer obſerves, that Atahualapa admiring nothing ſo much as the faculty of conveying ideas by writing, one day reſolved to

(C) With Hernando Pizarro near fifty Spaniards returned to Spain, immenſely rich. Almagro ſolicited, by letters, that he might be conſtituted adelantado of certain countries beyond thoſe aſſigned to Pizarro, and entirely independent on his authority. Knowing that a difference ſubſiſted between the two brothers, he entruſted this commiſſion to Hernando, and is ſaid to have gained the promiſe of his intereſt, by a preſent of twenty thouſand ducats. The wealth which they brought to Panama, raiſed ſuch a ſpirit in the inhabitants of that place, that it was with difficulty the governor could reſtrain the whole colony from ſeeking their fortunes in Peru (1).

(1) Garcil. lib. i. Her. dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. v.

make

make experiment of the reality of the pretended art. He deſired a Spaniſh ſoldier to write the word God upon his thumb-nail; then calling another ſoldier, he deſired to know what theſe characters meant, and was anſwered God. He called a third, and received the ſame anſwer; and at laſt putting the queſtion to the general, Pizarro replied he could not tell; hence he ſunk greatly in the inca's opinion, as a perſon inferior, in point of knowlege, to the common ſoldiers. Inſinuations are likewiſe given, as if this circumſtance tended to widen the breach between the emperor and the commander, and hurry on the tragical end of the former. Pizarro was piqued to obſerve the contempt in which he was held by a barbarian; and all conſtraint being now removed, ſince the departure of his brother, who had ſtrenuouſly vindicated the inca upon all occaſions, he cauſed a formal proceſs to be drawn up againſt him, conſiſting of ſeveral articles, many of which were truly abſurd and ridiculous. They imported, that being a baſtard, without any right to the imperial diadem, he had ordered his brother, and legitimate ſovereign, Huaſcar, to be put to death, and ſeized his dominions; that he had given orders for this barbarous murder ſince his own impriſonment by the Spaniards; that he was an idolater; that he not only allowed, but commanded, the ſacrifices of men, women, and children; that he had raiſed unjuſt wars, and occaſioned much bloodſhed and cruelty; that he had levied taxes and tributes ſince the arrival of the Spaniards in Peru, and conſumed and embezzled the public treaſure, which now became the property of the conquerors; laſtly, that he had endeavoured to ſtir up factions and rebellions againſt the Spaniards. Pizarro was reſolved, at all events, to rid himſelf of the inca, otherwiſe he would never have ſtrained ſo hard to find ſufficient ground of impeachment. *Put him to death.*

To all theſe charges the inca pleaded not guilty. With reſpect to the death of his brother, he juſtly alleged, that the Spaniards could take no legal cognizance of the fact. The taxes which he had levied, and the wars he had carried on, were nothing to the Spaniards; and as to the conſpiracy mentioned in the impeachment, it was utterly falſe and groundleſs. He called heaven and earth to witneſs the integrity with which he had diſcharged his engagements, and the perfidy of his accuſers; and deſired he might be ſent over to Spain to take his trial before the emperor; but little regard was paid to this requeſt. He exclaimed, he reaſoned, he intreated in vain; Pizarro proceeded to examine ſham evidences, and, after a full hearing, Almagro and he occupying the bench, condemned him to be burnt. The ſentence was then given into the hands of the

friar Vincenti Valverde, to be reviſed and confirmed. It is alleged that the friar uſed every argument with the inca to convert him to Chriſtianity; and that he at laſt prevailed, on aſſuring him that he ſhould get the ſentence changed from burning to ſtrangling, which mitigation the unhappy prince now regarded as an extraordinary favour. In all other reſpects the ſentence was rigorouſly executed, and the inca yielded up his laſt breath with that reſolution, firmneſs, and heroiſm, which would have done honour to a more civilized prince, and legitimate ſovereign. Pizarro did not carry his reſentment farther than the grave; he now treated with the utmoſt honour the royal corpſe, went into mourning, and ſaw it interred with the moſt ſolemn magnificence; but he ſoon found how deteſtable this action had rendered him to the natives. As there appeared no neceſſity for keeping the death of the inca ſecret, it ſoon ſpread into the remoteſt parts of the empire. Hideous cries were firſt ſet up by his women, as the funeral proceſſion paſſed; many offered to bury themſelves with him, which favour being refuſed, they hanged themſelves out of grief and vexation. Their affliction communicated itſelf, like a contagious diſtemper, to all who reſided near them; the whole town of Caxamalca was filled with lamentation. The melancholy ſcene extended itſelf over the provinces, then to Quito, and afterwards to all the countries that acknowleged the ſovereignty of Atahualapa. His perſonal merit had gained him powerful alliances, and his misfortunes could not fail to move pity. Friends and enemies joined in accuſing the Spaniards of treachery and inhumanity. The ambition of the deceaſed prince, with all its fatal conſequences, were forgot, and nothing now was preſent to the imagination of his people but his virtues, which they exaggerated, as if to aggravate the crime of his barbarous murderers. Loads of gold on the road to Caxamalca, by order of Atahualapa, were now carried back to Cuzco, and the loſs of the treaſure was the firſt unfortunate conſequence which the Spaniards perceived to flow from their late cruel and iniquitous conduct. The two factions of Indians united againſt Pizarro, and many of the Spaniards not only exclaimed againſt the death of the inca as a baſe infraction of the law of nations, and a violation of the Spaniſh honour; but they would even have proceeded to open mutiny, had not the impending danger united them for their common ſafety. At Cuzco, the friends of the late emperor Hueſcar immediately proclaimed Manco Capac, the legitimate brother of the late inca, and determined to ſupport him againſt the machinations and violences of the Spaniards. On the other hand Pizarro

Conſequences of his death.

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set up Taparpa, the son of Atahualapa, caused him to wear the imperial diadem, to be treated with all the honours due to the dignity of emperor, and all orders and public business to be dispatched in his name. It was essentially necessary to the success of his designs, to gain possession of Cuzco, the capital, and suppress the opposite faction before it could gather strength sufficient to maintain the vigorous resolutions it had taken. Accordingly he set out from Caxamalca, attended by the new inca, after having spent seven months in that city, where he had met with the most luxurious accommodation, so that the soldiers were enervated by ease and abundance. Near the valley of Xauna, advice was brought, that an army of Indians occupied the passes, and resolved to dispute Pizarro's progress. Advancing a few miles farther he saw the plain covered with armed troops; a sight extremely formidable to the Spaniards, who were now fatigued with the march, and the prodigious rains that had lately fallen. Almagro led the van; he approached so near as to hear the enemy's revilings, and giving way to his indignation, attacked them with great impetuosity, after having passed a rapid river, in despite of all their opposition. Nothing could withstand the Spanish cavalry; the Indians were confounded, broken, and defeated, before the rear came to close fighting. They lost great numbers in the flight, and left behind a considerable quantity of gold, and other booty. In the fruitful vale of Xauna was a temple dedicated to the Sun, where the conquerors likewise found some wealth, and here Pizarro resolved to found a colony, which, however, was not permanent, but removed in the sequel to the place where now stands the city Des los Reyes, afterwards called Lima.

Manco Capac proclaimed inca by the natives.

While Pizarro was thus employed, Ferdinando Soto was detached with sixty horse to make the best of his way to Cuzco, and clear the road for the march of the remainder of his army. Soto had not advanced far when he received intelligence, that a considerable body of the enemy had fortified themselves at Cavabayo, to defend that pass. Fearing that his strength would prove insufficient, he sent notice to Pizarro, and desired that the inca might join him, as the presence and influence of the monarch would probably save the effusion of blood, and obtain the ends of a victory without the hazard; but Taparpa fell sick about this time, and died, an event which frustrated all the expectations entertained by the Spaniards of bringing the Indians, by means of their friend the inca, to acknowlege their authority, without the necessity of having recourse to arms.

arms. Soto was now forced to place his dependence on his own valour; the Indians had cut down a bridge over an exceeding rapid river that divided them from the Spaniards; but Soto, without regard to the violence of the ſtream, plunged in with his horſe, and reached the oppoſite bank, to the unſpeakable aſtoniſhment and terror of the enemy, who fled in the utmoſt conſternation. Thus Soto obtained a complete victory without ſtriking a blow, after having performed what has never been ſince attempted, the fording a river which had always been deemed impaſſable, and without the loſs of a ſingle horſe, or ſoldier. The enemy flying to Lima Tambo, he continued the purſuit, notwithſtanding he had received orders to advance ſlowly, ſaying, it would be folly and cowardice to adhere ſo literally to orders as to neglect ſeizing the opportunity of an important advantage, which could not poſſibly be foreſeen when the orders were iſſued. Accordingly he continued his march along the great road of Chinayhayſo to the mountain of Bilcaconga, ſeven leagues from Cuzco, where the Indians determined to fortify a difficult paſs, to dig pits and trenches, and fill them with ſtakes, to incommode the horſes. Here they reſolved to make their laſt effort; great abundance of proviſion was brought, the army was augmented, ſome allege the new inca was preſent, and every meaſure taken that could defeat the intention the Spaniards had of ſeizing the capital. Soto could have no reliance upon aſſiſtance from Pizarro, who was employed in reducing the Yuanas and Yayos, and ſettling the new colony. He therefore repoſed his whole hopes on the vigour of his arm, and the poſſibility of repulſing the Indian army before it could be reinforced. As he advanced, however, it was perceived that the enemy were exceedingly numerous. The whole face of the mountain was covered with their forces, and unexpected difficulties occurred in reconnoitring the paſs. The Indians began to pour in their darts and arrows upon the Spaniards with more reſolution and regularity than they were accuſtomed to obſerve, a circumſtance which produced murmurings and diſcontents among the ſoldiers. Soto told his people, that it was now neceſſary to conquer or die. He ſaid, the numbers of the enemy cut off all poſſibility of retreating, without being expoſed to diſgrace, and the moſt imminent danger; and, if they heſitated a moment, the ſame difficulty would attend their advancing, as new levies were continually joining the inca. One victory more, he obſerved, would remove every obſtacle, and the ſame valour which had hitherto proved invincible, would now like-

likewiſe be ſucceſsful, if they would exert it properly. This ſpeech gave new life and vigour to the troops. They advanced with great reſolution up the hill, amidſt ſhowers of the enemy's weapons. They formed themſelves two a breaſt, cut their way through the Indians with dreadful ſlaughter, and at laſt reached the ſummit of the mountain, in deſpite of all reſiſtance. Five ſoldiers and two horſes were killed in this attack, and eleven men and fourteen horſes wounded; however, the joy of obtaining a victory rendered this loſs of leſs conſideration. It is probable that Soto muſt have encountered the ſame dangers next morning, had not Almagro ſeaſonably arrived with a reinforcement, which ſo diſpirited the Indians, that they dropped their intention of renewing the engagement, and ſuffered the Spaniards to proceed unmoleſted.

Pizarro had detached Gabriel de Rojas with a party to Pacacama, about the ſame time that Soto began his march for Cuzco. This officer was met on the road by the Peruvian general Quizquaz[f], and twelve thouſand men, who had determined upon revenging the death of the inca Atahualapa. Herrera, and moſt of the Spaniſh writers relate, that a battle was fought, which terminated to the advantage of Rojas; but Garcilaſſo affirms, that Quizquaz receiving intelligence that the Spaniards approached in a careleſs manner, placed a great number of troops in ambuſh in the woods and rocks. Then ranging his army in a ſemicircle, in a narrow paſs, he attacked them with great fury; at the firſt onſet wounded four ſoldiers in the rear, and killed twelve auxiliary Indians. When the horſe advanced Quizquaz retreated ſlowly among the rocks, where part of his troops were concealed, and by this motion drew the Spaniards into his ſnare. The cavalry purſued, and were ſuddenly attacked by the Indians in ambuſcade. Here the ſlaughter began; ſeventeen Spaniards were killed, many wounded, and ſeven fell into the hands of the enemy. A multitude of the auxiliary Indians lay bleeding on the field, and the victory was complete in favour of Quizquaz[g]. Garcilaſſo ſpeaks as if Pizarro had been preſent in this battle; and he affirms, that the Spaniſh wounded and priſoners were treated with the greateſt humanity, by the Indians, whoſe general accepted peace notwithſtanding his victory. One they put to death, upon information that he was deeply concerned in the death of the inca Atahualapa, and had actually drawn up the proceſs againſt the monarch, although this account was in reality falſe. It was owing to the policy and diligence of the Spaniſh priſoners that a peace was ne-

Several expeditions made by the Spaniards into different provinces.

[f] Herrera. [g] Garcilaſſo, lib. ii. cap. v.

gociated.

gociated. They ſo gained upon the affections of the Indians, and powerfully repreſented the madneſs of oppoſing Pizarro, who had more than half the empire in his intereſt, that they diſmiſſed them with rich preſents of gold, ſigned a peace with them, as the repreſentatives of the general, and exhorted them to procure his ratification of the treaty; the terms of which were to the following purpoſe: that henceforward all hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe between the Spaniards and Indians; that the Spaniards ſhould not deprive the new inca of his right, nor oppoſe his election; that the Spaniards ſhould ſet all the Indians at liberty whom they held in chains, and that henceforward no Indian ſhould be impriſoned who was willing to enter into the Spaniſh ſervice; that all the laws made by the former incas, which were not prejudicial to the pretenſions of the Spaniards, ſhould remain in force; and that the governor, Don Franciſco Pizarro, ſhould ſend this treaty to the court of Spain to be ratified by the emperor.

The new colony of St. Miguel was left under the direction of Sebaſtian de Belalcazar. Since the departure of Pizarro, it had been powerfully reinforced by a great number of Spaniards, that flocked from Panama, upon the report of the immenſe riches acquired by the adventurers. Belalcazar, who was of an enterpriſing ſpirit, thought to profit by his ſtrength, and rival the power of the other commanders, by ſtriking ſome blow equally important and unexpected. He contrived matters with ſuch addreſs, that the council propoſed he ſhould march with a body of forces to Quito, where it was reported Atahualapa, and the preceding inca, had treaſured up much wealth. Having aſſembled a corps of a hundred and forty horſe and foot, well armed, he marched to Carrachabamba, one of the interior mountainous provinces, and, before he reached Zeropalta, ſuffered incredible hardſhips. The news of his progreſs ſoon reached Quito; upon which it is ſuppoſed that the Indians concealed a prodigious quantity of gold and ſilver, in order to diſappoint the Spaniards, whoſe avarice they deteſted. They alſo aſſembled forces to oppoſe them, under the conduct of Yiuruminavi. The firſt ſtep taken by this general was, to diſpatch a body of men to watch the motions of the Spaniards, in the neighbourhood of Zeropalta. Without knowing any thing of this detachment, Belalcazar, advancing with thirty horſe towards Tomabamba, met the Indian party on the road, and, by the terror which his horſe inſpired, obliged them to retire with great precipitation to the main army.

Belalcazar's expedition to Quito.

While the Spaniſh commander reſided at Tomabamba, he received an embaſſy from the inhabitants of the provinces

vinces called Canaries, deſiring an alliance with the Spaniards, in order to revenge the cruelties which had been committed by the friends of Atahualapa, in their country, during the late civil commotions. Their requeſt was readily granted, and Belalcazar exhorted them to raiſe forces immediately to aſſiſt in the deſigns formed upon Quito. However, before any effects could be expected from this confederacy, advice of the defeat of their detachment arrived at Quito, where it produced the ſtrongeſt and moſt ardent thirſt of revenge. It was immediately reſolved to raiſe an army of fifty thouſand men, and to cruſh the Spaniards under the weight of numbers. Belalcazar was no leſs diligent and eager. He detached a ſmall party of ten horſe, under the conduct of Ruyz Diaz, to get intelligence, and reconnoitre the enemy's diſpoſition. This party was ſoon attacked, and ſurrounded by a body of Indians placed in ambuſh by the general. The Spaniard fought with great reſolution, and made dreadful carnage; but he muſt have ſunk under the weight of ſuperior numbers, had not one of his ſoldiers broke through the enemy by an extraordinary effort, and given advice to Belalcazar of the danger of Ruyz. This officer leaving a ſmall party for the ſecurity of his quarters, haſtened to the aſſiſtance of Diaz, whom he found fighting valiantly in the midſt of heaps of ſlaughtered Indians. The enemy were not diſcouraged either by their loſs, or the arrival of Belalcazar; on the contrary, their fury was exalted, they redoubled their endeavours, and appeared determined to conquer or to periſh; but fatigue, at length, obliged the combatants to ſeparate, as if by mutual agreement, the Indians all the while denouncing vengeance, and boaſting that the Spaniards would find a different kind of reſiſtance in their approaches to Quito, from what they met with at Caxamalca.

In the night Belalcazar took the utmoſt care of his wounded, while the enemy employed themſelves diligently in making ſuch fortifications as the time would allow, to reſiſt the power of the Spaniards. Of this work the Spaniſh commander was aware. The courage and obſtinacy they had ſhewn the paſt day, left him little hope that he ſhould be able to force their intrenchments: he, therefore, reſolved while the darkneſs of the night concealed his motions, to take the road of Chimo and Tarbas. An Indian offered to conduct him by a ſafe road through which he might eſcape the enemy; but he had ſcarce marched a league when he was overtaken, and attacked in the rear, by the whole body of the Indian army. At the ſame time, Yuruminavi diſpatched ſeveral thouſand men to occupy the paſſes, and

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dig pits, which he ordered to be covered with graſs, as ſnares for the cavalry. The action was ſuſtained in the rear by thirty horſe, while Belalcazar, with the reſt of the troops, ſtruggled to gain a neighbouring eminence, an aim which he at laſt accompliſhed, after much difficulty, and then ſent ſuccour to the cavalry in the rear. Here the battle raged for ſome time, until the enemy thought that the pits, ordered to be dug, were finiſhed; when they drew off, and wheeled, with great velocity, to the front. What the conſequence of this ſtratagem might have been, is uncertain, had it not been diſcovered to Belalcazar by a deſerter; but it was now rendered abortive by the reſolution of the Spaniards to quit the road to Riobamba, and make the beſt of their way over ſome ſteep mountains leading to Quito. When the Indians obſerved their intention, they were diſpirited, not doubting but the Spaniards were protected by ſome divinity. They inſiſted that their generals would make immediate propoſals of peace; but Yiuruminavi laboured to convince them, that it was better to periſh with their ſwords in their hands than to become the ſlaviſh dependents on an inſolent, rapacious enemy, who paid no regard to juſtice, innocence, treaties, misfortune, or the moſt ſacred ties of religion and humanity. His eloquence rekindled their reſentment, and they marched in purſuit of the Spaniards, who arrived ſafe at the ſtately palace of Riobamba before they were overtaken. From thence they ſallied out with thirty horſe upon the Indians, and drove them back with great ſlaughter; but they again returned at the perſuaſion of their general, and ſeemed determined to diſpute every inch of the road to Quito. Belalcazar having reſted twelve days, reſumed his march, and was joined on the road by a body of his new allies, the Canaries, who congratulated him very cordially on his late victories, and aſſured him of their endeavours to render the iſſue of the expedition as fortunate as the beginning. They were averſe to all pacific overtures; however, the Spaniſh general, that he might have nothing to reproach himſelf with, in caſe of any untoward accident, made very equitable propoſals to the Indians, which were rejected by Yiuruminavi, who was now fortified on the oppoſite bank of a river, over which the Spaniards were obliged to paſs. The cavalry led the way, and charged with great impetuoſity; the infantry following, plied their muſketry and croſs-bows even in croſſing the river. As ſoon as they touched the ſhore, they fell ſword-in-hand upon the enemy with irreſiſtible fury, and defeated them at the firſt onſet. Here the Indians had likewiſe dug pits for the horſes; but the Spaniards, grown cautious

cautious by experience, diſcovered and eluded the ſtratagem: yet ſtill they were continually haraſſed in their march; every thing produced freſh and obſtinate ſkirmiſhes. Belalcazar was tired and ſhocked with ſlaughter and bloodſhed; he ſent an Indian, with a croſs in his hand, to make propoſals of peace, or, at leaſt, of a ceſſation from hoſtilities, which many of the Indians were ready to embrace, had not Yiuruminavi again interpoſed, and by his inflammatory eloquence revived the dying ſparks of reſentment and revenge. He painted the character of the Spaniards in the moſt odious colours, and declared his fixed reſolution rather to periſh than ſubmit; a determination to which all preſently acceded. They honoured their leader with the title of atundapo, or *great lord*, and, in the tranſport of their fury, murdered the meſſenger. Every mind was bent on oppoſing the advances of the Spaniards to Quito; they made perpetual attacks, and kept Belalcazar in continual alarm and hurry, but could not prevent his reaching a paſs in the country of Quito, which they had fortified with all the knowlege they poſſeſſed in the art of war. Several deep trenches had been dug here, and divers little baſtions, filled with archers, were erected; however, the fame of the immenſe treaſures contained in the capital of the province ſo inflamed the minds of the Spaniards, that they puſhed the attack with more than human valour, carried all the works before them at the firſt aſſault, drove the enemy to take ſhelter in Quito, and from thence to the mountains. Yiuruminavi perceiving he could not maintain his ground in the city, uſed his utmoſt influence with the inhabitants to retire to the mountains, and there watch the firſt favourable opportunity of attacking the enemy, when they ſhould be lulled in ſecurity, and intoxicated with proſperity; but three hundred families having reſolved to rely upon the humanity of the Spaniards, he ordered them to be maſſacred, and their houſes levelled to the ground. Thus Belalcazar got poſſeſſion of the city, without oppoſition, though here he expected the greateſt reſiſtance; but none of the vaſt treaſures of which fame had ſpoke loudly were to be found, to the grievous diſappointment of the ſoldiers. Belalcazar made the ſtricteſt enquiry amongſt the natives; but he could obtain no other anſwer, than that Yiuruminavi had concealed it in ſome place unknown to them, and that great riches were carried off by the families who retreated to the mountains.

During theſe tranſactions, Pedro de Alvarado, one of the principal officers who had been engaged under Cortez in the conqueſt of Mexico, was ſeduced by the report of the

Pedro Alvarado arrives in Peru.

the inexhauſtible wealth of Peru, to raiſe an armament for invading that empire, contrary to the expreſs privileges granted to Pizarro and Almagro. Almoſt all the Spaniſh ſettlements on the continent were abandoned by the inhabitants, who flocked in crowds to ſhare in the honour and profit of Pizarro's enterprize. Alvarado with regret beheld himſelf ſecond to Cortez in the former expedition; but he hoped to render himſelf equal to Pizarro in this; as to his own experience in the art of war, he joined the aſſiſtance of ſome of the beſt officers and approved ſoldiers of the age. Garcilaſſo de la Vega, whoſe father attended Alvarado upon this occaſion, alleges, that he had a commiſſion from Charles V. to conquer, govern, and plant all thoſe countries on that part of the continent, which were not yet poſſeſſed by the Spaniards, and that his juriſdiction was wholly independent on the authority of Pizarro and Almagro: this probably was the caſe; but with reſpect to Peru, it was included in the charter given to Pizarro. While Alvarado's fleet and army were getting ready, he diſpatched Garcias Holguin, in a ſmall veſſel, to procure ſome intelligence of the country and coaſt, againſt which he intended the expedition, and alſo of the progreſs of the Spaniards. Holguin, after having encountered manifold hardſhips, could proceed no farther than Puerto Viego, where he received ſome vague accounts of Pizarro, the riches he had acquired, the immenſe wealth that ſtill remained; and a few other general hints of information, with which he returned to Alvarado, and whetted the appetite of the mariners and ſoldiers for purſuing the enterprize. They now embarked the number of ſeven hundred men, two hundred and twenty-ſeven of whom were horſemen; and, after thirty days ſailing, arrived at Cape St Francis, in one degree of north latitude. Alvarado perceiving the crews grew ſickly, and that the horſes periſhed, or contracted ſuch diſeaſes as would render them uſeleſs, landed in the bay of Caragues, harangued his men, nominated all his officers, ſent the proviſions by ſea to Puerto Viego, and proceeded with ſome horſe to Mantu, a town in which was found a very rich booty in gold and ſilver. Orders were given to the pilot to ſail along the coaſt of Peru, to the farther extremity of Pizarro's government, to make the neceſſary charts, obſerve the ſoundings and harbours, and ſet up marks of having taken formal poſſeſſion. It appears that Alvarado had no deſign to encroach on Pizarro's rights; but the exaggerated accounts which the Indians gave of the incredible wealth of Quito, ſo inflamed his people, that he was compelled into that expedition, to avoid

avoid being deſerted. The hardſhips from famine and fatigue, encountered in this tedious and perilous march, proved the ruin of his army. Great numbers of men and horſes died, and to ſuch neceſſity were the troops reduced, that even the officers lived upon the fleſh of dogs and horſes which had periſhed with want. It is affirmed, that Alvarado directed his march over a ſandy deſart, wholly deſtitute of water; where all his people muſt infallibly have periſhed, had they not providentially met with large groves of bamboe canes, of extraordinary ſize, in the joints of which was found a ſufficient quantity of excellent water for the men and horſes.

At this time Pizarro and Almagro were deeply engaged in the progreſs of their conqueſt, and the news of Alvarado's approach and deſigns gave them the greateſt diſturbance. A body of horſe was immediately detached by Almagro to watch his motions; but this party falling into Alvarado's hands, was kindly treated, and diſmiſſed. This moderation ſuggeſted the firſt idea of compromiſing differences in ſuch a manner, that all ſhould heartily unite in the ſame deſign. Almagro made the propoſals, and they were accepted, without heſitation, by Alvarado; who was ſenſible of the neceſſity of perfect harmony among the Spaniards, which alone could inſure ſucceſs to any of the parties engaged in this arduous enterprize. An interview was appointed, and the following agreement ſigned by the commanders: that a hundred thouſand peſos ſhould be paid to Alvarado, by Pizarro and Almagro; that ſuch of Alvarado's officers and ſoldiers as deſired to ſerve under Pizarro and Almagro, ſhould be provided for as their own troops, according to the merit of their ſervices; and that Alvarado ſhould return to Mexico, after he had viſited Pizarro at Cuzco, of which capital he had heard the moſt extravagant accounts. There were ſome other ſtipulations of leſs conſequence in this treaty, to which both parties adhered with great punctuality; except that Pizarro, apprehenſive that a ſight of the immenſe wealth of Cuzco might ſtagger Alvarado's reſolution, ſent him a meſſage, that he would ſave him the trouble of ſo tedious a journey, and give him the meeting in the valley Pacacamec; for which place he immediately ſet out, eſcorted by a body of cavalry. Here he met with Alvarado and Almagro, to the former of whom he gave the command of all the troops while he remained in this place, in order to ingratiate himſelf the more with that adventurer, and by acts of complaiſance keep him ſteady to his agreement. He alſo paid him twenty thouſand peſos more than was ſtipulated in the treaty, made

He comes to an agreement with Pizarro and Almagro.

him ſeveral valuable preſents of torquoiſes, and other precious ſtones, and conducted himſelf with ſo much addreſs, that Alvarado returned perfectly ſatisfied to Mexico, having been fully recompenſed for the expences and trouble of the expedition, and aſſured that all his ſoldiers and officers would be well provided for, according to their ſeveral abilities.

We muſt now return to ſurvey the proceedings of Pizarro, previous to the agreement with Alvarado, which we were obliged to defer, to prevent interrupting the chain of events. He had remained at Caxamalca ſince the death of Atahualapa, contenting himſelf with ſending detachments to gain a more perfect knowlege of the different provinces. We have related the iſſue of theſe expeditions, and the death of the new inca, Taparpa, who had been ſet up by the Spaniards. Pizarro now determined to follow Soto, with the reſt of the forces, and proceed to Cuzco; the total reduction of which might greatly contribute to reſtore the tranquillity of Peru, and diſpoſe the natives to ſubmiſſion. Almagro accompanied him in this march, and was chiefly inſtrumental in the defeat of an Indian army that oppoſed their progreſs, and gave them battle in the vale of Xauxa. On the mountain of Bilcaconga he rejoined Soto; and in the month of October made his public entry, without obſtruction, into the great city of Cuzco; where, notwithſtanding the immenſe wealth that had been carried off and concealed, he found treaſures, beyond the moſt ſanguine expectation, in gold and ſilver, caſt into bars, veſſels, and ornaments. Gomara gives the following account of the behaviour of the Spaniards at Cuzco, and of the vaſt riches they acquired. They immediately ſet to work in unripping the gold and ſilver from the walls of the temple, to dig up the veſſels of gold and ſilver that were concealed in the graves, and buried with the dead, to plunder the idols, houſes, and fortreſs, in which great quanties of the precious metal had been amaſſed by the late inca. In Cuzco much larger treaſures were found than thoſe which had been brought to the Spaniards for the ranſom of Atahualapa. However, the ſhare of each ſoldier was not equal to the former dividend, becauſe their numbers were now greatly augmented by Alvarado's troops; nor was the fame of this action ſo loud as the firſt, which united the triumph of riches with the impriſonment of a great monarch. A certain Spaniard entered a vault, where he found an entire tomb of pure ſilver, of ineſtimable value. Others met with ſimilar fortune in an inferior degree; for it was cuſtomary with the rich men of this country to be buried

A.D. 1534. *Pizarro ſets out for Cuzco.*

buried in this manner in the fields, and laid in ſtate like idols. Nor were the Spaniards contented with this prize; but ſtill thirſting after more wealth, they ſearched, with indefatigable induſtry, for the treaſures of Huaſcar Capac, and other princes of Cuzco; but they were diſappointed in their enquiries, although they tortured ſeveral poor Indians, to oblige them to diſcover what they did not know, and the places where their great men were interred[b]. The Peruvians probably concealed their riches in the temples and tombs, becauſe they could not imagine the Spaniards would be ſo brutal as to rake up the aſhes of the dead, or violate the reverence due to the gods; in which opinion they were miſtaken.

Pizarro being now in poſſeſſion of the capital, invited the people to return to their dwelling. It was by no means his intention to drive the inhabitants to deſpair, leſt the whole power of Peru uniting, might incloſe him in Cuzco, and, by cutting off his proviſion, reduce him to their own terms, without hazarding a battle, or giving the Spaniards an opportunity of exerting their ſuperior ſkill and courage. Many accepted the invitation; and it is aſſerted, that the inca himſelf made an offer to embrace Chriſtianity, and acknowlege the ſovereignty of his catholic majeſty, provided that neither himſelf nor his ſubjects ſhould, for the future, be moleſted in their perſons and property. He entertained thoughts of viſiting Pizarro in perſon, and demanding reſtitution of his kingdom, on theſe conditions; but he was diſſuaded for this time by the remonſtrances of his council, who ſtrongly admoniſhed him not to confide in the treacherous Spaniards, who had cruelly put his brother to death, without regard to the moſt ſolemn engagements. However, he afterwards reſumed the ſame project, and harrangued his council to this effect: "Sons, brethren, and ſubjects, we have now determined to demand juſtice in perſon of thoſe ſtrangers, reputed the deſcendents of the great god Virachoca, who, at their firſt entrance into our country, declared their firm reſolution to do juſtice to all mankind. I cannot therefore doubt, but they will admit my claim, which is ſo conſonant to reaſon and equity. If they really are the children of the ſun, as our anceſtors were, who brought us truth for a principle, their actions will correſpond with their words, and they will certainly not deny what they ſolemnly engaged to perform. For my part, I had rather truſt to the juſtice of my cauſe, than to the force of arms. If they are indeed, the meſſengers of

The inca's ſpeech to his council.

[b] Cap. cxxiv.

the god Pachacamac, they will dread offending him, by doing injuſtice, which is inconſiſtent with the nature of the divinity. Let us therefore boldly go to them, armed with the juſtice of our cauſe; and ſince we believe them to be the offſpring of the great deity, truſt they will act agreeable to their high deſcent. Our anceſtors never deprived the curacas of their hereditary right, even in caſes of rebellion; can we then imagine that the Spaniards will diveſt us of our lawful inheritance, who never did them any injury, who, inſtead of oppoſing their entrance, actually reſigned every thing into their hands? Let us go in a peaceable manner; for if we go armed, they will ſuſpect our intentions are hoſtile, and will make that a pretext for refuſing our juſt demand. Avarice lays hold of the ſmalleſt opportunity to gratify itſelf. Inſtead of our arms, let us carry ſuch preſents with us, as may ſerve to win the affections of covetous men, and pacify the diſpleaſure of the offended gods. Let us collect all the gold and ſilver, and precious ſtones, in our power, and by this offering of our wealth, take away the temptation to injuſtice and oppreſſion. It is true, the ancient power of our kings is fallen; but ſtill let us maintain their integrity, honour, and prudence; and if this will not prevail with the ſtrangers to reſtore to us our empire, we may then abſolutely conclude, that the prophecy of the inca, our father and predeceſſor, is accompliſhed, that our monarchy is to be tranſlated to ſtrangers, our political government deſtroyed, and our religion aboliſhed; part of which prophecy we have already ſeen fulfilled. If the Pachacamac has ordered theſe things, what have we to do but to ſubmit? Let them act as they pleaſe, it becomes us to purſue the maxims of reaſon and juſtice.".

This ſpeech, pronounced with great emphaſis, drew tears from the whole aſſembly. They lamented the approaching deſtruction of the empire, but reſolved to obey their prince, and provide every neceſſary for his journey. When his retinue and equipage were prepared, he ſet out for Cuzco, with a great number of vaſſals, officers of his army, great lords of his houſhold, and other dependents; and was met by the Spaniards, who had intimation of his deſign, at ſome diſtance from the city. His courtiers adviſed that he might be carried, agreeable to his dignity, in the ſtate-chair of pure gold, and wear on his temples the coloured wreath: but the inca ſaid, that theſe badges of royalty ill-became a petitioner, therefore he deſired to be conveyed in a bare low litter. He was received and welcomed with great reverence by Pizarro, who cauſed him to

The inca viſits the Spaniards.

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be crowned and inveſted in the caſſona, or royal palace, with all the formality uſed on former occaſions in that country. A treaty was concluded, favourable to both parties, which we need not ſpecify, as it was ſoon broken, and mutually diſregarded. Theſe pacific meaſures were taken, becauſe it was known, that both the ſouthern and northern provinces were aſſembling forces, under the generals Yiruminavi and Quizquiz; and alſo, becauſe Pizarro had formed a project of ſettling colonies, and founding cities upon the coaſt, which he could not execute until the public commotions ſhould ſubſide. Quizquiz, incenſed at the conceſſions made by the inca, and the power aſſumed by a few ſtrangers in the centre of the empire, aſſembled a great army of Mitimies to expel them from Peru, and recover the ancient liberty of the nation. He harangued his people with great vehemence, laid before them the ſhameful uſurpation of the Spaniards, the diſgraceful timidity of the inca, the danger that threatened their religion, manners, lives, and properties, the dreadful carnage which had been already made by the ſtrangers, their extraordinary avarice and rapacity, with every other circumſtance that could rouſe, inflame, and animate his hearers. When he found he had ſufficiently excited a ſpirit of reſentment and revenge, he artfully applied himſelf to the Guamaraconas, a nation diſtinguiſhed for valour in the province of Quito. This people had already felt the ſcourge of Spaniſh tyranny, and thirſted for an opportunity of revenging their loſſes, and diſgraces. Theſe he counſelled in an ironical tone, to retire quietly to the lands of their anceſtors, to till the grounds, and depend on the generoſity of the ſtrangers for the liberty of enjoying the fruits of their labour. So inflammatory an inſinuation produced the deſired effect. The Guamaraconas declared to a man, they would firſt try the fortune of war with the Spaniards. They deſired he would conduct them, and, if they failed in the enterprize, they ſaid, they would then purſue his advice, and ſubmit to ſlavery. It was then reſolved to attack Cuzco, and endeavour to drive the Spaniards out of the capital, and accordingly he advanced with great reſolution. Pizarro and Almagro, who had intimation of the deſigns of the Indians, marched out at the head of a ſelect body of horſe and foot, and came up with the enemy at the bridge of Apurima, where by one vigorous charge, they obliged the enemy to renounce all their vigorous determinations. Without ſcarce any reſiſtance, they turned their backs, and ſuffered themſelves to be ſlaughtered in heaps, till night and fatigue put a ſtop to the carnage. Soto continued the purſuit as far as Bilcas,

War with the Indians.

while Pizarro returned triumphant to Cuzco, in full expectation that the enemy would not venture upon a ſecond attempt to diſturb the public tranquillity; in which hope, however, he was miſtaken.

Quizquiz was diſconcerted, but not diſcouraged, by this defeat. He reſolved upon another trial of arms, and accordingly ſet about levying new forces with great diligence. It was now his intention to ſurpriſe the Spaniards; but it was impoſſible to conduct ſo great an undertaking with ſecrecy. The Ynucanoes, who ſtood in dread of Pizarro, brought him information of all that was tranſacting; and it was determined to meet the Indians in the plain, where the cavalry might act in conjunction with the infantry and confederate Indians. Here another battle was fought with the ſame fortune as before; but victory proved leſs deciſive, and more bloody on the ſide of the Spaniards, who could not prevent Quizquiz from retreating in good order.

It was after theſe fortunate events, that Pizarro reſolved to purſue his project of eſtabliſhing colonies and building cities, for which purpoſe he now ſet out for Cuzco. Accordingly, he laid the foundation of Lima, in 12 deg. and a half ſouth lat. on the borders of a river, about ſix miles from the South Sea, and nearly the ſame diſtance from the iſland and harbour of Callao. In this particular, Garcilaſſo and Herrera agree, notwithſtanding ſome writers date the foundation of this capital four years earlier. Hither he removed the colony ſettled at the city called des los Reyes, and it ſoon became populous and flouriſhing. Lands were aſſigned to the inhabitants; and the natives, who had been parcel of the glebe under the curacas, were now transferred like cattle, or any other property, by the Spaniards. Proceeding farther northward, he built another city, in nearly the eighth degree of ſouth lat. which he called Truxillo; and here, alſo, he made a diviſion of the lands and Indians among the new coloniſts, without any diſtinction between thoſe who were born freemen, and thoſe who had been ſlaves and villains from their birth. All were ſubjected to the ſame drudgery, and the ſame tortures, if they proved diſobedient, repined at their hard fate, or refuſed to diſcover, where the treaſures of the caziques and princes were depoſited. During his reſidence in this city, advices arrived from Spain, importing, that his brother Ferdinando had ſucceeded in almoſt all his negociations at the Spaniſh court. Pizarro had petitioned that his government might be extended two hundred leagues to the ſouthward; that he might have a grant to him and his

his heirs of the province of Atabilos, with all its revenues, and the perpetual vaſſalage of twenty thouſand Indians: but the emperor, who found an unreaſonable ambition in this requeſt, only veſted him with the title of marquis of that province, and enlarged his government to the ſouthward. With reſpect to the dominion over the Indians, he ſaid, he would firſt inform himſelf of the peculiar cuſtoms of the country, and the equity of the meaſure; then Pizarro might depend on all the favour that was conſiſtent with juſtice. Almagro too, in conſequence of Ferdinando Pizarro's application, was created marquis of Peru, and had a juriſdiction of two hundred leagues extent, ſouthward of the frontier of Pizarro's government. He was, likewiſe, empowered to make diſcoveries in what manner he ſhould think proper; and the rich province of Chili falling under his authority, laid the foundation of all the diſcord and contention that enſued. Almagro and Pizarro grew jealous of the favours ſhewn to each other by the government; the one regarded the other as the minion of the court, and complained that ſufficient regard had not been paid to his peculiar ſervices. Their adherents cheriſhed theſe ſeeds of animoſity, and the brothers of Pizarro treated the friends of Almagro with great haughtineſs. Herrera alleges, that the marquis Pizarro, returning from Truxillo, adjuſted all differences with Almagro, reſtrained the inſolence of his brethren, ſet out for Lima, and left the government of Cuzco in the hands of one of his brothers; while, on the other hand, Almagro went upon an expedition to Chili. On the contrary, Garcilaſſo affirms, that Almagro, jealous of the capital's being aſſigned to Pizarro, took upon himſelf the title of governor of Cuzco, and all its dependencies, and threw off all ſubordination to Pizarro; an uſurpation that was boldly oppoſed by the brothers of the marquis. According to this writer, the diſpute aroſe to ſuch a height, that both parties had recourſe to arms, war was formally declared, and ſeveral Spaniards and Indians were killed on both ſides, before the arrival of the marquis, who, by his moderation and policy, accommodated all differences, and concluded a treaty with Almagro. It was therefore, in all probability, after this affair, that Almagro formed the ſcheme of marching to Chili; ſince we find it expreſsly ſtipulated in the treaty with Pizarro, that his right to this province ſhould not only be uncontеſted, but that he ſhould have the command of the bulk of their joint forces to aſſiſt him in reducing it to obedience. The other principal articles of the agreement implied, that the co-partnerſhip

Jealouſy of Pizarro and Almagro.

between Pizarro and Almagro ſhould ſubſiſt, without infraction through intereſt, ambition, or any other motive; that all the conditions ſtipulated in the original contract, ſhould be rigorouſly maintained; that all diſpatches to the court of Spain ſhould be in the joint name of the commanders; and that all profits and expences ſhould be clearly produced, and faithfully divided. This treaty was ſigned on the 12th day of June, and ſolemnly ſworn to by both parties; but how it was executed, will ſoon appear.

A.D.1535. *Almagro goes upon an expedition to Chili.*

Such was the poſture of affairs when Almagro propoſed to ſet out on the expedition to the ſouthward; requeſting the inca to appoint two Indians of diſtinction, to prepare and diſpoſe the minds of the natives for the reception of the Spaniſh forces. In conſequence of this requeſt, the inca ordered his brother Topu, and the high prieſt Vilehoma, to execute that commiſſion. He knew their rank and dignity would not only give them conſequence with the natives, but their abſence from Cuzco would remove all cauſe of jealouſy from the Spaniards, as the high prieſt was of a reſtleſs, turbulent ſpirit (D). The Spaniards alſo took with them a great number of ſlaves to carry the baggage; and that all the ſoldiers might be well ſupplied with neceſſaries, Almagro lent them two hundred thouſand crowns, taking only their notes for the repayment, out of the booty which they might acquire in the expedition. Through the courſe of a tedious march of two hundred leagues, he was well accommodated by all the Indians, who paid the higheſt regard to the inca's command, and ſupplied the ſoldiers with abundance of proviſion; but reaching the unhoſpitable barren country of Charcas, fatigue and hunger produced diſcontents among the troops, and determined Almagro to proceed to Chili, being ignorant of the immenſe wealth, both in the country he deſpiſed, and the invaluable mines of Potoſi. The confederate Indians in his army remonſtrated on the hazard and difficulty of the deſign, acquainting him, that ſuch a journey muſt be purſued either over the high mountains of the Andes, or Cordilleras, which, at this time, were covered with

(D) As a ſpecimen of the immenſe wealth found at Cuzco, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that when the plate was melting down to defray the expences of Almagro's expedition, one of the ſoldiers begged a ring out of the heaps of gold and ſilver; and Almagro told him, he might take as many as he could hold in both hands: beſides which he made a preſent to the ſoldier's wife of four hundred pieces of eight (1).

(1) Herrera, dec. iv. lib. ii. cap. i.

ſnow,

ſnow, and ſo intenſely cold, that no Indian could poſſibly ſupport the rigour of the climate; or through a ſandy deſart along the coaſt, where the exceſſive heat of the ſun reflected from the ſand, and the want of water, would hazard the entire deſtruction of the army. Theſe were difficulties which could not check the ardour of Almagro, inflamed with the exaggerated accounts of the riches of Chili. He choſe to climb the Cordilleras, as the ſhorteſt way; but being obliged to dig his way through the ſnow, the Indians periſhed in multitudes, their naked bodies being expoſed to all the ſeverity of the weather. Garcilaſſo alleges, that not leſs than ten thouſand Indians, and an hundred and fifty Spaniards, breathed their laſt in theſe dreadful mountains; and ſo intenſe was the cold, that many of the ſurvivors loſt their toes and fingers. At laſt, after having undergone incredible miſery, they conquered the Andes, and reached a fine, fertile, temperate plain on the oppoſite ſide, where they were received with the moſt cordial and feeling hoſpitality by the benevolent natives, who ſupplied them with every kind of proviſion and refreſhment, which the country afforded, adminiſtering to the neceſſities of the wretched ſoldiers with the utmoſt humanity.

Progreſs of the expedition.

While Almagro was reſting his wearied troops in this terreſtrial paradiſe, the inhabitants of Chili, being informed that certain deputies of the great god Virachcoca had honoured them with a viſit, immediately collected an offering in gold and ſilver, which amounted to two hundred thouſand ducats, and ſoon after brought another preſent to Almagro, exceeding three hundred thouſand ducats; upon which he cancelled the notes he had taken from the ſoldiers, and alſo made them a preſent, in compenſation of their ſufferings. Thoſe rich offerings confirmed all the accounts he had conceived of the wealth of the country: he congratulated himſelf upon the valuable grant which had been made to him by the court, and determined immediately to ſubdue the provinces of Purrumanca, Antielli, Pinca, Canqui, and other interior countries which did not acknowlege the authority of the inca. With this deſign he perſuaded Paullu Topu, brother to the inca, to aſſemble all the Indians he could raiſe, to reinforce the Spaniards, and, with the united forces, he advanced towards the ſouthern extremity of Chili. In his march, he had ſeveral ſharp ſkirmiſhes with the natives, who fought with great reſolution, and diſputed every inch of ground. The confederates ſuſtained conſiderable loſs; but in the ſpace of five months they reduced all the provinces under ſubjection,

tion, and would have effectually established their dominion, had not new projects filled the mind of Almagro. He had been joined by Ruyz Diaz and Juan de Herreda, with above a hundred Spaniards, who had crossed the mountains in a more favourable season of the year, and was in a prosperous course of victory, when he formed the resolution of returning to Peru [b], in consequence of a new commission, brought to him by the hands of Herreda. By this commission it appeared that Cuzco was within his department. Pizarro's original grant extended no farther than the equator; that was now enlarged by two hundred leagues to the southward; but, as Cuzco lay three hundred leagues from the equator, and all south of his frontier was assigned to Almagro, within prescribed limits, he justly reckoned Cuzco within his jurisdiction, and resolved, by the advice of his friends, not to give up that valuable city, so happily situated to command the provinces of his department. The plan, therefore, was concerted for returning to Peru in full hopes, that if Almagro possessed the capital, all the southern provinces would immediately submit. As the Spaniards had not yet forgot their sufferings on the Andes, they now resolved to try the other passage through the deserts, and to provide in the best manner possible against every accident, especially the want of water; for this purpose, parties of Indians were detached before them, to cleanse the wells which had been choaked up with sand, and neglected during the late intestine commotions. Besides this precaution, a great number of leathern bottles were provided, and filled with water; and a small body of horse was sent out to examine whether the Indians had given a just report of the country through which the army was to pass, and faithfully executed the orders respecting the wells. These precautions being taken, he began his A.D. 1536. march, and suffered incredible hardships in the desart of two hundred miles extent, notwithstanding all his foresight and providence. In this march he was deserted by the high priest, who had been apprized of disturbances between the emperor and the Spaniards at Cuzco. Herrera indeed relates, that he went off during Almagro's progress to Chili, and was the chief instrument of the revolt of the inca, and the Peruvians; but Garcilasso not only affirms, that the high priest continued with him till the present juncture, but that to his influence was owing the extraordinary respect shewn to the Spaniards in the different provinces of Chili. He farther relates, that this priest, Vile-

[b] Herrera, p. 135. Garcilasso, lib. ii. cap. ii.

homa,

home, was assisted in his escape by the interpreter Filippo, who was seized, condemned, and executed, after he had confessed the false evidence he had given against Atahualapa. With respect to Paullu, he remained faithful to Almagro, and received the reward of his services; for the Spaniards were no sooner informed of the war which had broke out in Peru, between the emperor and the Spaniards, than they proclaimed this prince inca, and Almagro adorned his temples with the imperial wreath.

Indian inca discontented.

While Almagro was employed in the expedition to Chili, a variety of causes of discontent arose at Cuzco, between the Spaniards and the Indians; the principal of which was, Pizarro's delaying to execute the articles of agreement with the inca, of reinstating him in his dominions and authority. Upon this head Manco Capac made frequent remonstrances to the marquis; but he was always put off with fresh excuses and pretexts. The inca had sufficient penetration to dive into the bottom of this conduct, and there were not wanting a sufficient number of the Indian nobility to aggravate the grievance, and rake up the embers of discord, both out of hatred to the Spaniards, and from motives of self-interest. The inca now perceiving that the Spaniards not only prevaricated, with respect to the performance of their engagements, but that he should be detained a prisoner, in case he refused submission to whatever Pizarro thought fit to propose, dissembled his resentment, and waited patiently until the opportunity offered to break this galling bondage. The resentment of this prince was likewise increased by fresh injuries and instances of Spanish perfidy. Ferdinando Pizarro, who returned about this time from Spain, had promised the emperor a large sum of money from Peru, as the price of the honours and grants which had been made to his brother. At this time the court was extremely necessitous, all the money in the treasury being exhausted by the continual wars carried on by Charles V. and the expectation of a liberal donation from Pizarro, rendered the emperor more willing to extend his authority, and load him with honours. However, the marquis was of opinion, that he had already sufficiently paid for all the imperial favours, and that he and his soldiers were justly intitled to the remaining wealth, as the reward of all their sufferings, toils, and conquests. He could not, with patience, think of yielding up the fruits of his labour, to a set of idle, extravagant, and rapacious courtiers; and therefore told his brother, when he was informed of his engagements to the emperor, that he had conquered Peru at his own expence, without

without any aſſiſtance from the government; that he had already remitted a vaſt ſum of money; that Peru was now exhauſted, and all its riches laid out in building towns, planting colonies, and eſtabliſhing other meaſures to ſecure the conqueſt, all which would redound in time to the honour of the crown, and the intereſt of the government; but that, for the preſent, it was ſufficient for infant ſettlements to maintain themſelves. He particularly reſented the enquiry which the emperor had ſet on foot, reſpecting the ranſom and treaſures of Atahualapa; and concluded, with leaving his brother Ferdinando to fall upon means to perform the extravagant promiſes which he made to the Spaniſh adminiſtration. It was this anſwer which determined Ferdinando to requeſt the government of Cuzco; telling the marquis, that he doubted not but this opulent capital would enable him to make good his engagements to the court, and thereby ſecure the future protection of the emperor; which he would find of the utmoſt importance, in caſe the diſpute with his colleague, Almagro, ſhould ever be renewed. By this remonſtrance he wrought upon the marquis to grant his requeſt; and immediately took poſſeſſion of his government, with full reſolution to make the remittances to the court, whatever might follow, and even at the expence of ſound policy, of ſolemn engagements, and the moſt ſacred rights of nations. He gave the inca to underſtand, that he would engage for his reſtoration to his dignity, on condition that he ſhould make a conſiderable preſent to the court of Spain. The better to convince him of the ſincerity of his intentions, he removed him to the royal palace, and treated him with all the honours due to the imperial character. The bait took; the inca, perſuaded that he ſhould regain his loſt authority, diſpatched expreſſes all over his dominions, requeſting the curacas to bring the uſual tribute of gold and ſilver, as the only means of delivering him out of the hands of the Spaniards. The tribute arrived, and a very rich preſent was made by the inca to the governor; who repaid it with a renewal of his promiſes, inſtead of the performance. This evaſion awakened Manco Capac to a full ſenſe of his own danger, and the little dependence to be placed in the engagements of a perfidious nation, that ſacrificed every conſideration to the thirſt of gold. He perceived that honours were indeed paid to him, but that he was ſtill a priſoner, all the gates of the palace being occupied by Spaniſh ſoldiers.

It was no unnatural concluſion, from ſuch inauſpicious premiſes, that his fate might reſemble that of Atahualapa, who

who died an ignominious death, after his treaſures had been drained; and therefore he continually revolved in his own mind how he could eſcape out of cuſtody, and revenge all the indignities he had ſuffered in his impriſonment. The following ſtratagem offered itſelf to his imagination, and was practiſed with ſucceſs. He told Pizarro, that in the valley of Yucaya, where the incas were interred, there were ſeveral rich tombs, and in one of theſe a ſtatue in gold of an ancient inca, as large as the life, which he was perſuaded he could find, if he was allowed to go in ſearch of it with his uſual guard of Spaniards. This was a propoſal not to be reſiſted, eſpecially as it was made with all the appearance of candour, and obviouſly with deſign to promote the execution of the governor's engagements. Accordingly Pizarro thanked the inca, readily embraced the offer, and conſented that Manco Capac ſhould go to the tombs of Yucaya, with a Spaniſh guard, little ſuſpecting there was a general conſpiracy laid to reſcue the prince. In ſhort, the inca had appriſed ſome of the adjacent curacas of his intention, who aſſembling a conſiderable army, concealed themſelves in the neighbouring mountains, and kept ſpies abroad, to acquaint them when the emperor, with his Spaniſh guards, ſhould appear. It was intended to attack the Spaniards, but the inca ſaved his troops that hazard; he found means to eſcape, joined his army, and then left the Spaniards to lament their own credulity, and admire the policy of the Indian ſovereign (E). Herrera aſſerts, that he purchaſed his liberty [c].

He eſcapes out of the hands of the Spaniards.

[c] Gomara, cap. xxxv. Carrate, cap. iii. lib. iii.

(E) This is the account given by two Spaniſh writers Gomara and Carate, but related differently by Garcilaſſo, who alleges, that Manco Capac obtained leave to go to Yucaya to celebrate a feſtival, prepared by the Indians, where the ſtatue of the late inca, his father, was erecting (1). We muſt confeſs we thought the former account more probable, as it affords a ſtronger motive to the Spaniards to comply with the inca's requeſt.

(1) Garcilaſſo, lib. ii. cap. xxiii.

SECT.

SECT. X.

Containing a Relation of the War between the Syaniards and Peruvians; the Diviſions among the Spaniards, and Rivalſhip of Pizarro and Almagro.

Origin of the war with the Indians.

MANGO Capac ſcarce found himſelf at liberty when he contrived the deſtruction of thoſe perfidious ſtrangers, who had not only uſurped his authority, kept his perſon in bondage, tyrannized over his ſubjects, drained his kingdom of its riches, but alſo violated every obligation, human and divine, from an inſatiable thirſt of gold, and ungovernable luſt of dominion. He ſummoned a council of all the great officers of ſtate, of his generals, and principal nobility, repreſented his own ſufferings in the ſtrongeſt terms, the wretched condition of his ſubjects, and the tyranny and perfidiouſneſs of the inſolent Spaniards. He had early ſuſpicion, he ſaid, of the treachery and ambition of theſe ſtrangers, by their dividing the lands of Peru among themſelves, enſlaving thoſe who were born free, and putting the natives to the torture, in order to extort a confeſſion where the treaſures of the great were depoſited. He declared, he was now determined to puniſh their wickedneſs, and vindicate the liberties of his people by force of arms; for which purpoſe, he demanded the aſſiſtance of every man, in whoſe breaſt the leaſt ſpark of patriot virtue exiſted, that the war might be vigorouſly proſecuted againſt the ungrateful Spaniards, without whoſe expulſion they could never ſecure their religion, liberty, or property. He added a great many other arguments to rouſe the council to revenge, and delivered himſelf with ſuch ſpirit and energy, that all were wound up to a kind of madneſs, and called out for vengeance in the moſt tumultuous tranſports of fury. As ſoon as order could be reſtored, the council deliberated on the means of conducting the war; with reſpect to the propriety and neceſſity of which, all were unanimous. It was reſolved to diſpatch meſſengers to all the curacas, tributary provinces, great vaſſals, governors and officers of the crown, in different provinces, to raiſe troops with all poſſible ſecrecy, that they might unite at a time and place appointed, and at one blow to ſurpriſe and overwhelm the Spaniards in their quarters. Agreeable to this plan, it was concerted, that three armies ſhould be ſet on foot; one to fall upon Almagro,

magro, another to attack Lima; and a third, conſiſting of two hundred thouſand men, under the command of the inca in perſon, to ſurpriſe, or, if that failed, to inveſt Cuzco, and regularly lay ſiege to the capital. Every thing was executed with the moſt aſtoniſhing celerity; and the Spaniards in Cuzco ſaw themſelves ſurrounded by an incredible multitude of enemies, before they had any ſuſpicion of the revolt, or had made any preparation for their defence. The attack began in the night, amidſt the ſhouts of the Indians, and the hoarſe din of their warlike inſtruments; and ſuch was the fury of the aſſailants, that they ſhot fired-arrows, and ſet the city in flames in divers places, being determined to deſtroy the Spaniards at the expence of reducing the capital of the empire to aſhes. Their reverence for the temple of the Sun, the convent of ſelect virgins, and a few other ſacred buildings, reſtrained them from throwing fire into the ſtreets where thoſe edifices ſtood; by which means the beſieged were left in poſſeſſion of the great ſquare, and as much of the city as could well be defended by a ſlender garriſon, which did not exceed two hundred horſe and foot. The enemy had forced the citadel, and obliged Pizarro to form his troops in the great ſquare, and point his artillery to the different avenues, by which he made terrible deſtruction. Even this dreadful carnage could not check their ardour: they preſſed with unremitting fury for the whole night and day ſucceeding, until at length all the paſſes to the ſquare were choaked up with dead bodies, and more than half of the city was burnt to the ground. Nothing could exceed the valour and conduct of the Spaniards upon this occaſion; the horſe, in particular, ſallied out, and made terrible havock. When night came on, the Indian army withdrew to a little diſtance, occupied all the paſſes round the city, and blocked up the Spaniards ſo cloſely, that they could not receive any ſupplies. They had determined to continue their approaches gradually, and reduce the beſieged equally by famine and the ſword. To this plan they adhered ſo ſtedfaſtly, that their ſcheme muſt have infallibly ſucceeded, but for a fortunate incident, that probably ſaved the Spaniards from deſtruction. The ſlaves, who firſt felt the effects of the ſcarcity that prevailed, took arms in their cauſe, hoping that their ſervices to the Chriſtians might procure them their liberty. They flocked in multitudes to Pizarro, deſired he would accept of their aſſiſtance, and were received with ſuch promiſes of rewards, as ſoon increaſed their number, and augmented that of the beſieged

The inca beſieges the Spaniards in Cuzco.

to a very considerable army. The Spaniards were now in a condition to skirmish vigorously with the Indian army, and every day produced sharp and bloody actions; but these efforts proving insufficient for their relief, they determined to come to a general battle, drew up their forces in the great square, and seduced the enemy to an engagement with all their forces, where every advantage of situation was on the side of the Christians. Here, says Garcilasso, the parties fought with unremitting fury, for the space of thirteen days; the Indians withdrawing at night, and returning vigorously to the attack early next morning. They discharged such flights of arrows, and vollies of stones from slings, that the besieged were almost overwhelmed: and the historian says, that nothing but the personal assistance of St. James, who fought for them on horseback, prevented their total destruction. The Spaniards now proclaimed liberty to all vassals and slaves, with such rewards and immunities, as not only augmented the number of those auxiliaries, but animated them to acts of the most heroic gallantry, by which they were enabled to drive the Indians out of Cuzco and the citadel, in storming of which Juan Pizarro was killed, after the enemy had been in possession for the space of nine months. All that time the siege continued with scarce any interruption. The Spaniards, indeed, after they were reinforced by the Indian slaves, scorned to be cooped up within the limits of the capital, and made excursions far into the country, returning loaded with provision, in despite of the utmost efforts of the Indians. Yet, it must be confessed, that Manco Capac performed every thing becoming a spirited and magnanimous prince; but he was ill seconded by the officers and soldiers, who, after the first transports of rage, began to relax in their duty, and neglect the posts committed to their care. Many instances of the valour of private soldiers and officers, on both sides, are recorded by de la Vega; and the same writer relates such a number of prodigies and miracles, as must invalidate the belief of those actions that come within the compass of probability. St. Jago was seen fighting on a white horse, in the heat of the battle; and the Blessed Virgin appearing over the Spanish quarters, quenched the flames that threatened to devour them, and turned aside the fiery arrows, or frustrated their effects, even when they chanced to fall upon the dry thatch of the houses, and among other combustibles. Gomara, Carate, and Herrera, join Garcilasso in the relation of these atchievements, but endeavour to persuade us, that Heaven assigned

Juan Pizarro killed.

aſſigned them Peru and Mexico, as the Almighty formerly gave the land of Canaan to his choſen people (A).

All this while the marquis Franciſco Pizarro was at Lima, and the firſt ſuſpicion he had of the general inſurrection aroſe from the interruption in his correſpondence with the capital. Immediately, he employed the yuncanoes to bring him minute information of what was tranſacting in the heart of the empire. Theſe emiſſaries brought word, that not only Cuzco was cloſely beſieged, but that an army was in full march to inveſt Lima; that another had marched in purſuit of Almagro; and that the whole empire had riſen in arms by the direction of the inca, who had deceived Ferdinando Pizarro by a plauſible tale, and made his eſcape. Though the advices of the yuncanoes were neither very conſiſtent, nor connected, Pizarro perceived that they contained too much truth; and, not doubting but that all the Spaniards in Cuzco had already periſhed, he applied with the utmoſt diligence to provide for the ſafety of Lima, and the other ſettlements. He ſent expreſſes to Panama, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Hiſpaniola, to ſolicit reinforcements to prevent the loſs of Peru, and the moſt valuable conqueſt hitherto made by the Spaniards. All his detachments, ſent to extend his conqueſts in different provinces, were likewiſe recalled to the defence of Lima; a body of a hundred horſe and foot, under the command of Diego Pizarro, was ordered to march with all poſſible expedition towards Cuzco, either to ſuccour the garriſon, if ſtill exiſting, or to procure more exact information of the ſtate of affairs: in a word, every meaſure was taken which prudence could dictate at this critical conjuncture. The army deſtined for the attack on Lima had notice of thoſe proceedings, and determined to way-lay the detachment ſent to Cuzco, as the reduction of that capital was the main object of the deſigns of Manco Capac. With this view they took poſt in all the narrow

The Indians beſiege the marquis in Lima.

(A) The number of Indians who were ſlain in the different actions conſequent on this ſiege, are altogether incredible. On the ſide of the beſieged near a hundred Spaniards were killed or wounded; and, what was an irreparable loſs at this juncture, above a dozen horſes periſhed Of the confederate vaſſals many thouſands were ſlain; but this rather animated than diſcouraged them, and the loſs even ſerved to augment the Spaniſh army. When the ſpirit of revenge took place, many who had before kept aloof from fear, now joined in the revolt againſt their tyrants, and exerted their utmoſt endeavours not only to avoid the puniſhment due to their rebellion, but to merit the reward of liberty promiſed by the Spaniards.

paſſes and difficult defiles, through which the detachment was to march; but to conceal their ſtratagem the better, and to cut off all reſource, they ſuffered Diego to advance upwards of ſeventy leagues before they diſcovered themſelves, or gave him the leaſt moleſtation. At laſt, when they found their opportunity at a paſs on the mountains of Parcos, they fell upon the Spaniards with the utmoſt fury, rolled down great ſtones and pieces of rocks from the tops of the mountains, and plied them ſo thick with darts and arrows, that not a ſoul of the whole detachment eſcaped. In much the ſame manner they cut off ſeveral other parties that were on their way to Lima. Gonzalo de Tapia, with ſixty horſe and ſeventy foot, were deſtroyed; Morgovego de Quinnanes, with an equal number of men, met a ſimilar fate; and Alonzo de Galeata, at the head of forty horſe and ſixty foot, periſhed. Upon the whole, above four hundred Spaniards, who were marching to the ſuccour of Lima, in different detachments, were ſlaughtered in the field of battle, beſides near an equal number who were killed in the mines in different provinces, where they imagined themſelves in perfect ſecurity. The Spaniſh writers exclaim loudly againſt the barbarities exerciſed by the Peruvians upon theſe occaſions; but, from their own relation, nothing appears beſides the juſt retribution of an highly-injured and enraged enemy. Great numbers had flocked from the different ſettlements on the continent of America, and the iſlands of the Weſt Indies, to ſhare the ſpoils of Peru. Theſe adventurers had diffuſed themſelves careleſsly about the country, little imagining that the Indians, who had ſubmitted tamely to the uſurpation of Pizarro when ſupported only by a few followers, would now venture to throw off the yoke, when every province was filled with Spaniards, and the inca remained their priſoner.

Spaniſh detachment cut off.

Fluſhed with ſucceſs, the Indian army advanced to the deſtruction of Lima, certain that they could not fail in the reduction of a ſlender garriſon, diſpirited by diſappointment, and not yet recovered from the conſternation into which they were thrown by ſo unexpected and general an inſurrection. When they advanced within eight leagues of the city, a body of Spaniſh horſe ſallying out, under the command of Pedro de Lerma, charged them with the utmoſt impetuoſity, and made ſuch terrible ſlaughter, that the Indians retired to the mountains. From thence they alarmed the whole country with the noiſe of warlike inſtruments, ſo that they increaſed to the number of forty thouſand men, deſcended again like a torrent from the hills,

hills, ſwept all before them, and drove the Spaniſh horſe back to Lima, with the loſs of twenty men, who died of the wounds they received in this engagement. This ſucceſs not only animated the aſſailants, but augmented their numbers to ſixty thouſand men; ſo that they drew nearer the city, and offered up as a ſacrifice of thanks ſome Spaniſh priſoners they had taken, before the eyes of their countrymen; a piteous ſpectacle, that rouſed the Spaniſh garriſon to a degree of fury, and occaſioned their committing ſome ſignal inſtances of barbarity in their future ſallies. Pizarro behaved with the greateſt gallantry and diſcretion; however, he began to feel the preſſure of hunger from the vigilance of the enemy, in cutting off all ſupplies; and, but for the Indian ſlaves in the Spaniſh ſervice, he muſt have either ſurrendered at diſcretion, or ſtarved. The moſt vigorous ſallies were made to introduce convoys of proviſion; but the great ſuperiority of the enemy rendered them generally abortive. The Indians, indeed, were always defeated, and the garriſon was not only weakened and fatigued, but diſappointed in the deſign of the ſally. Their only reſource was in the fidelity and addreſs of their ſlaves, who, under pretence that they were deſerted, gained admittance into the enemy's camp, whence they always returned laden with proviſion. Beſides, they brought back an account of all the deſigns of the beſiegers; ſo that when any attack was intended, the garriſon having previous intimation, was in readineſs to receive the enemy. However, all their endeavours could not have prevented the fall of Pizarro, and with him, probably, the loſs of Peru, had not a providential accident occurred, which confirmed the ſuperſtitious Indians in the opinion that the Spaniards were certainly protected by ſome inviſible power. In conſequence of a heavy rain, the river overflowed the banks, deluged the neighbouring country, drowned great numbers of the enemy, prevented their renewing their attacks, and opened a path for the garriſon to introduce ſupplies into the city. From whatever natural cauſes this effect proceeded, both Indians and Spaniards joined in aſcribing the overflowing of the river to a miracle; the former grew diſpirited, thinking it in vain to ſtrive againſt the gods, and the latter were animated with a double portion of courage. The Indians were held together merely by the authority of their commanders, while the others triumphed in every action; harraſſed, fatigued, and kept in perpetual alarm, a deſponding multitude, which at laſt withdrew, leaving the Spaniards at liberty to purſue what meaſures they thought proper.

The ſiege raiſed.

Almagro returns from Chili.

It is now time to return to Almagro, the news of whoſe approach, joined to a variety of circumſtances, obliged the inca to relinquiſh the ſiege of Cuzco. It is affirmed that Almagro made propoſals to him of an alliance againſt Pizarro, which he rejected with diſdain, ſaying, that he had taken up arms to recover his own rights, and the liberties of the people, and not to aſſiſt in the baſe deſigns of one uſurper againſt another. Garcilaſſo alleges, that the inca conſented to an interview with Almagro, with intention to deſtroy him, and that here he rejected the overture of alliance; but failed in his deſign to aſſaſſinate the Spaniſh general, through Almagro's vigilance and circumſpection. His officers endeavoured afterwards to perſuade him to accept the propoſal, alleging, that in promoting the diſcord of the Spaniards conſiſted his greateſt ſecurity; and that, by weakening both parties, he might at laſt recover his dominions, and totally expel the uſurpers; to which advice he replied, that it became not the honour of an inca to diſſemble, or fail in his engagements; and that he had rather forfeit his empire, and live in perpetual exile and obſcurity, than maintain his dignity by falſehood and treachery: a ſaying that ſufficiently demonſtrates the elevation of ſentiment and ſcrupulous integrity of this prince, whom the Spaniards affect to call barbarous. Diſappointed in his deſigns upon Cuzco, and Almagro's forces, this generous monarch now deſpaired of ſucceſs in recovering his dominions; and deſirous that his ſubjects might ſuffer as little as poſſible for their loyalty, he requeſted they would diſperſe, and return to their own dwellings. He himſelf, he ſaid, would watch over their ſafety in a ſecure retreat, in order to ſeize the firſt opportunity that offered for another attempt to recover their privileges, and puniſh the inſolent and rapacious uſurpers of their property and liberty.

The inca abdicates.

The diſperſion of the Indian army, and the inca's abdication, left the Spaniſh chiefs at full liberty to indulge their mutual animoſity. They were then in quiet poſſeſſion of the empire; one commander affected to rule with deſpotic ſway, and another prepared to diſappoint him in the poſſeſſion of that ſupreme power, while neither admitted a ſuperior nor a rival. Almagro arriving before the walls of Cuzco, ſummoned Ferdinando Pizarro to ſurrender the city into his hands, as being included in the grant made to him by his catholic majeſty. Pizarro anſwered, that he held the city in virtue of a commiſſion from his brother the marquis, and that he could not deliver up his charge to any man without his inſtructions; beſides, he affirmed,

affirmed, that Almagro had no kind of pretenſions to it, as he knew it to be within the limits of his brother's government. However, as that was a point to be adjuſted by the claimants, he was ready to obey the ſummons, provided it was founded upon the marquis's authority. To this declaration, Almagro replied; and ſeveral days were ſpent in altercation, while each ſide was making preparations to ſupport his arguments by a more powerful logic. Pizarro was taking every meaſure to put the city in a poſture of defence, and Almagro to ſeduce the garriſon; in this intrigue he ſucceeded ſo happily, that his troops were introduced in the night, Ferdinando and Gonzalo Pizarro taken in their beds, all the Spaniſh forces in the city made priſoners, and the capital of the empire was poſſeſſed without bloodſhed; beſides, Almagro was conſiderably reinforced, almoſt all the garriſon having chearfully entered into his ſervice. *Almagro ſeizes upon Cuzco.*

All this while the communication between Lima and Cuzco had ceaſed. The marquis Pizarro concluding, from the ſilence of his brothers, that all the ſuccours he had detached were cut off, and the garriſon actually deſtroyed, or cloſely blocked up, he determined upon ſending ſo powerful a force as ſhould bear down all oppoſition, cut open a paſſage to Cuzco, and bring him certain accounts of what was tranſacting in the capital. With this view he aſſembled five hundred Spaniſh horſe and foot, who were reinforced by a conſiderable body of Indians, and gave the command of this army to Don Alonzo de Alvarado, whom he ordered to march with the utmoſt expedition to Cuzco. Theſe forces he was enabled to raiſe by means of the Spaniards whom he had recalled from different quarters, and the ſuccours received from Panama and Nicaragua. Alvarado began his march with great precipitation, totally unacquainted with the woods, and ill provided with guides, ſo that above four thouſand Indians periſhed with fatigue and famine. This loſs obliged him to halt, until an equivalent reinforcement could be preſſed into the ſervice. In this ſituation he was, when Almagro, receiving advice of his intentions, diſpatched certain Spaniards of diſtinction to acquaint him that Cuzco was now in his hands; and as it belonged to his juriſdiction, according to the emperor's grant, he hoped he would make no difficulty about returning to Lima, until the controverſy could be adjuſted between him and the marquis. Alvarado, inſtead of liſtening to pacific meaſures, made the gentlemen priſoners who came with the propoſal, and reſolved to purſue his march, with intention to drive Almagro out of Cuzco. Notice of

his intention no sooner reached Almagro, than he took the field, and advanced but a little way on his march, when he had the good fortune to seize a party of Alvarado's horse, that had been sent out to procure intelligence. From his prisoners he learnt the posture of Alvarado's affairs. He understood that Pedro de Lerma, the second in command, was greatly disgusted with Alvarado; that the soldiers murmured loudly at the rigorous discipline of their general; with many other circumstances, which he meditated how to convert to his own advantage. He advanced as far as the river Amancay, and here incamped for a whole day, within a little distance of the enemy, in hope of being joined by their deserters; and Garcilasso alleges, that de Lerma, and several of his friends, embraced this opportunity of expressing their disgust, and ruining Alvarado. They came over to Almagro, and would certainly have seduced more than half the army, had not Alvarado, upon some suspicious words, ordered Lerma to be seized, a circumstance which obliged him to make his escape sooner than he had proposed. Thus Almagro was perfectly informed of the enemy's position, and enabled to fall upon him in the night, with such advantage, as soon produced a complete victory: he took Alvarado prisoner, and incorporated most of his troops with his own soldiers.

Almagro defeats Alvarado, and takes him prisoner.

A.D. 1537. Almagro returned triumphant to Cuzco on the 12th day of July; but he had yet the greatest difficulties remaining: he was to encounter the experienced marquis Pizarro, who, notwithstanding his losses, had still a considerable body of troops, which would be augmented every day with succours from Panama and other places, as he was in possession of the sea-coast and shipping. Orgonnez, his lieutenant, advised him to put to death the two brothers of Pizarro in his custody, and march to Lima before the marquis could be reinforced; observing, that should he get possession of that place, he might from thence establish an intercourse with the other settlements in different tracts of America. Almagro was disposed to adopt these measures, from an apprehension that the Pizarros might execute a revolt at Cuzco, while he should be absent in the expedition against their brother. He was, however, dissuaded from such barbarity by another of his officers, Jago de Almagro, who had contracted a friendship with Ferdinando Pizarro during his imprisonment. It was likewise doubted whether he could attack Lima, which was confessedly within the jurisdiction of his rival, without setting the emperor's grant at defiance, and declaring himself a rebel to the government; however, the expediency of opening an

an intercourse with the sea, was so universally allowed to be expedient, that Almagro began his march at the head of five hundred Spanish horse and foot, and a large army of Indian auxiliaries, taking with him Ferdinando Pizarro, and leaving the other brother and Alvarado prisoners in Cuzco. *Almagro marches towards the coast.*

In the mean time the marquis Pizarro, anxious about the situation of his brothers, and the fate of the capital, having received no advices either from them or Alvarado, and apprehending that the Indians had seized all the passes, resolved to march in person to Cuzco. Having seasonably received a reinforcement, he set out on this expedition, at the head of seven hundred horse and foot. He soon got intelligence that the siege of Cuzco was raised; and next day followed the account of the proceedings of Almagro, and the captivity of his brothers. Advancing a little farther, he was informed of the defeat and imprisonment of Alvarado. Such a tide of misfortune had almost overwhelmed his resolution. Revenge sometimes occupied his whole mind, and he thought of nothing but punishing the perfidious Almagro; a scheme that was soon laid aside for more cautious measures, when he reflected upon his own weakness. When he began his march, he thought only of combating Indians, and his troops were accordingly armed in the manner best calculated to answer that design; but now he had a skilful and powerful enemy to encounter, it was necessary to provide himself in a different manner, and also to wait the junction of troops whom he hourly expected from Panama. He, therefore, returned to Lima, where he had notice that Almagro was advancing against him, a circumstance which determined him to gain time, by setting on foot a negociation. The licenciate Espinosa was immediately dispatched with instructions to propose a compromise of their differences; and not long after, several persons of distinction were sent to Almagro's camp, to enforce the licenciate's overtures. They were directed, at all events, to procrastinate matters until the arrival of the succours, and the necessary preparations should be made to compel this rival commander, by force of arms, to abandon the capital. Garcilasso alleges that Espinosa reached Cuzco before Almagro began his march to the coast, and found him so elated with prosperity, that he was deaf to all proposals of accommodation; although Diego de Alvarado, with great moderation and candour, remonstrated, that the conditions now offered were the very same he had lately demanded. Almagro haughtily replied, that he was not to be restrained from opening a

communication with the sea, or, in the present flourishing state of his affairs, prescribed to as formerly by Pizarro, who had always usurped more authority than belonged to him, either by the king's grant, or the terms of the original contract. Still, however, Espinosa found means to protract the negociation, until he was seized with a malady that carried him off. Then Almagro began his march, and proceeded to the valley of Chinca, leaving the government of Cuzco in the hands of Gravial de Rojas. Pizarro, having nothing so much at heart as the release of his brother Ferdinando, sent commissaries to the camp of Almagro, who, at first, refused them audience, from a suspicion that their proposals were insidious. At length Almagro consented to send commissaries to treat with those of the marquis on the frontiers of their respective governments; but this scheme had its difficulties, as both claimed different limits. When the objection was removed, and the place of negociation adjusted, Almagro's commissioners were seized, and their dispatches examined, at which outrage the marquis pretended to be greatly incensed. He denied that it was done by his authority, apologized to Almagro, dismissed the prisoners, and proposed a personal conference, at which each of the governors should be attended by twelve select friends.

The marquis dissembles.

By this time Almagro was informed of the escape of Pizarro and Alvarado, with a hundred Spaniards, whom he had left in Cuzco; and Orgonnez seized this opportunity of pressing him to put Francisco Pizarro to death, while Jago de Alvarado urged the escape of his brother as a reason for dismissing him, and coming to a perfect agreement with the marquis. He was ballancing between these opinions, when he discovered a stratagem laid by Alonzo de Pizarro for seizing him during the interview with the marquis, from which he escaped very narrowly; yet as the marquis disclaimed all knowlege of this perfidious design, Almagro still consented that the commissioners should endeavour to effect an accommodation. Accordingly, the arbitrators met; but differing in opinion, friar Francisco Bobadila was chosen umpire, all parties agreeing that he was a person of candour, sense, and integrity. However, when his determination was declared, Almagro refused to stand by his award, because he had assigned Cuzco, the city in debate, to his rival; he appealed to the council of the Indies, and resolved to maintain possession until their decision should be known. With this determination the marquis pretended to be well satisfied, desiring that matters might remain in the present posture, until the result of a final

final appeal to the catholic king ſhould be known, and promiſhing to furniſh Almagro with a ſhip to convey his deputies into Spain, provided he would releaſe his brother Ferdinando. This was the great object of his policy; for he knew to what danger his brother's life would be expoſed, ſhould he proceed to extremities while Ferdinando continued in the enemy's power. But, his brother being ſet at liberty, and he himſelf having received a conſiderable reinforcement from North America, he threw off all diſguiſe, and made vigorous preparations for retaliating all the injuries he had ſuſtained. A herald was diſpatched, requiring him to ſurrender Cuzco, and acquainting him that the marquis looked upon his juriſdiction to extend along the ſouthern coaſt, quite to the ſtraits of Magellan; by which means he entirely excluded Almagro from the grant made to him by the government. This meſſage he enforced with a detachment of ſeven hundred horſe and foot ſent to Cuzco, under the conduct of his brothers Fernando and Gonzalo, while he himſelf marched with another army to Chinca, where Almagro had founded a little colony, at which he was then incamped. Advice of theſe meaſures obliged this commander to return, with all poſſible diſpatch, to the capital, in direct oppoſition to the ſentiments of his lieutenant, who adviſed an attack on Lima, now while it was deſtitute of forces; affirming, that the reduction of this place would ſecure in his intereſt not only the ſhipping, but all the recruits that were daily flocking from other parts of the continent. Almagro was ſenſible of the prudence of the meaſure; but he declined it, becauſe he thought it a direct violation of the rights granted by the government to his adverſary, and, of conſequence, nothing leſs than diſobedience to the commands of his ſovereign. He now marched back directly to Cuzco, and being better acquainted with the country, got the ſtart of Pizarro's detachment. Advice was brought him before he reached the capital, that the enemy were forced to halt in a very ſickly condition in the mountains, and that, if he attacked them, the whole detachment might eaſily be deſtroyed. All his officers exhorted him to embrace ſo favourable an opportunity; but Almagro, by ſome fatality, diſcredited the intelligence, purſued his march, and believed he ſhould be perfectly ſecure in accompliſhing, almoſt without bloodſhed, the ruin of ſo ſmall a body of forces, if they preſumed to lay ſiege to Cuzco. In fact, it appears that he was determined to act upon the defenſive only, in order that his cauſe might carry the more favourable aſpect to the government, when he could prove Pizarro to be the aggreſſor.

aggressor. Indeed, his officers at length obliged him to break this resolution. When the enemy approached the capital, they insisted on his giving them battle in the open plain. Almagro demonstrated that he should be able to destroy them effectually by adhering to his defensive plan; but he was forced to yield to their impetuosity, for fear of giving them disgust, or creating suspicion of his courage. At this very time he was confined to his bed by the fatigue of so tedious and difficult a march, which proved too arduous an undertaking for his infirm constitution and advanced age; but roused by the clamours of his soldiers, he ordered himself to be carried in a litter, and marched out of Cuzco to meet the enemy, leaving the care of drawing up the troops in order of battle to his lieutenant. Orgonnez's plan was exceeding good, had he paid a proper regard to the nature of the ground, and avoided engaging himself personally so deeply in the action, that he could not give the proper attention to the execution of his orders, or seize those favourable opportunities which, in a battle, rise and vanish in a moment. The infantry was reduced to one battalion, formed in a kind of column in the centre, each side supported by harquebusiers, and a squadron of horse, in which Almagro was superior to the enemy. The artillery was disposed on the right wing, while the front was secured by a rivulet and marshy ground, that rendered all access difficult and hazardous. Pizarro drew up his army in a manner nearly similar, but with more regard to the situation; for he took care to place his horse on plain ground, where they could freely bear down upon the hostile infantry, while the cavalry of Almagro was entangled in the salinas, or *salt-pits*, whence this battle took its name. This was the first oversight in Ordonnez's plan; for as to Almagro, he could do nothing but animate the soldiers by his presence. He was, besides, greatly mistaken in the opinion he entertained of the enemy: he believed they chiefly consisted of raw, undisciplined recruits, ill armed, and sickly; whereas, in fact, they were for the most part veterans trained up in the wars of Charles V. and musqueteers, of whom there were only a few in Almagro's army. Pizarro began the action by crossing the rivulet with his horse; and the first discharge of the artillery proved favourable to Ordonnez, as it swept off the first rank of the enemy, and staggered the whole body of cavalry; but the rashness of his courage destroyed the fruits of that advantage. He rushed with his horse against Pizarro, engaged him hand to hand, dismounted him, and bid fair for gaining a complete victory, when he received a musket-

A.D. 1538. *Battle of Salinas.* April 6.

a muſket-ſhot in the forehead. By this time the infantry had come to blows, and the battle raged with great fury; when a report ſpreading among the troops that Ordonnez was killed, infuſed ſo great a panic, that, diſregarding Almagro's remonſtrances, they fled in confuſion to the city, carrying their general along with the torrent. Pizarro entered Cuzco with the fugitives, made dreadful ſlaughter, and many priſoners, moſt of whom were killed after quarter was given, particularly Ordonnez and Pedro de Lerma, who were covered with wounds. Here private pique and reſentment fully gratified themſelves, every man taking this opportunity of wreaking his vengeance on the unfortunate priſoners. The Spaniſh writers themſelves record ſuch acts of cruelty as would diſgrace a nation of ſavages, and even ſpeak of them with applauſe or cenſure, juſt as they happen to ſide with one party or the other. Almagro's life was preſerved at this juncture only to be more maliciouſly ſacrificed by the tedious forms of what his enemies called a legal proceſs. Having been cloſely impriſoned ſome months, at length a proceſs was commenced, and an impeachment drawn up, containing the following articles: that he had ſeized upon Cuzco by force of arms, and occaſioned the effuſion of much Spaniſh blood; that he had engaged in a clandeſtine correſpondence and ſecret treaty with the inca Manco Capac; that he had infringed the terms of the emperor's grant, and encroached upon the limits of the marquis Pizarro's juriſdiction; that he had violated all the articles of ſeveral contracts with the marquis, and fought two battles againſt his countrymen, contrary to the peace of the ſovereign lord the king, one at Abancay, and another at Salinas. Theſe, and divers other crimes and miſdemeanors of leſs moment, were proved according to certain forms of law; upon which the old general was condemned to death. He appealed to the emperor; and in the moſt pathetic manner, implored the clemency of Ferdinando. Pizarro, reminding him of the regard he had ſhewn for his life, when he had him entirely in his power, and of his conſtant refuſal to put to death any of the friends or relations of Pizarro, although they had expreſſed the bittereſt enmity to his perſon. He deſired Ferdinando would conſider how inſtrumental he had been in the ſucceſs of the expedition, and the proſperity of the marquis; that he was an old, infirm man, who, in courſe of nature, had not long to live; and that almoſt his whole life had been one continued ſeries of toil, hardſhip, and misfortune: arguments which had no weight with Pizarro. He had the expreſs orders of the marquis to remove Almagro,

Almagro tried, condemned, and executed.

as

as the only obſtacle to his ambition and glory, imagining that he ſhould then enjoy the whole dominion of Peru without a rival: the ſentence was therefore executed in its utmoſt rigour; Almagro was privately ſtrangled, then publicly beheaded on a ſcaffold in the great ſquare of Cuzco; his body was ſtripped naked by the executioner, and then left expoſed for the greateſt part of the day, without a friend to pay the laſt duties to his remains. Theſe were all in cuſtody, and their enemies were too much inflamed with reſentment to liſten to the dictates of humanity. At laſt the corpſe was carried off by an old ſlave of the deceaſed, who rapped it in a coarſe cloth, and buried it at the hazard of his own life. Thus periſhed the enterpriſing, vigilant, active, and public-ſpirited Almagro, in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, ſincerely regretted by his friends, and eſpecially the Indians, who regarded him as their parent and protector againſt the rigour of the other Spaniſh commander, and honoured his aſhes with the unfeigned tears of ſorrowful affection (B).

SECT. XI.

Containing a ſuccinct Relation of the Wars in Chili, and the ſeveral Rebellions raiſed in Peru, either by the Tyranny of the Governors, or the Ambition of the Spaniſh Planters.

Conſequences of theſe cruel proceedings.

THE barbarity of the Pizarro faction, far from producing the intended effect of acquiring an unlimited authority, ſerved only to augment the number of their enemies. After the victory, Ferdinando perſecuted with unrelenting ſeverity all the friends of Almagro, and drove

(B) We have already mentioned that Almagro was of obſcure birth, and mean education, being ignorant of reading and writing; but he was an excellent officer and generous friend, an admirable citizen, ſeduced ſometimes into unjuſtifiable acts, by the extent of his authority, by the oppoſition of Pizarro, or by ambition. He was the forger of his own fortune, and had, by dint of merit alone, aſcended to a greater height of riches and power than any private perſon of the age, unleſs we except his colleague, and the conqueror of Mexico. His eſtate and power he left to an only ſon he had by an Indian woman; but young Almagro was not only diſpoſſeſſed of his eſtate by the marquis, but ſent a priſoner to Lima (1).

(1) Geral. lib. ii.

them

them out of Cuzco, or confined them in dungeons, left they should endeavour to revenge the ignominious death of their leader. His friends, who had flattered themselves with sharing in the spoils of Almagro, and of being nominated to the government of provinces, began to relax in their zeal, on finding their expectations disappointed. Almagro's treasures were retained in the hands of the Pizarros, under pretence that they were accountable for them to the catholic king; and, to obviate all inconveniences which might arise from the chagrin of his officers, Ferdinando was careful to employ them in distant conquests, which might gratify their ambition and avarice. Several of his own discontented officers, and also the most popular of Almagro's party, were sent, with slender detachments, upon different expeditions, to prevent their examining too curiously into his conduct. However, so general appeared the discontent, after the execution of Almagro, that Ferdinando found it necessary to visit the court of Spain in person; that he might, by a judicious application of the vast treasures which he now possessed, screen himself against the bitter accusation of Jago de Alvarado, then guardian of young Almagro, who had lately gone over with a view of establishing the rights of the minor, and bringing the Pizarros to a severe account. Ferdinando appeared at court with a brilliant retinue, distributed the gold and silver of Peru with the utmost liberality, and pleaded the necessity of the measures he had taken with great address; but, nevertheless, he was conducted to the prison of Medina dal Campo, in which he remained confined for the space of twenty-three years. It is generally believed that he would have atoned with his life for the injuries done to Almagro, had not the death of Alvarado stopped the prosecution; an event so sudden, that strong suspicions remained of his having been poisoned by the agents of Pizarro.

By the death of Almagro, and the imprisonment of Ferdinando Pizarro, the whole weight of the government of Peru fell upon the shoulders of the marquis, at a critical time, when he most required the assistance of faithful friends and able counsellors. The Indians had again recourse to arms, either to revenge the death of Almagro, or to profit by the divisions among the Spaniards, who now found themselves more hardly pressed, even when their numbers were greatly increased, than when they first entered upon the conquest with a handful of men only. The Indians were animated with revenge; and had, besides, overcome the consternation and terror which the horses

and

and fire-arms had at first inspired. What they formerly conceived to be the thunder of heaven, they were sensible was no more than a contrivance of human genius; and they had taken several horses which they ventured to use against the Spaniards, demonstrating by this, and the improvements in the art of war they had made since the arrival of Pizarro in Peru, that they were extremely ingenious and imitative. In several encounters they defeated the Spaniards, fought them with their own weapons, and were not even afraid or ignorant of the use of muskets, some of which they had taken in different engagements. The relation given by the royal historian de la Vega, of an action between some Spanish cavaliers, of whom Gonzalo Pizarro was one, all well mounted, armed, and cased in armour, and seven naked Indians, sufficiently evince the courage and activity of the latter. The Peruvians were, indeed, defeated, but it was after a gallant resistance, in which they had wounded three of the enemy. This combat happened in the province of Charcas, where Pizarro commanded a considerable body of troops, and fought several bloody, undecisive battles, until he was at length reduced to the necessity of sending for succour to the marquis. When the invaluable mines of Potosi were discovered, such crowds of adventurers flocked to this province, that the natives were at last compelled to submit, after a most obstinate defence.

A.D. 1540. *Expedition to Chili.*

In Chili, the Spaniards were still less successful; that brave people disputed every inch of ground. All the provinces subject to the Inca of Peru had submitted to Almagro, who had likewise reduced some of the southern provinces, and was in a fair way of extending his conquests, when circumstances obliged him to return to Cuzco. Valdivia, who had learned the rudiments of war in Italy, and was deemed one of the best Spanish officers in America, was now sent thither by Pizarro. All the provinces which owned the sovereignty of the incas, submitted with little difficulty to the Spaniards, who took upon themselves the authority of the emperor, and acted, in all respects, as a regular legislature. As Valdivia advanced, the obstruction was greater; the confederated caziques gave him battle frequently, and displayed great courage and resolution; but they could not prevent his penetrating as far as the valley of Masiocho, which he found incredibly fruitful and populous. Here he founded the city of St. Jago, and built a castle for the security of the gold-mines in the neighbourhood, in which he forced the natives to labour. The Chilians, exasperated at this work of servitude, determined

St. Jago de la Nueva Estramadura.

mined upon revenge; to accompliſh which, it was reſolved to attack the fort when the horſe were gone out to forage; but the conſpiracy being diſcovered, the ringleaders were capitally puniſhed. This execution ſuſpended the deſign of the Chilians, but did not break their reſolution of wreaking their vengeance with the firſt opportunity that ſhould offer. Valdivia, imagining himſelf perfectly ſecure, ſet out on his foraging expedition, and had ſcarce proceeded eight leagues when the Chilians took arms, attacked the caſtle, commanded by Alonzo de Menroy, with great impetuoſity, and continued the aſſault from morning till night, fortifying themſelves within the encloſures and yards belonging to the Spaniſh houſes. On this occaſion, a Spaniſh lady exerted an extraordinary degree of brutal courage: apprehending, leſt the Indian caziques impriſoned in the fort might recover their liberty, and render the inſurrection more general, ſhe ſeized a hatchet, and hewed them in pieces with her own hand. Even this act of ſavage ferocity did not produce the deſired effect; the Spaniards found themſelves ſo hard preſſed, that they were forced to abandon the fort, and march to a plain in the neighbourhood, ſkirted by a river. Here the few horſe that remained had room to act, and performed wonders; although it was not poſſible to hinder the enemy from ſetting fire to all the outworks, by which means, the proviſions and ſtores were conſumed. Valdivia returned in the mean time, and having obtained a complete victory, began, with the utmoſt diligence, to repair his loſſes; but conceived ſo high an opinion of the free ſpirit and valour of the natives, that he immediately wrote to Peru for a reinforcement, and was ſoon joined by a body of troops under Baptiſta Paſtena.

We ſhall purſue this ſubject, to avoid interruption in our account of the civil diviſions in Peru. Valdivia had ſcarce reduced the enemy to obedience, when his life was endangered by his own troops, who murmured at the fatigue of rebuilding the outworks, and the ſcarcity that prevailed in the colony. A plan had been formed for the murder of the general; but ſome information of it coming to the ears of Valdivia, he baniſhed the ringleaders, and ſuppreſſed the commotion. He afterwards aſſumed the title of governor of Chili, and behaved with ſuch gallantry, that, after many bloody ſkirmiſhes, the Indians of the vale ſubmitted. Immediately he ſet them to work in the mines of Quilotta; and theſe proved ſo rich in gold, that, for the ſecurity of the Spaniards, and to keep the Indian labourers in awe, he built a fort, in which he placed a ſtrong

Mines of Quilotta.

ſtrong garriſon. Next he propoſed to trade to Peru by ſea, and likewiſe to open a communication by land. He built a frigate on the river; he detached a party of horſe to the vale of Guaſco, under Menroy, and another to the vale of Copiapo, to proceed from thence to Peru, which was an extremely difficult and arduous undertaking. As Menroy was preparing to paſs the deſart of Atacama, the Indians fell ſuddenly upon him, defeated his party, and obliged him and Pedro de Meranda to eſcape on their unſaddled horſes, covered with wounds. An entire ignorance of the country occaſioned their afterwards falling into the hands of an Indian general, whoſe name was Coteo. They were carried priſoners to the chief cazique of the vale, whoſe lady, commiſerating their misfortunes, treated them with great humanity; by which means they ſoon eſcaped to Peru, after having undergone incredible hardſhips in the journey. From thence Menroy returned with a reinforcement of ſixty men, and thereby enabled Valdivia to purſue his conqueſts.

In the mean time, the fortune of war was various: in general, the Spaniards were ſucceſsful in their expeditions, but they alſo ſuſtained a variety of defeats and loſſes. At laſt, the diſturbances in Peru occaſioned Valdivia's being recalled, with ſome of his officers and ſoldiers, and the care of purſuing the conqueſt was committed to Franceſco de Vellagea, who was conſtituted his lieutenant. During his abſence, miſunderſtandings aroſe between his lieutenant and Pedro Sonchez de Hoz, who had procured a grant from the crown of Spain, of the government of the farther parts of Peru and Chili. De Hoz, in conſequence of this grant, expected, with a good deal of reaſon, to ſucceed to the command of the forces, and have the chief direction in the abſence of Valdivia. He had even a ſuperior right to Valdivia himſelf; nor would he ſubmit to this general, who held his commiſſion only of Pizarro, except on condition that the richeſt provinces of Chili ſhould be aſſigned to him; with which partition Valdivia was obliged to reſt ſatisfied. However, upon his departure, Vellagea came to a rupture with de Hoz, ſeized, impriſoned, condemned, and put him to death, whether by his own authority or the orders of his ſuperior, is uncertain. Be this as it may, Valdivia appeared to be well pleaſed with the conduct of his lieutenant, and the removal of a perſon who could not help regarding him in the light of an uſurper. The Chilians made their advantage of the civil diviſions among the Spaniards, attacked the garriſons of Copiapo and Coquinbo, and putting all the Spaniards to the

Diviſions among the Spaniards.

the ſword, demoliſhed the towns. Vellagea himſelf was extremely hard preſſed in the town of St. Jago, and muſt probably have ſurrendered, had not Valdivia ſeaſonably come to his aſſiſtance, with a ſtrong reinforcement. He attacked the Indians with great reſolution, forced them to relinquiſh the ſiege, drove them out of the vallies of Copiapo and Coquinbo, rebuilt the towns they had deſtroyed, marched to the ſouthward, and croſſing the river Maypo, obliged the warlike provinces to receive the yoke, after they had withſtood all the attempts of the incas of Peru, and of Almagro, the firſt Spaniſh general who had penetrated beyond their frontier.

The Chilians riſe againſt the Spaniards.

Valdivia had activity, reſolution, and a genius turned to projects. He now engaged in a ſcheme of great extent and hazard, croſſed the large rivers Maulle and Hata, traverſed a vaſt ſpace of country, and founded the city la Conception, on the South Sea coaſt. He had likewiſe erected ſeveral other towns and fortreſſes in different parts of Chili, in order to over-awe the natives. This brave people were ſo incenſed to find themſelves thus hampered, that they aſſembled in crowds, fell upon the new city, harraſſed the garriſon with perpetual attacks, and were very near deſtroying the whole Spaniſh army. However, in deſpite of all their endeavours, Valdivia completed the fortifications of la Conception, and put it in a poſture to reſiſt all the power of the enemy. Then he advanced, with all his forces, towards the plains of Angol, and croſſing the great river Biobio, founded the city called Imperial, on a hill, at the confluence of two rivers, about forty leagues to the ſouthward of Conception. The Spaniards allege that the neighbouring fertile valley contained above fourſcore thouſand Indian inhabitants, who, being of a peaceable diſpoſition, gave them no moleſtation in building. They were even ſo tame as to ſuffer Valdivia to parcel out their lands among the Spaniards, they themſelves remaining like ſlaves attached to the glebe. Valdivia was indefatigable in eſtabliſhing the Spaniſh power, by founding colonies. About ſixteen leagues to the eaſtward of the city Imperial, he laid the foundation of Villa Rica, ſo called on account of the wealth of the gold mines found there; but he involved himſelf in difficulties, by multiplying his conqueſts beyond what his ſtrength was capable of maintaining. By extending his forces over the face of ſo large a country, he weakened every part in ſuch a manner, as encouraged ſentiments of revolt in a people who watched, with the cloſeſt attention, for the opportunity of recovering their liberties. However dreadful the fire-arms, horſes, and armour of the

Spaniards, appeared to naked, ſimple Indians, ſervitude proved ſtill more intolerable; and the Chilians reſolved to put all to hazard, rather than endure fetters ſo galling to their free ſpirit. They aſſembled in great numbers, and doubted not but they ſhould be able, by dint of perſeverance and ſuperior ſtrength, to expel the uſurping ſtrangers. The Araceans, the moſt intrepid people in Chili, all roſe to a man, exaſperated at the tyranny of the Spaniards. When this people had formerly ſubmitted, Valdivivia, in the diſtribution of the lands, had reſerved this valley to himſelf, on account of its extraordinary wealth and fertility. The natives were ſet to dig in the mines, and ſubjected to the ſtripes and abuſe of the Spaniards who ſuperintended the labour. Senſible how intolerable this uſage muſt ſeem to a people unaccuſtomed to ſubjection, he had erected three caſtles in the valley, to keep them in awe, and garriſoned them ſtrongly, while he went upon another expedition, in ſearch of mines which had a ſtill higher reputation. Of this circumſtance the Arracceans availed themſelves, engaged the whole country in the conſpiracy, and elected the valiant Capaulican for their leader and general.

The Araccean's revolt.

Valdivia, having received notice of the intended rebellion, returned ſuddenly to the valley of Araccea; but before he appeared, fourteen thouſand of the natives were aſſembled in arms. He attacked them with his cavalry, and obliged them to retreat to the woods, but could not obtain a victory, for they continued to ſally out with redoubled fury, and harraſſed the Spaniards with perpetual fatigue and watching. The experience acquired from theſe ſkirmiſhes was improved by Capaulican in a manner which evinced his military genius. He obſerved, that fighting with ſuch a number of undiſciplined troops, ſerved only to diſorder the whole, and contribute to his defeat; for the confuſion of the front communicated itſelf to the wings and rear, in ſuch a manner, that the firſt aſſault of the Spaniſh cavalry generally determined the fortune of the day. This inconvenience he determined to remedy, by dividing his forces into battalions of a thouſand each, which ſhould charge the enemy by turns, and thus ſupport the engagement at pleaſure, without fatigue or danger to the whole army. He repreſented to his countrymen, that the Spaniſh cavalry did not exceed a hundred and fifty men, againſt whom a battalion of the brave Chilians would be able to make a conſiderable ſtand, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of their arms and horſes; and that this corps relieved by another, and that by a third, would neceſſarily, in the end, fatigue,

Capaulican's conduct.

fatigue, disheartens, and exhaust the Spaniards. He desired they would make trial of this new method; and the issue proved answerable to his wish. Capaulican was too prudent to expect that a single battalion could defeat the enemy; and he only required, that when the soldiers found themselves hard pressed, they would retire leisurely into the rear, and rally themselves behind cover, without disordering the rest of the forces, in order to renew the charge in their turn. Every thing was executed according to his order; the first battalion engaged with great resolution, and a calmness that greatly astonished the Spaniards. After having sustained the whole weight of the battle as long as was thought necessary, they retired with great deliberation, and were succeeded by another body, which having discharged the required duty, retreated in the same order, and made room for a third. In this manner they kept up an unremitting engagement, for the space of seven or eight hours, until the Spaniards grew faint for want of refreshment, and retired precipitately[d]. Valdivia ordered them to possess a pass at some distance from the field, to stop the pursuit. The fruits of this order were blasted by the treachery of his page, a Chilian, who took this opportunity of deserting to his countrymen, acquainted them with the Spanish general's design, and directed them to gain the pass before the arrival of the enemy. "Make use (said he) of the advantage which the gods have put into your hands to recover the liberties of your country, and to rescue it from destruction, by shedding the blood of those thieves and traitors." When he had spoke these animating words, he took up a spear, put himself at the head of a body of Chilians, and charged the Spaniards with great fury, while another detachment seized upon the pass, agreeable to his directions. Valdivia and his troops were now enclosed on every side, and too much exhausted to make any considerable resistance. The Indians put all to death without pity or remorse, except Valdivia and a priest, whom they took prisoners, and bound to a tree, until they had slaughtered all the rest of the Spaniards. When they had fully satiated their revenge, and destroyed both men and horses, they carried Valdivia bound before their general Capaulican, who cruelly ordered him to be put to death. Writers differ in the relation of this event. According to Garcilasso, his treacherous page Lauteru, having first reviled and reproached him, slew him with his own hand; others say he was bound to a tree, and beaten

Valdivia taken and put to death.

[d] La Vega, lib. vii. cap. xxiii. p. 287.

to death with a club, by order of the Chilian general; a third ſet affirm, that the Indians poured melted gold down his throat, bidding him ſatiate himſelf with that metal after which he thirſted ſo violently. Franceſco de Rieros, who was at that time an officer in Chili, affirmed, on his return to Peru, that the Indians paſſed the night ſucceeding the victory in mirth and feſtivity, dancing round a great fire, upon which they broiled pieces of Valdivia's fleſh, and ate it with great eagerneſs, until he at length expired with loſs of blood and the extremity of torture. All the Spaniſh writers agree, that they made flutes and other inſtruments of his bones, and preſerved his ſkull as a monument of their victory, which they celebrated by an annual feſtival. As to Lateru, his ſervices were judged to be of ſuch importance, that he was raiſed to the high ſtation of lieutenant-general to Capaulican, in which capacity he diſplayed the vigour of his genius, and boldneſs of his courage, in divers engagements.

Farther ſucceſſes of the Chilians.

The defeat and death of Valdivia ſpread conſternation among all the Spaniards in Chili, who now apprehended that the revolt of the Araccеans would become general. His lieutenant, Vellagea, who was then at Conception, no ſooner heard of this diſaſter, than he aſſembled the troops that were diſperſed in different provinces, and being reinforced with thouſands of his Indian allies, began his march for the valley of Araccea, to revenge the death of his general. Capaulican did not chuſe to encounter ſo powerful an army in the open field; but he artfully retired, ſo as to draw them on gradually in rough unequal ground, and a country covered with wood, and filled with defiles, where the horſe was miſerably entangled, and rendered entirely uſeleſs. Having occupied all the paſſes in ſuch a manner as to prevent the Spaniards from extricating themſelves, he boldly faced about, attacked Vellagea in front, flank, and rear, and ordered his people to come immediately to cloſe battle, with a view of deſtroying the effects of the fire-arms. The event was ſimilar to that of the preceding engagement. The Spaniards were routed with the loſs of near three thouſand men, including the auxiliary Indians, and the victors bent all their ſtrength againſt the Spaniſh colonies. Lauteru marched at the head of a great army to La Conception, which he deſtroyed upon finding it abandoned by the Spaniards. He then laid ſiege to the city Imperial; but was forced by the heavy rains to relinquiſh the enterprize; a fortunate accident, which the pious Spaniards aſcribed to the interpoſition of the Virgin Mary, who,

who, they affirmed, made her appearance to the whole garriſon.

Lauteru, undiſmayed by the unfortunate iſſue of this undertaking, and the pretended miracles wrought in favour of the Spaniards, reſolved to fruſtrate the deſign of the enemy to rebuild La Conception. With this view he marched directly to that city, drove the Spaniards from their works, and again reduced the whole to aſhes. He afterwards laid ſiege to St. Jago, with intention to demoliſh all the Spaniſh ſettlements in Chili, as theſe were the greateſt obſtacle to the recovery of public liberty. Here he was killed by an arrow, upon which the Chilians, diſheartened by the loſs of their general, raiſed the ſiege and withdrew. Farther hoſtilities were committed on both ſides, and the natives were in general ſo fortunate in all their attempts, that the governor of Peru, fearing the loſs of the whole conqueſt, unleſs the moſt vigorous meaſures ſhould be taken, determined upon ſending his ſon Don Garcia de Mendoza, with a powerful army, to ſuppreſs the rebellion. From this circumſtance we may judge of the tedioufneſs of the war, and the difficulty of the conqueſt, it being now the ſpace of ten years ſince Valdivia's firſt arrival in Chili. Mendoza encountered the Indians upon divers occaſions with various ſucceſs, and was at laſt ſo fortunate as to make Capaulican priſoner, whom he put to death, in order to ſtrike terror into his adherents. However, all the abilites of Mendoza were inſufficient to bring the war to an iſſue. The Chilians, though repeatedly defeated, were never diſpirited. They raiſed freſh forces, mounted cavalry, which they had taken from the Spaniards, fought with diſciplined valour, ruined almoſt all the Spaniſh ſettlements, and, at the end of fifty years, remained unconquered.

Garcia de Mendoza ſent to Chili.

Of the thirteen different towns and cities built by the Spaniards in Chili, ſix were deſtroyed by the Indians; namely, Valdivia, Imperial, Angol, Santa Cruz, Caſteo in Chiloe, and La Conception. The laſt victory obtained by the Indians was at Villa Rica, with great effuſion of Spaniſh blood. They ſet fire to the four quarters of the town, and killed all the friars of St. Dominique, St. Francis, and the Marcedas, with all the other clergy, carrying the women into captivity, many of whom were ladies of diſtinction. "Theſe were judgments, ſays La Vega, which God permits in his ſecret providence for the chaſtiſement of mankind." He never dreamed of calling juſt puniſhments on the Spaniards, for the wanton oppreſſions, and unheard-of cruelties exerciſed upon the inno-

cent natives, whoſe country they invaded, whoſe treaſures they plundered, and whoſe perſons they enſlaved, under the barefaced diſguiſe of propagating the Chriſtian religion.

We left the marquis Pizarro deeply engaged in reducing the diſtant provinces, and in extending the dominion of the Spaniards over countries hitherto unknown. By the number of detachments which he made, his army was ſo much weakened, that the Peruvians again ventured to have recourſe to arms, and would certainly have recovered their liberties, but for the aid furniſhed the Spaniards by their Indian vaſſals, who diſcovered all the paſſes and ſtrong poſts, and ſupplied them with proviſion and intelligence. In the province of Los Charcas the natives made violent ſtruggles to preſerve their liberties. Gonzalo Pizarro, who had been detached to reduce that province, after repeated battles, was ſurrounded, and ſo diſtreſſed by the Indians, that the marquis found it neceſſary to march in perſon to his relief with all his forces. Garcilaſſo alleges, that he only ſent a reinforcement, giving out, that he would go in perſon if neceſſary; but that Gonzalo was relieved by a miracle wrought in his favour by St. Jago, before the arrival of the ſuccours; certain it is, that the province was reduced after much bloodſhed, and that Gonzalo was then detached to the province of Caneta, to atchieve ſtill more perilous adventures. The difficulties which he combated in this expedition, ſurpaſs deſcription. After having ſuſtained the united miſeries of famine, fatigue, diſeaſe, and other calamities, he arrived on the banks of the river of Amazons, where he built a kind of ſhip, which he committed to the charge of Orellana, with intention to ſupply his forces with proviſion; but Orellana deſerted his intereſt, and, to crown Gonzalo's misfortunes, not only left him deſtitute of every means of ſubſiſtence, but entertained the treacherous ſcheme of procuring a grant of the country for himſelf, with which purpoſe he ſet ſail for Spain. Gonzalo having eat up all his proviſion and horſes, was then reduced to feed upon roots, herbs, and the fleſh of inſects and reptiles. Many of his people periſhed with hunger, and all were half-ſtarved with cold, the apparel with which they began the expedition being worn to tatters. The utmoſt difficulties were combated in marching along the ſide of the great river of Amazons, upon account of the impaſſible mountains and foreſts in their way, that forced the Spaniards to make prodigious circuits, croſſing marſhes, bays, and rivers, with incredible fatigue. The chearful and

Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition to Caneta.

and undaunted reſolution with which the general ſupported every misfortune, inſpired his men with emulation and courage; and though they could not avoid feeling diſtreſs, they forbore repining. The Indian auxiliaries ſerved them rather with the affection of children, and the neareſt kindred, than the fidelity of allies; they even deprived themſelves of their wretched pittance of loathſome food, in order to ſupply the Spaniſh ſoldiers. The diſtance of four hundred leagues of a country, barren, rough, and unhoſpitable, ſeparated them from Quito; yet it was reſolved to return thither, as the deſign of the expedition was fruſtrated by untoward and unforeſeen accidents. Accordingly they kept on the north-ſide of the river, and proſecuting their march over the ſummits of high mountains, and cut their way, by dint of labour, through rocks and thick woods. The ſick were carried on the ſhoulders of the healthy, in which charitable employment no one was more indefatigable than Gonzalo; until hunger at length raged with ſuch violence, that the Spaniards were ready to devour not only their dead, but even the infirm and diſeaſed; and they had no other cloathing but leaves. Above four thouſand Indians and two hundred Spaniards had periſhed already, without encountering an enemy; and thoſe who remained, at length entered a more open and plentiful country, which they regarded as the land of promiſe, and beheld as a miracle wrought by the finger of Providence to ſave them from deſtruction. Here they found abundance of deer, and other wild beaſts, which ſupplied them not only with food but raiment, for they clothed themſelves with the ſkins of thoſe animals. On their arrival on the frontiers of Quito they kiſſed the earth in a kind of extacy, returning thanks to the Almighty, who had preſerved them amidſt ſuch perils, and extricated them from ſo many dangers and difficulties. Notice was given to the inhabitants of Quito of their approach and needy ſituation, upon which all the apparel that could be collected in the city was ſent to them; but this was far from anſwering the neceſſity of the ſufferers; Quito had been ſo depopulated and impoveriſhed by the civil wars, that not above ſix ſuits of cloaths could be ſpared by all the inhabitants of this great metropolis of a wealthy province, nor more than twelve horſes ſent to the relief of the exhauſted and emaciated adventurers. There was ſomething melancholy in the exceſſive joy expreſſed by Gonzalo, and his companions, at meeting with their countrymen, and the public entry made into Quito, clad like ſavages, in the ſkins of deer and wild beaſts, their bare feet covered with wounds

and sores, their swords naked without scabbards, half eat up with rust, and their emaciated countenances expressing the extremity of hunger and distress.

Discontent of the Almagrians.

Two years had now elapsed since Gonzalo embarked in this unfortunate expedition, during which extraordinary changes and revolutions had happened in Peru. The marquis Pizarro was chiefly intent on suppressing the party of Almagro, as the only means of confirming his own authority, in the prosecution of which design he committed several violences, that served only to increase the number of his enemies. La Vega, his professed apologist, affirms, contrary to the testimony of all other historians, that he suffered young Almagro to enjoy his paternal fortune at Lima, and relieve, by his bounty, all his distressed friends, whose estates had been confiscated. Nay, he alleges, that Pizarro used his utmost endeavours to gain the affections of the Almagrians, by considerable largesses and sums of money, procuring for them lucrative offices and honourable employments, which they obstinately refused, persevering in their malice and animosity, filling the mind of young Almagro with the most rancorous enmity, and rejecting all assistance and kindness from the marquis, notwithstanding the urgent and extreme necessity to which they were reduced. To this conduct he ascribes the marquis's future severity; observing that his friends advised him to compel those persons into duty and obedience, who were too obstinate to be won by presents and caresses. In consequence of this advice, Almagro's estate, by which his adherents were supported, was now confiscated. Thus exasperated, he immediately wrote to all his friends, who were dispersed over Peru, to repair to Lima, and assist him in revenging the injuries he had sustained. The truth is, Almagro's estate was confiscated, immediately upon his father's execution, and he was now detained a kind of prisoner in Lima, and supported wholly at the expence of the marquis, while all those who bore any affection to his family were not only deprived of their estates, but excluded from all public employment, whereby they were reduced to extreme misery and wretchedness. A stigma was affixed on all who had served under Almagro[g]; they were distinguished by the appellation of the Chili-men, and an edict was published, prohibiting any man to relieve them, under the severest penalties. Not satisfied with rendering their condition deplorable in Peru, Pizarro took effectual

[g] Gomara, Carate, Herrera passim.

means

means to prevent their return to their native country, leſt their complaints might reach the ears of his catholic majeſty, and obtain compaſſion and redreſs. Neceſſity drove them into cabals and conſpiracies; and, being rendered quite deſperate, they determined to revenge the murder of Almagro, the cruel uſage of his ſon, and their own injuries, by taking away the life of Pizarro. The marquis, ſenſible he had juſtly provoked them, never ſtirred abroad without a ſtrong guard; and watched with ſo ſtrict an eye over his enemies, that they found it difficult to aſſemble in ſuch numbers as to give any proſpect of ſucceſs to their deſigns. The greateſt circumſpection was neceſſary; they entered the city in the moſt cautious manner, in ſmall parties of two and three together, and were concealed in the houſes of ſome perſons who approved of the meditated revolution. Such was the neceſſity to which the proſcribed faction was reduced, that Almagro, and ſeven of his friends, poſſeſſed but one cloak, with which they made their appearance by turns, the reſt ſtaying half-naked at home, while one of their number was employed abroad in viewing the ſtate of affairs, and forwarding their deſigns. This circumſtance even Garcilaſſo acknowleges. *They form a conſpiracy.*

When the Almagrians in Lima amounted to near three hundred men, they began to imagine their ſtrength ſufficient to carry their projects into execution. Among them were ſeveral experienced officers and veteran ſoldiers, who had frequently manifeſted their courage on occaſions of the moſt ſignal danger. To theſe young Almagro reſigned his own judgment, ſuffering them to conduct the conſpiracy in the manner they believed moſt adviſeable. The firſt ſcheme was to fall upon the marquis, as he went upon Midſummer day to hear maſs in the cathedral church of Lima; but this deſign being either diſcovered or ſuſpected, Pizarro, under pretence of ſome indiſpoſition, confined himſelf, and aſſembled his friends to conſult on proper meaſures for retorting the meditated blow on the heads of the conſpirators. The diſappointed conſpirators now laid aſide their hoſtile intentions, determining to wait the arrival of Vaca de Caſtro, who was ſent over by the catholic king, to adjuſt all differences among the Spaniards, and examine the truth of what was alleged by Alvarado, who was at that time ſoliciting the court that juſtice ſhould be done to young Almagro. This new reſolution was again ſoon dropped, upon advice that the marquis having received intelligence of their intentions, was now preparing meaſures of rigorous revenge. Fearing they might all be ſacrificed to his fury, they now reſumed

reſumed their deſperate deſigns, and reſted all their future fortune upon the ſucceſs of one bold attempt againſt his life. To the number of thirteen, they aſſembled at mid-day at the lodgings of young Almagro, and proceeded, with their ſwords drawn, through the market-place, directly to the marquis's palace, crying aloud, "Long live the king, but let the tyrant periſh." They met with no oppoſition until they entered the palace, notwithſtanding their menacing cries had drawn together a crowd of people in the great ſquare. A page gave the marquis the firſt notice of the danger; upon which he ordered the hall-doors to be ſhut, and reſolved to make a vigorous reſiſtance; but his ſervants, terrified at the danger, deſerted him, and made their eſcape over the windows, leaving him with his brother-in-law Martin, and two pages, who bravely reſolved to ſhare his fortune. Francis de Chaves having gone upon the ſtair-caſe, imagining it was ſome tumult among the ſervants, was met, and killed by the conſpirators, who then advanced to the door of the marquis's apartment. Here he had poſted himſelf with his three faithful friends, determined to reſiſt to the laſt extremity, though the time would not admit of his caſing himſelf in armour. He fought with the moſt deſperate fury, ſlew four of the conſpirators, wounded ſeveral; but at laſt his brother and pages having fallen by the hand of the enemy; he was ſurrounded and killed, by a wound in the throat, after he had exhibited proofs of vigour and ſtrength almoſt incredible at his advanced age. Thus fell Don Franciſco Pizarro, in the capital city of that vaſt conqueſt, which he had made by dint of extraordinary courage and diſcretion. Theſe qualities, however, were more than overballanced by his inſolence, rapacity, and cruel diſpoſition. In a word, he and Almagro were a couple of ferocious pirates, without education, ſentiment, or humanity, who ſtuck at no crime, even the moſt black and perfidious, in the proſecution of their inſatiable rapine (A).

A.D. 1541. *The marquis aſſaſſinated.*

As

(A) The marquis Pizarro had completed his ſixty-third year, and in deſpite of the fatigues he had undergone in proſecution of this arduous conqueſt, was healthy and robuſt. No man ever purſued a project with more intenſe application, or better underſtood how to improve the advantages he had gained. He was diligent in building towns, planting colonies, and introducing the fruits, the induſtry, and the manufactures of Europe, into Peru. To him the Spaniards owe their chief ſettlements in South America, Pizarro having either laid the foundation of their moſt flouriſhing cities, or at leaſt rebuilt

As ſoon as the conſpirators had effected their purpoſe in the palace, they ſallied forth into the market-place, declaring the tyrant was dead, and were ſaluted and congratulated by their friends and aſſociates, who had taken care that no aſſiſtance ſhould be carried to the marquis before their return. They alſo ſecured all the arms and horſes in the city, commanding the inhabitants not to ſtir abroad without leave. They plundered the marquis's palace, and the houſes of his brother-in-law Martin de Alcantara, and ſecretary Pizado, in which they found immenſe treaſures in gold and ſilver. As to the furniture of the palace, they left it untouched for the uſe of young Almagro, whom they now proclaimed governor of all Peru. Lima, Cuzco, and moſt of the principal cities and colonies, acknowleged his authority; ſome, however, reſolved not to declare themſelves before the arrival of Vaca de Caſtro. Almagro was ſworn by the corporation of this city to govern Peru agreeable to the laws, and conform himſelf to the king's pleaſure. The late miniſters were all removed, and others, more attached to the new governor, were appointed to their employments, as the reward of their ſervices. The rich and powerful of Pizarro's faction, were impriſoned, and their eſtates confiſcated, to make good the loſſes ſuſtained by the Almagrians during the late proſcription. Juan de Rada, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in the death of the marquis, was raiſed to the high dignity of a general of the forces, on account of the ſpirit and activity he had exerted as a conſpirator. Others were promoted to other offices and employments, according to the degree of their zeal for the new governor, and animoſity to the oppoſite party, without regard to any other qualifications; whence it followed that theſe preferments could not poſſibly afford univerſal ſatisfaction. The inſolence of Rada contributed to augment the public diſcontents. This officer iſſued out all commiſſions in the name of Almagro, without conſulting his friends, or ſeeming to regard them as of any conſequence. Here were laid the ſeeds of freſh civil diviſions and cabals, againſt the life of the imperious and arbitrary minion. Franciſco de Chaves, kinſman to the gentleman of that name, who had been ſlain in the marquis's ſervice, was at the bottom of the conſpiracy, for which he ſuffered death upon the rack.

Almagro proclaimed governor of Peru.

Garcia de Alvarado, another officer high in Almagro's eſteem, was no leſs cruel and inſolent than Rada. Alvarado was employed by the governor to take poſſeſſion of towns

rebuilt them in the European manner, and eſtabliſhed a regular police, and ſettled adminiſtration.

and

and plantations in his name, to ſeize treaſures, levy ſoldiers, and diſarm the Pizarriſts, and all who expreſſed a diſlike to the new government; which commiſſion he executed with great ſeverity. Repairing to Truxillo, he diſpoſſeſſed Diego de Thora of the office of judge of that place, notwithſtanding he had been appointed by old Almagro, and reinſtated by his ſon, on his firſt acceſſion to the adminiſtration. At the city of St. Miguel he put ſeveral gentlemen to death upon frivolous pretences, only becauſe he knew they were averſe to the preſent meaſures. Other officers employed in different provinces proceeded with equal rigour; but at Cuzco the commiſſioners were forced to act with ſome degree of moderation, knowing that the principal perſons in that city were determined to acknowlege Vaca de Caſtro, if they were not gained over by lenity; and they were not only too numerous of themſelves, but had too great ſway with the Indians, to ſuffer themſelves to be uſed harſhly. Gomez de Tortoya, a leading man in that capital, and the particular friend of the marquis Pizarro, had even declared his reſolution of revenging his death; nevertheleſs, the majority of the Spaniards and Indians ſubmitted to the authority of young Almagro, merely becauſe his intereſt happened to prevail. Tortoya diſpatched meſſengers ſecretly to all his friends in the adjacent provinces who were attached to the Pizarro intereſt, acquainting them with the late tragical event, and requiring them to aſſemble the Spaniards in their neighbourhood in arms, to oppoſe the uſurpation of the aſſaſſins, and revenge the death of their governor, and their king's repreſentative. Nuno de Caſtro, Garcilaſſo de la Vega, and others, accordingly repaired to Cuzco, while Tortoya went in ſearch of Alvarez Holguin, who, with a hundred men, had juſt ſet out upon an expedition to Callao before the late revolution. His application to this officer was ſucceſsful. Holguin declared himſelf the enemy of the new adminiſtration, and took upon him, at the requeſt of Tortoya, the dignity of captain-general of the league, that was now forming againſt Almagro. He erected his ſtandard, ſent manifeſtoes to Charcas and Arequedas, augmented his forces to two hundred men, and directed his march to Cuzco. His approach ſo terrified the Almagrian party, that they quitted the city with the utmoſt precipitation; but were purſued and brought back priſoners by Nuno de Caſtro, at the head of twenty harquebuſiers. On Holguin's arrival at Cuzco, the party augmented aſtoniſhingly; the gentry flocked in from their plantations, and ſome of them aſpired at the chief command; but were ſoon overruled by the ſentiments of the majority, which declared in favour

favour of Holguin; and this officer was now confirmed in the poſt of captain-general.

War was now openly declared againſt the Almagrians, the citizens of Cuzco obliging themſelves to repay to the king whatever ſums of money Holguin might expend, from the royal treaſury, in proſecution of the hoſtile meaſures that were now adopted. The news that Alonſo de Alvarado had erected his ſtandard in the ſame camp in the Chachapuyas, arrived about this time, and augmented the confidence of the Pizarriſts to ſuch a degree, that they were very little diſturbed with advice of Almagro's advancing at the head of eight hundred men to give them battle, though it was reſolved in a council of war to march by the way of the mountains to join Alvarado. With this deſign they left Cuzco, uſing every poſſible precaution to avoid being ſurpriſed by parties of the enemy. In the mean time Almagro received minute intelligence of all that was tranſacting in Cuzco, determined by the advice of his officers to intercept Holguin, having firſt ſecured his intereſt in Lima, and carried off the children and friends of the late marquis, to prevent inſurrections in his abſence. One act of barbarity which he executed upon this occaſion proved advantageous to the cauſe of his enemies. Out of perſonal pique, and in hopes of recovering the ſecreted treaſures of Pizarro, he ordered the ſecretary Picardo to be tortured, and then put to death, becauſe he reſiſted all the cruel meaſures to extort a confeſſion.

Vaca de Caſtro arrives in Peru.

Such was the ſituation of the Spaniards in Peru, when Vaca de Caſtro arrived at Quito, with a commiſſion from the king to ſucceed to the government of the kingdom, in caſe of the deceaſe of Pizarro; otherwiſe his commiſſion extended no farther than examining into the differences between the marquis and Almagro, and taking informations concerning the death of the latter. From Quito he iſſued commiſſions to the different Spaniſh cities and ſettlements, conſtituting ſuch magiſtrates as he thought proper, and in every reſpect exerciſed the prerogatives of governor; in which quality he was immediately received by a variety of provinces. He alſo received letters from Holguin and Alonſo de Alvarado, who had now joined forces, aſſuring him of their obedience to the king's pleaſure, and requeſting him to come and take charge of the army at Truxilio. Among other exertions of power, he authoriſed Berionovo and Aliaga to take upon them the government of Lima; to whom the Indians immediately ſubmitted, Almagro being at this time abſent on his route to Cuzco. De Caſtro then ſet out for Truxillo, and was joined on the road by crowds of Spaniards

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and Indians, who determined to yield implicit obedience to the royal mandate; although they were no friends to the tyranny of Pizarro, they deteſted the violent meaſures of the Almagrians. His army was now very conſiderable, all the officers bound themſelves by a ſealed inſtrument to obey his authority, and, as the firſt proof of their ſincerity, reſigned their commiſſions into his hands, either to be renewed or revoked at his pleaſure. From hence he marched to Lima, where he was received with all the honours due to the viceroy of Peru, and joined by all the inhabitants that were able to carry arms.

Every thing ſucceeded in this manner to the wiſh of Vaca de Caſtro; while Almagro, diſappointed in his deſigns on Holguin, directed his march to Cuzco, took poſſeſſion of that capital, and new-modelled the magiſtracy, replacing all thoſe who had abſented themſelves on the declaration of the oppoſite party. His next care was to provide a train of artillery, in which deſign he found no difficulty; for copper was plentiful at Cuzco, and among his troops, were perſons ſkilled in caſting cannon. He was buſied in the moſt vigorous preparations, when the death of his general Rada, and certain appointments that took place in conſequence thereof, gave breath to the expiring embers of faction, and again lighted up the flames of diſſenſion, to the great prejudice of his affairs. Chriſtopher de Sotelo and Garcia de Alvarado, became now his counſellors, and had the whole direction of the army jointly; but each aſpired at the chief command; and they became jealous rivals in ambition and the favour of Almagro. Their reſentment was ſoon inflamed to the moſt rancorous animoſity, which terminated in the death of Sotelo, who was ſlain in the market-place. The friends of the deceaſed reſolved to revenge the outrage; and every thing conſpired to produce a civil war, when Almagro interpoſed his influence and authority, and effected a temporary reconciliation, diſſembling his ſentiments of the conduct of Alvarado to a more ſeaſonable opportunity. However it was not poſſible to remain long in this moderate and politic diſpoſition; the violence of Alvarado's temper obliged him to come to extremities. That officer apprehending Almagro's vengeance, thought he could not render himſelf ſecure without ſhedding the blood of his general and benefactor; for which purpoſe he contrived to invite him to an entertainment, where he propoſed executing his horrible project; but Almagro, who had ſome advice of the conſpiracy, excuſed himſelf by pretending indiſpoſition, and thus ſecured himſelf, and concealed the diſcovery, in order to draw Alvarado into his own ſnare. He confined himſelf

himſelf in his bed, concealed ſome friends in the adjacent apartments, and feigned real illneſs with ſo much addreſs, that Alvarado made him a viſit, was ſeized, and immediately put to death.

Almagro having by this ſpirited and ſeaſonable meaſure, quieted the tumult, drew out his forces, amounting to ſeven hundred Spaniards and ſeveral thouſand Indians, and began his march, with intention either to give battle to the governor, or procure advantantageous terms by treaty for himſelf and his friends. As his troops were almoſt all veterans, who had ſerved under his father, and his train of artillery was greatly ſuperior to that of the enemy, he made no doubt of being victorious, ſhould it prove neceſſary to come to a hoſtile deciſion; but his intention was not to refuſe the opportunity of compromiſing matters in an amicable manner. When he advanced within a few leagues of De Caſtro's army, he diſpatched meſſengers with pacific propoſals. They were ordered to repreſent to the governor, that Almagro's father had performed eminent ſervices for the court of Spain, that he had always proved himſelf loyal and faithful to his ſovereign, that he had been barbarouſly murdered by the marquis Pizarro, that the revenge taken was juſt, and that his ſon now only demanded to be reſtored to the government of Cuzco and New Toledo, agreeable to the grant of the crown to his father. They alſo repreſented that young Almagro was diſpoſed to obey his majeſty's command implicitly; though he hoped the governor would not ſhew his partiality for the Pizarros, by approving of their notorious tyranny and oppreſſion. Letters to a ſimilar purpoſe were ſent by the ſuperior officers of the army, who complained that their ſervices had been rejected, as if they had oppoſed the royal mandate, notwithſtanding the king had not more faithful ſubjects in Peru. La Vega affirms, that de Caſtro ſent the firſt meſſengers to Almagro, with the moſt equitable overtures, and a promiſe of general pardon for himſelf and his aſſociates, if he would now lay down his arms; a condition which the other refuſed, until he ſhould be confirmed in the government of Cuzco, and all the juriſdiction included in the grant to his father[h]. Herrera aſſerts, that Caſtro ſent a Spaniard, diſguiſed like an Indian, to examine the poſture of Almagro's camp, with intention to ſurpriſe him while his mind ſhould be occupied with the reſult of the negociation; and that the ſpy was diſcovered and hanged. The ſame writer adds, that he

Almagro marches againſt him.

[h] La Vega, lib. iii. cap xv. Herrera, dec. iv. lib. viii cap. ii. Carate, cap. xvii. Gomar. cap. cl.

found

found means to corrupt Pedro de Candia, who had charge of Almagro's artillery. Almagro ſuſpecting the governor's inſincerity, reſolved to come to action, and accordingly drew up his forces in the vale of Chapas, rouſing their valour by an aminating ſpeech, in which he reminded them of the virtues of his father, the cruel murder of that brave officer, and all the injuries they had ſuſtained from the tyranny, inſolence, and oppreſſion of the Pizarros. Both armies were compoſed of veterans; that of de Caſtro was ſuperior in number, but Almagro's better ſupplied with muſquetry and artillery. Almagro's camp was ſo well fortified, upon the declivity of a hill, as to be inacceſſible, had he been ſerved with fidelity; he therefore determined to wait the attack of the enemy, who appeared eager to engage: as they advanced, he ordered his artillery to pour grape-ſhot upon their ranks; but aſtoniſhed to obſerve that ſeveral diſcharges produced no effect, he ſuſpected the treachery of Candia, taxed him with infidelity, and receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer, ſlew him with his own hand. He then pointed a piece of cannon ſo judiciouſly, that he cut off a whole file of de Caſtro's ſoldiers at a ſingle diſcharge; but they were now come too cloſe to ſuffer him to play his artillery. Both ſides had recourſe to the muſquetry, croſs-bows, lances, and ſwords; and they fought with great bitterneſs for ſeveral hours. At length Almagro, finding himſelf deſerted by ſome of his troops, and overpowered by numbers, retired with the inca Manco Capac, and ſome general officers, out of the field, intending to ſeek a retreat in the mountains, until a more favourable opportunity ſhould offer for trying his fortune in the field. Unhappily he thought of ſtopping at Cuzco to ſecure his treaſures; where he no ſooner arrived than thoſe treacherous friends, whom he had replaced in the magiſtracy, hearing of this defeat, reſolved to purchaſe the governor's favour by the moſt atrocious perfidy. They ſeized their benefactor, and ſent him to de Caſtro; but they met with the contempt which their villainy merited. In this action more than half the troops on both ſides were killed or wounded; the victors were ſo ſavage as to refuſe quarter to thoſe who had thrown down their arms, and implored mercy. Almagro, who was then but twenty years of age, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſuch a manner as gained the admiration of his adverſary, although he entirely forgot his extraordinary merit as ſoon as he had it in his power to ſatiate his revenge. Upon advice that Almagro was ſeized, he poſted to Cuzco, ordered that young adventurer to be executed agreeable to the ſentence he had pronounced before the battle. The party of Almagro was entirely

He is defeated and put to death.

entirely extirpated; even thoſe who eſcaped in the field, were hanged up or tortured to death, by order of the governor.

De Caſtro having fully eſtabliſhed his own authority by acts of cruelty which diſgrace his memory, applied his attention with the moſt intenſe diligence to the civil adminiſtration of his government. He began with public inſtitutions, which equally regarded the welfare of Spaniards and natives. All perceived the utility of his reformations, and the Indians paid the ſame reſpect to his edicts as if they had proceeded from the lips of their adored incas. Diviſions of land were made, and colonies of Indians and Spaniards tranſplanted from barren ſpots to countries more fruitful, but unpeopled. That his laws might be agreeable to the genius of the nation, he informed himſelf, from the caracas and caziques, concerning the inſtitutions of the incas, their method of adminiſtering juſtice, and other particulars; and to theſe he conformed himſelf as nearly as the deſign he formed of eſtabliſhing a more regular polity, and the doctrines of Chriſtianity, would admit. He erected ſchools in ſeveral towns, ordering the children of the principal Indians to be educated in the principles of the Chriſtian religion, and of rational morality. He reſtrained the Spaniards, by laws, from uſing the natives with their accuſtomed barbarity; he reſtored their lands to many of the caziques, and gave them a kind of civil limited juriſdiction. He impoſed reſtraints on the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers, and diſpoſed their minds, by proper encouragement, to marriage, induſtry, and labour. Thoſe who appeared diſſatisfied with their lot, turbulent in their humour, or unfit to promote the ends of civil government, he ſent into diſtant unconquered provinces, in imitation of the policy of the marquis Pizarro. He enquired into the conduct of the king's officers, who had amaſſed vaſt fortunes by rapine and oppreſſion, whence he raiſed himſelf a great number of enemies among the Spaniards, while he engaged the affections and confidence of the Indians. In a word, he formed tombos, or places of refreſhment, on all the roads for the benefit of travellers, and the conveniency of commerce, and purſued every other meaſure which could render Peru great and flouriſhing in itſelf, and advantageous to the mother country (B).

About

(B) While Caſtro, in quality of governor, was paſſing ſuch edicts, and eſtabliſhing ſuch ordinances, as he thought eſſential to the welfare of the people under his care, the friar Bar-

About the time when De Caſtro arrived in Peru, Gonzalo Pizarro returned from the dangerous expedition to Quito,

tholomew de la Caſas was laying before the court of Spain, a ſcheme of civil and eccleſiaſtical polity for the Indian colonies, which had been rejected as early as the year 1539, by the cardinal of Seville, then preſident of the ſupreme council of the Indies. The emperor now propoſed this ſcheme to his council; and it was embraced, notwithſtanding the cardinal, and ſeveral other members, proteſted againſt it, as no way congenial to the temper and diſpoſition of the Indians. This ſcheme contained forty laws, the principal of which we ſhall relate, as they occaſioned univerſal diſcontent in Peru and Mexico. It was ordained, that all eſtates ſhould be held of the king, and revert to him after the deceaſe of the poſſeſſors, without reſpect to the right of inheritance. That no Indian ſhould pay taxes who gave an equivalent in perſonal labour, nor be obliged to work in the mines or fiſh for pearls. That none of the king's officers ſhould be allowed to keep Indian ſlaves. That all perſons concerned in the late diſputes between Almagro and Pizarro, ſhould loſe all juriſdiction over the Indians, by which the Spaniards in general, except a few new comers, were diveſted of power and property, all having taken part on one ſide or the other. That a grant ſhould be made in favour of the immediate conquerors, whereby they might enjoy their poſſeſſions for the ſpace of two lives, then to revert to the king in the ſame manner as other eſtates, after making competent proviſion for the children and widow. That all perſons arrived at a certain age, whether Spaniards or Indians, ſhould marry. That, to encourage matrimony, the wife ſhould have power to enter into poſſeſſion of the eſtate, at the deceaſe of her huſband, in caſe no children ſurvived, and to enjoy it with another huſband during her natural life (1).

La Vega makes ſeveral judicious remarks upon theſe ordinances, which he very juſtly obſerves could not anſwer the ends propoſed. With reſpect to that law which exempted the Indians from taxes, he ſays it was founded upon the preſumption of their inability, owing to their not being paid for their labour by the Spaniards. If this was really the caſe, he thinks the grievance might be more effectually redreſſed, by ordaining that ſevere puniſhments ſhould be inflicted on all Spaniards who refuſed payment to the Indians, after they had performed their engagements, and finiſhed their labour. The law ordering that the Indians ſhould not be compelled to labour in the mines, or fiſh for pearls, was really calculated, he alleges, to indulge their natural indolence, and deprive the crown of the immenſe revenues ariſing from the mines of Potoſi, Huanca, and other places. It is, indeed, manifeſt that all the other laws which we have quoted, had evidently

(1) La Vega, lib. iii. cap. xx.

the

Quito, of which we have already given a detail. He thought himself injured by Castro's taking upon him a government which he claimed for himself, as the brother and legitimate successor of the marquis. The misfortunes he had undergone in the conquest of Canela, instead of extinguishing his ambition, rather inflamed it, and impelled him to seize this opportunity of repairing all his losses, even though at the expence of overturning the government which de Castro had been at such pains to establish. The discontents of the officers and magistrates, furnished Gonzalo with the means of carrying on his design. He improved their murmurs to his own views, and had actually formed a very considerable party, when the sagacity and vigilance of de Castro penetrating into his remotest secrets, frustrated all the effects of his machinations, without bloodshed, or any violent exertion of authority. He no sooner perceived what was in agitation, and had undeniable evidence of the plot which was formed to assassinate him, and seize upon the government, than he sent privately for Gonzalo. Without betraying any symptoms of indignation, or even of the discovery he had made, he ordered him to repair immediately to his estate in the province of Los Charcas, and to remain there until his farther pleasure should be known. Pizarro, who was in no condition to dispute the governor's commands, obeyed, with seeming chearfulness; and as he understood, that rich silver mines had lately been discovered in that quarter, he employed himself in working and improving them, until a more favourable occasion should offer for pursuing the dictates of his ambition.

Gonzalo Pizarro's conspiracy discovered.

When de Castro had effectually dissipated this impending storm, he again turned his mind towards the civil policy of the country, and laboured chiefly to ease the natives from the galling yoke of Spanish oppression; but still his endeavours proved abortive; daily complaints were transmitted to the court of Spain of the severity with which the Indians were treated, of their being destroyed in the mines, of the death of thousands by their removal from their

the interest of the crown, rather than of the subject in view; and as to this, its apparent tendency was to secure the natural liberty of the Indians, and restrain the tyranny of the Spaniards, although the effect was no other than cherishing a habit of indolence and laziness, more powerful among this people than any other. Upon the whole, this scheme of civil policy was certainly laudable, as it evidently had a humane tendency, notwithstanding it was attended with inconveniences, from which no human institutions are exempted.

native air and climate, and of the miſery and wretchedneſs of incredible numbers of women and children, whoſe huſbands had periſhed under the rigour of the Spaniards. New articles were added, explanatory of theſe regulations, in order to prevent all equivocation, and convince the Spaniards, that, by exempting the Indians from compulſive labour, his catholic majeſty included every ſpecies of bodily labour, as well as digging in the mines; it was enjoined, under ſevere penalties, that the Indians ſhould not be compelled to carry burthens, or employed againſt their will in buildings, or removed from one province into another, even though they were born ſlaves. Particular privileges were beſtowed on the Indian freemen. To prevent ſubjecting the Indians to unjuſt ſervitude, it was enacted, that all maſters ſhould be obliged to have their ſervants examined before a magiſtrate, in order to aſcertain whether they had been originally parcel of the glebe, which was now become the property of the maſter. It was alſo ordained, that the Indians might be proprietors of gold and ſilver mines as well as the Spaniards; and ſhould have liberty to carry the produce to market, and diſpoſe of it to the beſt advantage. Every Spaniſh proprietor of lands was obliged, under certain penalties, to ſee that the Indians, in his juriſdiction, were inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion: and it was farther enacted, that the viſitors, appointed to redreſs the grievances of the natives, ſhould perform their duty in perſon, repairing to the ſeveral towns appointed for their tribunals, without intruſting the buſineſs to deputies, except in caſes of ſickneſs, and extreme neceſſity.

A.D.1543. *Vela is ſent in quality of viceroy to Peru.*

De Caſtro had certainly acquitted himſelf like an able and honeſt miniſter, ever ſince the ſuppreſſion of the Almagrian faction; nevertheleſs, his conduct was miſrepreſented to the emperor, by thoſe perſons who ſuffered from his rigid integrity: it was therefore reſolved at the court of Spain, to appoint another governor, who ſhould punctually enforce the new ſyſtem of laws, to which he could have no reluctance, becauſe they had no retroſpect to his own conduct, and could imply no reſtriction on his adminiſtration. Accordingly the emperor Charles V. nominated Blaſco Nunez Vela, ſurveyor of the ports of Caſtile, to the dignity of preſident and viceroy of the kingdoms and provinces of Peru. He had conceived the higheſt opinion of this gentleman's capacity, from the zeal and courage with which he had ſerved him in divers inferior employments. In the month of November the viceroy embarked at St. Lucar, accompanied by don Franciſco Tello de Sandoval, with a fleet

fleet of fifty-two ſail. Sandoval, with a part of the fleet, ſteered directly to Mexico, while the viceroy held on his courſe to Nombre de Dios, whence he travelled to Panama, where he releaſed great numbers of Indians from the bondage of the Spaniards, obliging their maſters to ſend them back to Peru. Several remonſtrances were made to him upon the injury which religion and the Spaniards would neceſſarily receive from this conduct. It was repreſented, that the lands would lie uncultivated, the mines unimproved, and that the Indians who had been inſtructed in the principles of Chriſtianity, would relapſe into their former errors, as ſoon as they returned to their caracas: but Vela's conſtant anſwer was, that the Spaniards had no right to encroach on their natural liberty; and the truth of Chriſtianity was not to be enforced by violence. He remained twenty days in Panama, obliging thoſe who had made great eſtates by the ſale of the Peruvian ſlaves, to refund, and making ſeveral other alterations; then he ſet out for his government, loaded with the execrations of the Spaniards, and the bleſſings of the Indians. In order to ſet an example in his own perſon, of what he required in others, he cauſed his baggage to be carried by mules; if any Indians were employed, took care that they ſhould be men who voluntarily offered their ſervice for hire, which he ſaw punctually paid. Carate, who was then governor of Panama, exhorted him, at his departure, to uſe leſs impetuoſity in eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of laws which were ſo odious to the Spaniards; alleging, that reformations were to be wrought gradually and gently, in ſuch a manner as to ſlide imperceptibly into practice: but Vela, diſregarding this wholeſome admonition, proceeded, on his arrival in Peru, to enforce them with the utmoſt rigour. Immediately the Spaniards took fire, and a ſpirit of mutiny appeared among all degrees of men. The report of the governor's conduct, was diffuſed through every quarter with great rapidity. He had promulgated the laws, and required the punctual execution of them on his journey from Tumbez, through Pinna and Truxillo; and was conſequently received not only with coldneſs, but averſion, in all the cities. The manner in which he notified his arrival and commiſſion, and ſuperceded de Caſtro, likewiſe gave offence. The viceroy was taxed with inſolence; and thoſe who before exclaimed againſt de Caſtro, united againſt Vela, and offered their ſervices to the late governor, in vindication of his honour; endeavouring, by all poſſible means, to effect a rupture between thoſe two great perſonages, and throw into confuſion

He enforces the new laws.

the government which they were determined not to obey. The humours of the people were raised to the highest degree of fermentation, by the artful practices of those persons who were most interested in opposing the new mode of legislation, and the viceroy's imprudent zeal. Vela had imposed taxes on all the Spaniards, as he advanced in the country, proportioned to their property; and they refused to pay them, on pretence that they held them upon a different tenure from the governor de Castro.

This gentleman set out from Cuzco, attended by a numerous train of the citizens, and principal inhabitants, to meet the viceroy; and was presented, on his journey, with a letter from Vela, acquainting him, that from that instant his authority ceased; and all acts made by him, since the arrival of the new governor, were annulled. Castro acquiesced, without repining, and resisted all the temptations thrown in his way by the enemies of Vela, to disturb his government, and become the head of a faction. Immediately he dismissed the greater part of his attendants, and requested that such as remained might go unarmed, in order to avoid every appearance of designing hostilities, notwithstanding he was admonished to the contrary. His arrival at Lima was celebrated with great demonstrations of joy, which all his own endeavours could not suppress: however, to prevent their giving offence, he dispatched his secretary to the viceroy, to congratulate him on his safe arrival, and assure him of his perfect obedience to the will of his sovereign. His message was well received, and he was invited to meet the viceroy at Kimac; he accepted the invitation, was caressed for some time, and then imprisoned, on occasion of a tumult, which Vela ascribed to his intrigues. This incident augmented the public discontent. The inhabitants of Kimac, who had before resented the viceroy's refusal to confirm them in all the rights and privileges they enjoyed, became now outrageous. It was here, and not at Lima, as some writers allege, that a piece of writing was found under a dish, upon the viceroy's table, to the following purpose: "He who deprives me of my property, shall be deprived of life." Nor did Vela's behaviour to the incendiary at all quiet the clamours of the people. He pardoned the criminal, and they ascribed his lenity to his fears, which rendered them more daring and insolent. On the viceroy's arriving at Lima, the prisoner de Castro was removed thither, and committed to the common jail. Upon which the inhabitants went in a body to Vela, and petitioned with great boldness, against such an insult upon a person of Castro's rank;

De Castro imprisoned.

desiring

deſiring that he might be removed to the town-houſe, and they would bail his appearance in a penalty of a hundred thouſand pieces of eight: a requeſt with which the governor complied, from the apprehenſion of a general inſurrection. Still, however, Vela perſiſted in his vigorous meaſures, and the people continued to plot and cabal. The judges and magiſtrates interfered: they adviſed Vela to proceed with more moderation; but he was inflexible, and treated their admonitions with ſo much contempt, that they began to enter into the ſentiments of the malcontents. In a ſhort time the reſentment of both parties breaking out in open violence, the judges ſet at liberty one Antonio Sohr, whom the viceroy had impriſoned and condemned to death, after he had before granted him a pardon for the ſame crime.

Gonzalo Pizarro takes arms.

Theſe diſturbances were not confined to Lima, where the viceroy reſided; they extended over all the towns in Peru, inhabited by Spaniards. This was a fit opportunity for Gonzalo Pizarro to reſume his ambitious projects; accordingly he practiſed ſecretly among the malcontents with ſo much addreſs, that he ſoon was invited to protect his countrymen againſt the tyranny of the viceroy. To give ſanction to his meaſures, and the appearance of moderation to his deſigns, he artfully exhorted the malcontents to reflect on the conſequences of oppoſing regal authority; but, pretending to be convinced by their arguments, he accepted of the dignity of procurator and agent-general of Peru; a title that intimated his being a mediator between the viceroy and people. His intentions, however, were quite different. Gonzalo's great ſcheme was to get the government into his own hands, without regard to the means. With this view he amaſſed all the treaſure he could find in Potoſi, aſſembled his friends, and ſet out for Cuzco. There he erected his ſtandard, was joined by two or three hundred Spaniſh volunteers, and regarded as the head of the party againſt the viceroy. Under pretence of petitioning Vela, in behalf of the colonies, to ſuſpend the execution of the new laws, he directed his march towards Lima, after having conſtituted Franciſco de Carvajal his major-general, and been proclaimed by the magiſtrates of Cuzco chief juſtice, and ſupreme in civil affairs.

Gonzalo aware that he was now in a ſtate of open rebellion againſt his ſovereign, by oppoſing his ordinances, and taking up arms againſt his repreſentative, reſolved to give ſome colour to his proceedings; and alleged he had taken arms againſt the inca, who, he pretended, was aſſembling an army to beſiege Cuzco. This pretext, however

falſe, was ſpecious at this juncture, as Manco Capac, the inveterate enemy of the Pizarros, had ſent to acquaint the viceroy, that he was ready to take the field againſt Gonzalo and to ſerve the court of Spain with the laſt drop of his blood. The inca was actually aſſembling forces, when an accident put an end to his life, and the wretched ſubjection in which he had been long held by the Spaniards. A quarrel aroſe between him and a refugee Spaniard, who had fought his protection in the mountains, as they were playing at bowls, In the heat of paſſion, the Spaniard forget his obligations to the inca, and the reſpect due to his character: he ſeized the bowl, and flung it with ſuch violence, as fractured the ſkull of this unfortunate prince, and laid him dead on the ſpot [b]; by this accident, all the viceroy's ſanguine expectations, from ſo powerful an ally, were diſappointed, and Gonzalo's hopes elevated in the ſame proportion. To this unlucky circumſtance was ſuperadded the unſeaſonable progreſs of the mutual animoſity ſubſiſting between Vela and the judges; for theſe laſt in a manner, openly eſpouſed the intereſt of Pizarro; or at leaſt obſtructed. by every method in their power, all Vela's meaſures, whether offenſive or defenſive.

The inca's death.

Preparations for war.

Such was the ſtate of the viceroy's affairs, while Gonzalo, with an army of five hundred well armed Spaniards, twenty thouſand Indians, and a train of artillery began his march for Lima; having firſt ſtopped all intercourſe between Cuzco and the principal cities, ſeized upon the king's treaſures, a train of artillery ſent from Huamanca, and alſo the eſtates and effects of perſons deceaſed, which had been appropriated by the magiſtrates to the crown. The inca's death was the occaſion of thoſe open declarations; for he could now pretend danger from the Indians no longer, and was compelled, in ſome degree, to avow the motives of his conduct. It was ſome time before the viceroy had intelligence of theſe proceedings. When advices arrived that Gonzalo was at the head of a formidable army, he was thrown into great perplexity, on account of the bad terms upon which he ſtood with the inhabitants of Lima. However, he reſolved not to be wanting to his duty, and ſet on foot the moſt vigorous preparations for ſuppreſſing this bold and unexpected rebellion. He beat up for recruits, ſeized upon a large ſum of money belonging to de Caſtro, and ſhipped it for Spain, he nominated officers in whom he believed he could repoſe confidence, and aſſembled an army, compoſed of ſix hundred Spaniards, and ſeveral thouſand Indians.

[b] La Vega, lib. iv. cap. vii.

Orders

Orders were given to make fire-arms of iron and bell-metal; to which purpose he appropriated all the bells in the churches. To try the affections of the people, he directed that several false alarms should be raised; and to prevent any danger from Castro, whose fidelity he suspected, notwithstanding he had lately consented to his being set at liberty, he seized and confined him on board a ship that lay in the harbour.

In the mean time Pizarro was not idle; even in his march to Lima, he was taking measures to justify his conduct to the court of Spain. He commissioned Tedeja, the judge most devoted to his interest, to pass immediately to Europe, and represent to the emperor the necessity he was under of seizing upon the government, to prevent the general desertion of the natives and Spaniards, in consequence of the viceroy's mal-administration. He proceeded also to seize upon all the shipping on the coast, in consequence of which step he commanded the navigation of the South Sea. He appointed new governors and magistrates in the towns; punished with death all the friends of the government; and exerted every other prerogative of absolute dominion, obliging the civil to bend to the military power. That he might be able to maintain his army, he exacted from the Spaniards a third of all the rents or tributes they received from the natives; he seized every thing belonging to the crown; evidently demonstrating his intention of throwing off his dependence on Spain, and rendering himself absolute sovereign of Peru; a scheme by no means difficult in the execution at that juncture, had Gonzalo acted with more prudence and discretion, had his punishments been less rigorous, and his behaviour more affable and popular. Had he made the proper use of the universal dislike to the new regulations, and convinced the people, that he sought their good more than the gratification of his own ambition, he might, undoubtedly, have become the greatest Spaniard in America. We may rest satisfied of this truth, from the detestation in which these ordinances were held. Pedro de Puelles, who had been deputy-governor for Vaca de Castro, in the town of Guenno, was a person of considerable influence, and, of consequence, well received by the viceroy, when he came to Lima to pay his compliments. His commission was now renewed, and he was desired to have all his friends in readiness to take the field, completely armed, at an hour's warning. Pedro exerted himself, upon this occasion, with diligence, and assembled a considerable body of forces, with which he was marching, in obedience to fresh orders, against Pizarro; but they had not

not advanced far, when ſome diſcourſe ariſing about the conſequences of the viceroy's being ſucceſsful, it was unanimouſly agreed, that, if he proved victorious, he would endeavour, with all his power, to eſtabliſh the new ſcheme of legiſlation; whence it was inferred, that their moſt politic courſe would be to join Pizarro, in order to preſerve their liberties and property, and oppoſe the dangerous innovations which were intended. This reſolution was no ſooner formed than it was executed; Puelles, and all his people, marching directly to reinforce the rebels. The ſame reſolution was taken by a body of horſe detached by the governor, under Vela Nunez, to intercept Puelles, upon the advices he had received of his defection. The ſoldiers had conſpired to kill their commander, and follow the fortune of Pizarro. Their intention was diſcovered to Nunez; he made his eſcape in the night, and all his troops went over to Pizarro, whom they joined at Guamanga. From theſe inſtances it appears, how general the diſlike was to Vela, and what Gonzalo might have effected, had he known how to profit by circumſtances.

Revolt of the viceroy's troops to Gonzalo.

Beſides the land-forces which Pizarro had aſſembled, he was abſolute maſter of the ocean, in conſequence of the ſeizure of the ſhipping. His admiral, Hernando Bachiaco, had a powerful ſquadron, with which he diſtreſſed the enemy; he attacked the city of Panama, and took all the ſhips in the bay; by this expedient augmenting his fleet to twenty-ſix ſail. He had, alſo, a number of land-forces on board, which he landed occaſionally, plundering and harraſſing the coaſt, although the governor had aſſembled a little army for their protection. From Panama he ſteered for the iſland of Pearls, where he broke his faith to the inhabitants, committed dreadful ravages, impoſed tributes, and levied contributions, rather agreeable to the meaſure of his wants and avarice than to the ability of the people. This naval armament, therefore, upon the whole, inſtead of promoting, rather injured the cauſe of Pizarro. Proviſions, money, and warlike ſtores, were procured, indeed, by means of the fleet, in great abundance; but the tyranny of the admiral raiſed a great number of enemies to his party.

Notwithſtanding the miſconduct of the Pizarriſts, ſuch was the dread of the new regulations, that the viceroy's affairs wore a very unpromiſing aſpect. All the methods he had tried to pacify the jealouſies of the people, contributed only to inflame them, and the troops he aſſembled deſerted as faſt as they were raiſed. He had fortified Lima; but ſtill he did not chuſe to truſt to walls, when the people

people and garriſon were diſaffected. In this emergency, he reſolved to retreat to Truxillo, a deſign which he communicated to the magiſtrates, after he had firſt fully digeſted his plan of operations. The judges oppoſed his intentions with heat, and every thing was again thrown into confuſion, juſt as Vela imagined that he had conciliated the minds of the inhabitants, by the proofs he had exhibited of his vigilance and care for their preſervation. A council being called, broke up in diſorder; and the viceroy determined to embark in ſome veſſels that were in the harbour, with the children of the marquis Pizarro, while his brother Vela Nunez conducted the forces by land. This meaſure occaſioned freſh diſputes; the citizens remonſtrated againſt putting the lady Franciſca in the hands of rude ſailors, and the judges gave orders to one Robles to ſeize the perſon of the viceroy. They granted a warrant for this purpoſe, and Robles executed it with punctuality, though with ſome difficulty, as Vela had aſſembled a body of ſoldiers, to the number of four hundred men; who, however, laid down their arms, when they perceived the citizens were in open rebellion. The judges now required Curbano, the king's admiral, to ſurrender the fleet, and the children of Pizarro, into their hands; threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to put the viceroy to death. Curbano complied with the latter part of the demand; but he determined to run all hazards, rather than reſign the only means of defence that he had remaining. Diſappointed in the expected effects of theſe menaces, the judges contrived divers ſtratagems to ſurpriſe the fleet, and ſucceeded ſo well, that they made Vela Nunez, the viceroy's brother, priſoner; and then repeated their demand, with the moſt poſitive aſſurances, that neither brother ſhould meet with mercy, in caſe the admiral continued obſtinate[c]. Nevertheleſs, Curbano perſevered in his ſentiments; but being deſerted by the vice-admiral, and all the reſt of the ſhipping, who went over to the judges, he was obliged to put to ſea with the ſingle veſſel he commanded in perſon. A.D.1544. *The fleet declare for Pizarro.*

Theſe circumſtances tended evidently to promote the intereſt of Pizarro. Thus far the judges and he ſeemed to act in concert againſt the viceroy; though it now appeared, that this was the ſingle point in which they were agreed. The judges were no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the viceroy's perſon and the fleet, than they prepared a proceſs againſt Vela, whom they intended to ſend back to Spain, to re-

[c] Gomara, cap. cxxxii. Carate, cap. xi. lib. i.

ceive

ceive ſentence, and ſent orders to Pizarro to diſband his forces; telling him, that the viceroy's miſconduct had devolved the whole power upon them, by virtue of the king's commiſſion. Auguſtine Carate was deputed with this meſſage; which proved ſo unwelcome to Pizarro, that he ſeized Carate, and treated him with great ſeverity [f]. The anſwer returned to the judges was, that Gonzalo Pizarro was now conſtituted governor-general; in which quality, if they refuſed to obey, the city of Lima ſhould be deſtroyed with fire and ſword. To give weight to this anſwer, he proceeded on his march towards that capital of the Spaniſh colonies, and encamped within a quarter of a league of the city. Then he ſent a formal ſummons to the judges; and finding it was diſregarded, began to erect batteries, which produced the deſired effect. The whole city declared againſt the judges, and moſt of the inhabitants deſerted to the camp. A party of twenty men, ſent out to reconnoitre the works of the beſiegers, was taken; and Gonzalo's army was now become numerous and formidable. He diſpatched Carvajal with a ſecond meſſage, importing, that if any farther delay was made, the city muſt ſuffer all the conſequences of his vengeance, and the judges aſcribe to their own obſtinacy the bloodſhed of their fellow-citizens. Even this declaration could not move them, until Carvajal ordered ſome of the chief priſoners he had taken the preceding day to be hanged up in ſight of the beſieged. This ſpectacle ſtaggered the judges; who at length yielded to the remonſtrances of the citizens, and their dread of the conſequences of their refuſal to admit Pizarro. Accordingly, his army was drawn up in order of battle; and he made his triumphal entry in the month of October. From this period Gonzalo dated his authority, in virtue of the royal commiſſion granted to his brother, which he declared was intended to deſcend to his heirs. Beſides, this commiſſion was corroborated by the authority of the judges, whom he forced into a compliance with all the new appointments and alterations which he had made in the government. Gonzalo procured their countenance to letters he thought fit to diſpatch into Spain, to ſolicit the emperor, that he might be confirmed in the government which he had ſo boldly uſurped, as the only means of reſtoring the public tranquillity.

Pizarro reduces Lima.

This flow of proſperity, however, was interrupted by ſome accidents, that gave him great diſquiet. Vaca de Caſtro, though the perſon moſt injured by the viceroy, not

The viceroy aſſembles an army.

[f] La Vega, lib. iv. cap. xviii.

only

only declared his reſolution of implicitly obeying the royal mandate, but eſcaped from Panama, on advice that the rebel admiral Bachicao was on his way thither. He intimated his deſign of oppoſing Gonzalo; and this accident became of more importance, becauſe the viceroy had found means to effect his eſcape, and was now raiſing an army with great diligence. Before his arrival at Quito, he had collected above one hundred and fifty men, and was there joined by two hundred more, who had not yet been infected with the contagious ſpirit of rebellion. He took courage from the miſconduct of his adverſary, and entertained hopes that Gonzalo's inſolence would ſoon turn the ſtream of popular affection, and once more reduce the humours of the people into their natural channel. He diſpatched his ſon-in-law into Spain, to acquaint his imperial majeſty with the ſtate of affairs in Peru, and requeſt that ſpeedy ſuccours might be ſent againſt the rebels. A party of his men had been defeated in a ſkirmiſh with ſome of Pizarro's marauders; but he ſoon revenged this diſgrace in perſon, by falling ſuddenly upon the victorious enemy, whom he entirely overthrew; however, the loſs on the ſide of Pizarro was inconſiderable, and theſe ſkirmiſhes ſerved only to animate the combatants to more bloody hoſtilities.

Gonzalo had now determined to attack the viceroy with all his forces, before he ſhould become more formidable. In conſequence of this reſolution, he bent his march to Quito, and ſuſtained great hardſhips in croſſing the deſarts; but his ſoldiers being veterans, conquered all difficulties, and advanced ſo near the enemy, that Vela thought proper to decline a battle, and retire to Quito. Pizarro had found means to excite diſturbances in his camp, by tranſmitting letters to his principal officers, with promiſes not only of pardon, but of great rewards. The viceroy imprudently ſuſpected all who had received thoſe offers, and puniſhed them as if they had actually embraced the propoſals. Hence aroſe a mutinous ſpirit, which, united to the fatigue and hunger which his troops had ſuſtained in his retreat, brought his affairs to the greateſt extremity. Vexation and trouble had ſoured his temper, and he now added to unavoidable evils, that of venting againſt his own people, the indignation which he was unable to diſcharge upon the heads of his enemies. Some of his beſt officers he put to death on the moſt groundleſs ſuſpicion of treachery; by which means he again alienated the minds of all the Spaniards in Peru, juſt as they were coming to a proper ſenſe of their duty.

Mean

He is pursued by Pizarro.

Mean while Pizarro kept up the pursuit from St. Miguel to Quito so hotly, that the armies were frequently in sight of each other, and the royalists forced to keep constantly in arms, during a journey of one hundred and fifty leagues, in the course of which they were chiefly nourished by herbs, roots, and other vegetables. The approach of the rebels to Quito obliged the viceroy to quit that defenceless city, and retreat forty leagues beyond it; hoping that Pizarro would desist from the pursuit, in order to refresh his men in a place abounding with necessaries: but he was mistaken; the rebels scarce halted at Quito, but pushed on with so much ardour and perseverance, as drove Vela to despair. When he saw a party of rebels descending a hill near his camp, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, "Shall it be credited in future ages, that Spaniards can pursue the standard of their king with such obstinacy, as to endure every possible hardship for the space of four hundred leagues?" meaning from Lima to the place where he was then encamped, on the farther extremity of Peru. Still, however, he proceeded in his retreat; a circumstance which at length determined Gonzalo to return to Quito, where he employed his time in mirth and festivity, as if the viceroy was already conquered.

Vela being thus suffered to rest in quiet in the province of Popayan, he set to work in procuring more complete arms for his troops, and calling in all the detachments that were employed in distant conquests. His spirits were considerably recruited by learning that Diego Centeno had revolted from Pizarro, and was now making a powerful diversion on the opposite side of Peru: and notwithstanding his brother Nunez was taken prisoner in his passage to Panama, he entertained hopes of a favourable issue to the war. He was joined about this time by Juan Catreras, with a hundred men; which reinforcement encouraged him to face the enemy, who were weakened by the detachment sent against Centeno; however, all his expectations were blasted by a stratagem of Pizarro. That officer gave out, that he would march in person, with the greater part of his army, to Charcas, against Centeno, who was plundering his lands in that country, and leave Puelles with three hundred men for the defence of the frontier. He appointed his captains, and took the route to Quito. Having discovered a spy of the viceroy, he corrupted this emissary, who gave him a key to the cypher he used in his letters to his employer; and then charged him with false intelligence to Vela. At the same time he ordered Puelles to write an invitation to his friends in the viceroy's army in a cypher, which

which he took care to have explained to the ſpy, that they would ſpend ſome time at Quito in the abſence of Gonzalo, where they might depend on being treated with the utmoſt cordiality, notwithſtanding any differences of opinion in matters relating to the government; but care was taken to have theſe letters fall into the viceroy's hands, as if by accident. So many circumſtances, the public report, the intelligence of his ſpy, and the intercepted letters, concurred to convince Vela of what Gonzalo deſired to have believed. He aſſembled his troops on the firſt advices that Gonzalo had ſet out for Los Charcas, and began his march for Quito with the utmoſt celerity. His forces amounted to eight hundred men, but raw, undiſciplined, and very indifferently accoutred. Gonzalo, who had notice of all his motions, privately joined Puelles; and, upon a general muſter, found his troops to conſiſt of two hundred muſqueteers, three hundred pike-men, and a hundred and fifty horſe, all approved hardy veterans. He encamped without the city in narrow bounds, in order to conceal his numbers. Vela approached within two leagues of the entrenchments, without entertaining the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion of the deceit. Then Gonzalo decamped in the night without beat of drum, intending to ſurpriſe him; but the viceroy had taken the reſolution of gaining poſſeſſion of Quito before he hazarded a battle, and had on purpoſe begun his march in the middle of the night, over ſteep mountains and rugged precipices. He entered the city without oppoſition, and there firſt had intimation of the ſtratagem, which threw him into the utmoſt conſternation. He communicated this intelligence in a council of officers, where it was reſolved, that, as a retreat was now become impracticable, the whole ſhould reſt upon the fortune of a battle, for which all of them began to make the moſt vigorous preparations.

On the other hand, Gonzalo was no leſs ſurpriſed and diſappointed to find that the viceroy had quitted the other route; but when he was told by the Indians that he had taken the road of Quito, he purſued him with great rapidity, and ſoon came within ſight of the royal army, which was drawn up in battalia before the city. A ſkirmiſhing immediately commenced between the advanced poſts, which terminated to the advantage of the rebels, and brought on a more general and bloody engagement between the horſe, who fought with great courage and obſtinacy. The infantry had not yet come to blows, and ſeemed to wait with anxious expectation to ſee in what manner victory would declare on the ſide of the cavalry; when at length the impetuoſity

tuosity and stubborn valour of Gonzalo's veterans turned the scale, and made room for the foot to join in close engagement; for such was the extraordinary disposition of both armies, that the horse occupied almost the entire front. The royal infantry in the rear were somewhat disconcerted by the precipitate tumultuous retreat of the vanquished cavalry; but they soon rallied, and sustained the attack of the enemy with firmness and intrepidity, until perceiving the superior strength of Gonzalo's powder, and execution of his musquetry, they were seized with a panic, and routed with great slaughter. The viceroy fought like a private soldier, at the same time that he displayed all the qualities of an excellent general, animating, exhorting, soothing, and menacing his troops to perform their duty. He engaged Montalto, a brave rebel officer, hand-to-hand, and dismounted him, after an obstinate contest. He might now have escaped, had not his own courage carried him into the midst of the enemy, as an Indian coat which he wore over his armour hindered his being known. A soldier fell upon him with great fury, and laid him dead with the stroke of a battle-axe, little imagining that he was spilling the blood of the king's representative. It is affirmed by La Vega [f], that his intention was not to survive his power and honour, or subject himself to the mortification of becoming the prisoner of the conqueror. His head was cut off, and sent in triumph to Quito, to induce the inhabitants to receive Gonzalo as governor, while his body was interred with all the honours due to his quality.

A.D. 1546. Jan. 19. *The viceroy is defeated and slain.*

In consequence of this decisive victory, Gonzalo came into immediate possession of the whole authority. He disposed of every thing at his pleasure, punished his enemies, and promoted his friends without control. Whatever his insolence might have been on former occasions, he certainly acted upon this with prudence and discretion. Assembling the prisoners, he represented the power which Heaven had put into his hands, the designs he had to support and protect public liberty, the necessary consequences which must have resulted from the establishment of the new regulations, and the crimes committed by those persons who supported Vela's tyranny. After this remonstrance he dismissed them with a general pardon, except a few of the ringleaders, whom he banished to Chili and the distant provinces, admonishing them not to incur his indignation by any attempts against his authority, or opposition to his measures. Vera Nunez, brother to the deceased

[f] La Veg. l.b. iv. cap. 24.

viceroy,

viceroy, was permitted to live in Quito, on his promise to submit quietly to the present government, and to avoid all plots, cabals, and intrigues. He even allowed Nunez afterwards to accompany him to Lima, and treated him in the whole journey with the utmost familiarity; more perhaps than was justifiable in strict policy to a person who could not but entertain animosity to his person, however carefully he might disguise his behaviour [g].

When the troops were sufficiently refreshed after the fatigues of a long march and a bloody engagement, Gonzalo dispatched his lieutenant Carvajal with a strong party to the southward against Centeno, who commanded a little army of royalists. Near Callao an attempt was made by Centeno to surprise Carvajal in his quarters; but he found that officer ready to receive him, at the head of a superior army. Carvajal even pursued Centeno over mountains and deserts, but could never bring him to a general action, notwithstanding every day was productive of bloody skirmishes. At length he seized upon a pass, where he was of opinion the enemy must necessarily be surrounded, and forced to lay down their arms; but Centeno's vigilance extricated him out of this difficulty likewise, and forced Carvajal to confess, that in the course of forty campaigns made in Italy and other countries, he had never beheld so extraordinary a retreat as that performed by Centeno, over a desart country of two hundred leagues, in the face of a superior enemy. It was impossible, however, he could long maintain himself in this distressed condition. He directed his march to Arequiba, where he determined to embark his troops, and proceed to Chili, if shipping could be provided, for which purpose he sent an officer before him. A vessel bound to Chili was hired; but just as he was ready to embark, Carvajal appeared; upon which Centeno told his men that Providence was against them, that they must now disperse in small bodies, and shift for themselves. Having taken an affectionate leave of them, he retired to the mountains, and concealed himself until the arrival of a new viceroy from Spain.

The royalists entirely reduced.

All opposition being now removed by the reduction of this last army of the royalists, the rebels used all their endeavours to persuade Gonzalo to assume the titles and honours of sovereign of Peru, independent of the emperor and court of Spain. Carvajal wrote him a letter, in which he observed, that, after having opposed the royal edict, cut off the head of the king's representative, and waged open

[g] Gomara, lib. cxxxiii.

war againſt his forces, there remained no other chance of impunity, but that of aſſuming the crown, gaining the affections of the Spaniards by the moſt liberal conduct, and conciliating the Indians; by which means he might bid defiance to all the power of Spain, as his imperial majeſty could not afford to tranſport a number of forces to ſo diſtant a region ſufficient to conquer Peru. Whether Gonzalo was ſtartled at the vaſtneſs of the project, or deferred gratifying his ambition until he had firſt tried the effects of his remonſtrances to the court, we cannot determine; but certain it is, that he reſiſted all the temptations thrown in his way by his flattering officers. [c] La Vega aſcribes this moderation to the firm belief he entertained, that he would be confirmed in the government, and reſtored by the court to all the employments held by his brother. His public entry into Truxillo and Lima was triumphant; but he aſſumed no regal honours, and even refuſed to walk under a canopy. He entirely altered his conduct, and proceeded from inſolence and pride to the other extreme of affability, in order to lay a foundation for the great deſigns projected by his adherents. He had made Nonojoſa high-admiral of the ſeas, and ordered him to ſail to Panama, from whence he detached Ferdinando Mexia, acroſs the iſthmus, to ſurpriſe Nombre de Dios, an aim which he accompliſhed almoſt without any reſiſtance. Thus Gonzalo now commanded the north and ſouth ſeas, and could obſtruct any ſupplies from being ſent either from Old or New Spain to the aſſiſtance of thoſe who might prove inclinable to join the royal party, and again light up the ſparks of diſſenſion. Nor did he think theſe meaſures altogether ſufficient for his ſecurity. Apprehenſive of ſome turn of fortune, he reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to reconcile the court of Spain to his conduct, which he pretended only to juſtify by the extreme neceſſity of affairs. Accordingly Aldano was commiſſioned to go to Old Spain, to preſent all the late tranſactions in the moſt favourable light, aſſure his majeſty of the zeal and loyalty of Gonzalo, and ſolicit the government for him, rather with a view to promote the public intereſt, than recompenſe his ſervices, or gratify his ambition. Aldano was farther directed to promiſe repaying whatever had been expended of the king's treaſure, provided Gonzalo's requeſt and a general pardon ſhould be granted. To enforce this application, it was intimated that a conſiderable ſum of money ſhould immediately be re-

[c] La Vega, lib. iv. cap. 41.

mitted

mitted from Peru, which it was expected would produce a good effect in the preſent neceſſitous circumſtances of the Spaniſh court.

The diſturbances in Peru had now been of ſo long a duration, that every thing was known in Spain before Aldano's arrival, and that conqueſt given up as loſt. It had been propoſed in council to reduce Gonzalo by force of arms, and bring the bold uſurper to condign puniſhment; yet the difficulty of tranſporting an army ſufficient for that purpoſe, to ſo diſtant a quarter, ſeemed unſurmountable, until the miſconduct of Pizarro ſhould bring about ſome favourable turn for aſſiſting the royaliſts. However, the ſolicitations of Aldano now uſhered in a gleam of freſh hope: the miniſtry perceived that the uſurper muſt have thought his own ſituation tickliſh before he would ſtoop to make conceſſions, or require any ratification and ſanction of his conduct. A perſon who had ventured upon ſuch groſs violation of law, and evident rebellion, muſt have been diſconcerted in his ſchemes, before he would throw himſelf upon the mercy of a prince whom he had ſo heinouſly offended. In this manner the Spaniſh miniſtry reaſoned; and reſolved to ſend the licenciado Pedro Gaſca, a man of ſenſe and probity, to take upon him the government of Peru, with the title of preſident only. A commiſſion to this purpoſe was ſigned at Vienna, where the emperor then reſided, in the year 1546, and Gaſca was diſpatched with a ſlender convoy, both to ſave charges and avoid all appearance of pomp and oſtentation, which it was apprehended might give diſguſt. On his arrival at Nombre de Dios, he concealed the real purport of his commiſſion, giving out that he had a meſſage from the emperor to Pizarro, with which, if he refuſed to comply, he was to return directly to Spain, as he formed no pretenſions to be a warrior, and conſequently had no deſign of enforcing obedience by dint of arms. He farther intimated, that his chief buſineſs was to revoke the new regulations which had created ſuch uneaſineſs, and to preſide in the council. In fact, Gaſca's power was unlimited; but this circumſtance he prudently concealed, until he had founded the affections of the Peruvians: it is alleged, that in caſe he found matters could not be otherwiſe adjuſted, he was empowered to grant the pardon which was required, recall the new ordinances, and conſtitute Pizarro viceroy of Peru. It was obſerved in council, that it would be better to allow the devil ſhould be governor, than for Spain to loſe the ineſtimable mines of Potoſi; ſo much value did the court of Spain ſet on the

Gaſca is ſent in quality of preſident to Peru.

He gains the fleet.

silver of Peru, which experience hath evinced to be a ruinous and fatal acquisition.

The first action which confirmed the opinion entertained of Gasca's policy, was the artful manner in which he insinuated himself into the esteem of Mexia, who had been appointed governor of Nombre de Dios by Pizarro. To this gentleman the president addressed himself with such irresistible blandishments, that, with his whole garrison, he deserted the usurper, and soon after assisted Gasca in prevailing upon the admiral Nonojosa to declare with his whole fleet for his imperial majesty.

These important negotiations succeeding happily, Gasca determined to know how Gonzalo relished the news of his arrival; for which purpose he dispatched Paniagua, a gentleman of great penetration and address, to Lima, with a letter from the emperor, and another from himself, to Pizarro. In the former of these his imperial majesty condescended to cajole this usurper, acquainting him, that, being informed of the disturbances excited in Peru by the viceroy's too rigorous execution of the new regulations, and persuading himself that whatever Pizarro and his party had done, was intended to promote the public benefit, and support the honour and interest of the crown, he had dispatched the licenciate Gasca, in quality of president, with full powers and instructions to terminate all differences, redress all grievances, and do whatever might contribute to the improvement of this valuable conquest, and the welfare of his subjects, whether Spaniards or natives; in which good work he required Pizarro to assist him with his advice and influence, assuring him, that the important services performed by himself and his family should be held in grateful remembrance. Nor was the president's letter less respectful. He blamed the severity and inflexibility of the viceroy for all the past disturbances and effusion of blood. He declared his belief, that his imperial majesty did not ascribe the late civil commotions to disobedience or disloyalty, but to the necessity of circumstances which obliged Pizarro and his friends to act on a principle of self-preservation. He seemed not at all surprised at their opposition to the new laws, on account of the rigour with which the viceroy required they should be executed. "The most wholesome nourishment, said he, may be converted to poison, by being improperly administered. His majesty hath now sent me to quiet the minds of the people, by a revocation of those laws, according to the prayer of your petition, with power to publish a general pardon of all crimes and misdemeanors

The emperor's letter to Pizarro.

The president's letter to Pizarro.

meanors already committed. I am enjoined to consult the people, and be guided by their opinion, with respect to the proper measures for promoting the interests of religion and the welfare of the inhabitants." He then exhorted Pizarro to take these matters into serious consideration, and shew his gratitude to his sovereign for restoring him to the enjoyment of all his estates and possessions, after an act which another prince would have thought deserving of severe punishment. "Your ancestors, said the president, have distinguished themselves by their services, they have rendered themselves illustrious by their loyalty; it will be your part to imitate this example, and not tarnish their lustre and lineage by your defection from their virtues. Next to the salvation of our souls, our next care ought to be the preservation of our honour, the smallest blemish on which is perceivable in lucid bodies, moving in your sphere, and reflecting light on all things around them. The foulest spot, next to disobedience to the God of heaven, is treason against your country, and rebellion against your earthly sovereign. He is God's vicegerent, and appointed by him to preserve order and good government in society. Let me advise you, therefore, to weigh those things with impartiality and prudence, and reflect upon the power of your king, whose forces you are very unable to withstand; figure to yourself the puissance of the Great Turk, who lately at the head of three hundred thousand fighting men, came in sight of the imperial army, and retreated with precipitation, without daring to give battle."

Debates in Pizarro's council.

These letters occasioned warm debates in Gonzalo's councils. They were read several times, and still the hearers were divided about the answer which ought to be returned. Carvajal was for accepting the offers of his majesty, and returning to their duty and obedience. Capeda was of opinion that all the promises were insidious, in order to prevail on them to lay down their arms, and then fall upon them when they should be defenceless. He represented, that if the president were once admitted, he would insinuate himself into the affections of the people, and dispose of them and their fortunes at pleasure. Pizarro declined explaining his sentiments until he should have maturely deliberated on a point of such importance. In the mean time Paniagua, the president's agent, practised so artfully with the principal citizens of Lima, that they were ready to desert the usurper with the first opportunity, as soon as they would be sure of protection from his vengeance. Although his late conduct had been unexceptionable, they ripped up old grievances, and complained that he had put several per-

The president's agent gains the inhabitants of Lima.

sons of distinction to death; that he had usurped their property, and violated their wives and children, as if their crimes had been recently committed. They embraced the general pardon that was offered, and Paniagua persevered in alienating their affections from Pizarro, and reclaiming them to their duty, in contempt of the menaces of the usurper, to put him to death, should he discover him tampering with the citizens. He was now encouraged to proceed with boldness by the declaration of the fleet; and this likewise contributed to make the inhabitants of Lima lend a more willing ear to his persuasions. However, all possible care was taken to keep their design secret; and yet it was universally known, except to Pizarro, who had just resolved upon embracing the opinion of Capeda, not to admit the president. He had even dispatched orders to his admiral to provide a ship for his return to Spain, being as yet ignorant of that officer's defection. He now thought proper to give Paniagua his final answer, in a letter directed to the president, whom he complimented on his learning and good sense. He besought him to consider him as a person extremely devoted to his majesty, and to remember the incessant labours of the Pizarro family for the space of sixteen years to augment the territories and revenues of the crown of Spain. He reminded him that they had subdued countries of vast extent, abounding with gold and silver, at their own private risque, without putting the king to the expence of a single crown, and without any other reward than the consciousness of having served their prince and country with fidelity and success. They had indeed acquired treasures, but these were liberally expended in settling colonies, and supporting their conquests. He observed that they had not the inheritance of a single acre of land, as the court of Spain granted only a kind of leases during life to the adventurers, which reverted to the crown upon their decease; and notwithstanding these cruel neglects, they remained fixed in their loyalty, and required no arguments to remind them of their duty, by setting forth his majesty's power and the success of his arms against his enemies. Towards the close of his letter he endeavoured to demonstrate, that, to the imprudence and inflexibility of the viceroy ought to be ascribed all those unhappy commotions which were sincerely lamented by every friend to society. Finally, he justified his own usurpation, by observing, that he was chosen agent-general by all the cities and corporations of Peru, and impowered by them to oppose the violences of the viceroy, against whom

Pizarro's answer to the president's letter.

whom he had tranſacted nothing without their concurrence.

This was the varniſh with which Pizarro coloured over his own rebellious conduct, although it was known to the whole world that he had uſed violence in obliging the judges to ſurrender Lima, a circumſtance which alone evinced that he had not acted by their authority. To ſhew the proper reſpect to the imperial letter, with which he had been honoured, he diſpatched ſeveral agents, men of quality and conſideration, to repreſent his conduct in the moſt favourable light, and procure a ratification of the authority he had uſurped; but theſe deſerted him, went to Panama, and accepted employments, to which they were appointed by the preſident. This defection encouraged the royaliſts more and more to appear. Centeno and divers others deſcended from the mountains, and emerged out of thoſe caves in which they had been long concealed. A party was forming againſt Pizarro, and every thing boded the reviva of the civil war. The preſident, having iſſued orders to the governors of St. Martha, Carthagena, Granada, and Popayan, to levy forces with all expedition, ventured to leave Panama, and ſetting ſail for the frontiers of Peru, arrived ſafely at Tumbez. The vice-admiral Aldena ſailing to the coaſt of Peru with a ſquadron of four men of war, was joined by a great number of deſerters, whom he immediately formed into companies, appointing officers agreeable to the powers veſted in him by Gaſca. Jago de Nara was induced, by the preſence of the vice-admiral, the perſuaſion of Centeno, and the ſuſpicions which he entertained of Pizarro's farther deſigns, to declare for the preſident, after he had aſſembled a corps of five hundred men, and appointed the general rendezvous of the king's forces at Caxamalca.

Centeno and ſeveral others of the royal party quit their places of concealment.

Advice of theſe tranſactions ſoon reaching Pizarro, he ſaw the neceſſity of taking vigorous meaſures for his own defence. The revolt of his fleet, the conſtant deſertion of thoſe he had deemed his friends, and the daily increaſe of his enemies, filled him with reaſonable apprehenſions that his uſurpation would meet with farther oppoſition, and ſet him upon levying troops with the utmoſt diligence. In the ſpace of a few days, he muſtered near a thouſand men in the city of Lima, all veterans, well armed, and provided with horſes and ſlaves for conveying the baggage; ſo that this body might be regarded either as cavalry or infantry, juſt as occaſion required, and had the advantage of marching with great celerity, without fatigue, to whatever part

Gonzalo raiſes an army.

they were deſtined. Nor was this his whole ſtrength; he drew detachments from Cuzco, La Plata, and other places. He publiſhed every where, that the preſident had exceeded the king's orders in raiſing forces againſt him, and attempting to embroil in civil war a country which had juſt begun to taſte the bleſſings of peace and tranquillity. He aſſirmed that the royal commiſſion did not extend ſo far as to empower Gaſca to ſupplant him in his authority; as it only conſtituted him preſident of the council, with inſtructions to purſue the moſt pacific meaſures. As he had exceeded the bounds of his authority, Gonzalo alleged that the people were no leſs concerned than himſelf to check his growing ambition; for if the preſident came off ſucceſsful in his undertakings, they muſt expect to be plundered and diſpoſſeſſed of thoſe riches they had acquired with ſo much toil and bloodſhed, and perhaps incur imprisonment, tortures, and capital puniſhments, as the rewards of their ſervices.

He commences a proceſs againſt preſident and others.

To give ſanction to thoſe hoſtile preparations, it was thought neceſſary to have recourſe to reaſon and arguments; for which purpoſe the lieutenant Capeda drew up a formal indictment againſt the preſident in the courts of law. The ſame ſtep was taken againſt the admiral Ninojoſa, for betraying the fleet, and all the other officers who had deſerted from Pizarro. To give the appearance of juſtice to theſe proceedings, evidences were examined, and the crimes of treachery, breach of the peace, and robbery, were proved on oath againſt the captains. It was alſo proved, that Gaſca had received theſe effects illegally, knowing them to have been Pizarro's, and appropriated them to his own uſe; upon which the preſident and all the officers were condemned to death, and declared traitors by the judges at Lima. This ſentence, however, was ridiculed even by the parties concerned, as it was well known that the ſword, and not the forms and judgment of courts, muſt determine the fate of the ſuppoſed criminals. In effect, the deſertion continued, numbers went over daily to Gaſca, the people were ſufficiently ſenſible of the legality of his powers, they were weary of the uſurpation of Gonzalo, and, like the multitude in every country, they embraced with eagerneſs whatever carried the appearance of change and novelty. Gaſca's conduct beſides was full of affability, lenity, and complacency; he won their affections by the moſt inſinuating carriage. He was continually expreſſing his diſlike to thoſe regulations which had given offence, and expreſſing his ſatisfaction at the power veſted in him

of

of obliging the people by a revocation of the ordinances, and general pardon of offences.

Mean while the arrival of Aldana in the port of Callao greatly alarmed Pizarro, and obliged him to encamp in the fields, not only for the preservation of Lima, but to prevent desertion, which was more difficult when the soldiers were exposed to public view. A message was sent from the fleet to acquaint Pizarro of the extent of the president's commission, and request him to resign an usurped authority, which he could no longer claim without direct rebellion and effusion of blood. Panna, one of the naval captains, had brought this unwelcome message, which he endeavoured to enforce by all his eloquence; but could procure no other answer than violent exclamations against the treachery of Nonojosa and Aldana. However, he performed excellent service to the royal interest, by making known in the camp the tenor of the president's commission, the revocation of the new laws, and the general amnesty; in consequence of which, desertion became so frequent, that Pizarro was soon reduced to six hundred men, the rest having inlisted with Aldana. Among these were the licenciate Carvajal, and several persons of considerable property, circumstances which persuaded Gonzalo of the disaffection of the city of Lima, and determined him to march to the southward as far as Araquiba. This march was not performed without great loss and disappointment. The soldiers found such frequent opportunities to desert, that the whole army was reduced to two hundred men, upon half of whom there could be no dependence. Antonio Ribera was left behind in quality of governor; but the usurper had scarce marched fifteen leagues before the magistrates declared for the king, displayed the city standard, assembled the people, published the revocation of the late edicts, the general pardon, and obedience to the president. Then Aldana landed his troops, took possession of the city in the king's name, and was received with great demonstrations of joy. Not long after this event, the president advancing farther along the coast with the remainder of the fleet, and a considerable body of land-forces, constituted Nonojosa general by land; but he did not think it adviseable to take the field until he had assembled an army so much superior to the enemy as to insure success. Indeed he chiefly relied upon policy, which he thought, in the present juncture, not only more secure, but also more serviceable to the general interest.

Desertion in Gonzalo's army.

Lima declares for the king.

After Pizarro had quitted Lima, he received intelligence that Diego Centeno had raised eight hundred men for the crown

crown in the province of Charcas, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the cities of La Plata and Cuzco. Upon this information the reſolution was formed of attacking him, and recovering thoſe cities; with proviſion, that if the enterprize failed, the army ſhould march into Chili, aſſiſt in the reduction of that obſtinate warlike people, and by ſo important a ſervice induce the court to grant a pardon for all paſt tranſgreſſions. This was the plan of operations ſettled upon leaving Arequiba. Centeno heard of his motions, and ſuſpecting his deſign, advanced to give him battle, after having burned the bridge over the channel of the lake Titicaca to ſtop the enemy, and prevent their taking another route. Upon this occaſion Gonzalo wrote to him, reminding him of their ancient friendſhip, and endeavouring, by the moſt ſoothing expreſſions, to gain him to his intereſt. He propoſed a treaty, in which they would adjuſt all differences to their mutual advantage, Gonzalo declaring that he would accede to any reaſonable propoſitions with as much ſatisfaction as if the parties had been brothers. Centeno anſwered the letter in ſimilar terms; but, inſtead of complying with the contents, earneſtly exhorted Pizarro, to embrace the general pardon; in which caſe he promiſed to uſe all his influence with the preſident to bury in oblivion all paſt tranſactions, and ſecure to him not only his life, but his eſtates and honours, which he held legally, and by the authority of his ſovereign; more, he ſaid, he could not undertake, and reſiſtance might render even this impoſſible. He delivered himſelf with ſo ſpecious an air, that even Pizarro's meſſenger deſerted him, and offered his ſervice to carry ſome letters from Centeno to the preſident, which he performed with great fidelity. In theſe Centeno gave an account of the flouriſhing ſtate of his own affairs, the decline of Pizarro, the continual defertion of his troops, his march towards Cuzco, and laſtly of the propoſals which he had made him, together with the anſwer he had returned; intelligence which gave the higheſt delight to the preſident, and encouraged him to proceed boldly from Truxillo to Lima. But the ſcene was ſoon changed on this ſide. Pizarro and his officers, incenſed to find their propoſals rejected, and their meſſenger corrupted, determined to give Centeno battle, and either force a paſſage to Cuzco, or periſh in the attempt. They directed their march to Huerina, giving out that they had other intentions; but Centeno, by means of the Indians, was informed of their true courſe, and took his meaſures accordingly. Pizarro determined to avoid battle until he had advanced farther; Centeno reſolved

ſolved to come to action immediately. With ſuch diligence did both purſue their deſigns, that the armies came unexpectedly in ſight, and were in danger of joining battle before either had made the neceſſary preparations. Pizarro no ſooner received intelligence of the enemy by his ſcouts, than he projected a ſcheme to alarm them; and as Centeno was no ſtranger to his activity, he exerted himſelf to prevent being ſurpriſed. Centinels were placed in all the proper ſtations; notwithſtanding which, Acoſta, with a detachment of twenty muſqueteers, beat up one of their quarters, and ſpread conſternation over the whole camp; had his efforts been ſeconded, a complete victory might have enſued. Next day the two armies advanced within three hundred yards of each other in the plain of Huerina, and then halted. They were drawn up with great military ſkill, eſpecially Pizarro's, that important buſineſs devolving upon Franciſco de Carvajal, one of the beſt and moſt experienced officers in America. His orders were to ſtand the enemy's attack firmly, until they advanced within ſure reach of his ſhot, and then fire with the utmoſt vigour. To provoke the enemy, he ſent Acoſta with a party of muſqueteers to inſult their front, and gave orders that he ſhould keep up a retreating fight; a ſcheme which was executed ſo punctually, that Centeno was drawn into an engagement, and ſeduced to expend his ſhot before it could take effect. It was this fineſſe that more than counterbalanced the difference of numbers. Centeno's army conſiſted of near twelve hundred men fit to bear arms, that of Pizarro's did not exceed one third of the number; but the ſoldiers timed their fire ſo judiciouſly, that near a hundred and fifty of the enemy fell at the firſt diſcharge. The ſecond put all in confuſion and diſmay, moſt of Centeno's officers were killed or wounded, and the infantry was, in leſs than half an hour, entirely defeated. It was otherwiſe with the cavalry. Here the weight and ſuperiority of numbers, proved more than equivalent to good order and diſcipline. Pizarro's horſe were borne down with the torrent, and himſelf in imminent danger of being killed or taken priſoner, had not the victorious infantry come ſpeedily to his aſſiſtance, attacked the enemy in front and both flanks, and deſtroyed them almoſt to a man.

Centeno defeated.

Pizarro did not obtain this victory without bloodſhed; near one hundred of his men were killed upon the ſpot; nevertheleſs it was of the utmoſt conſequence, as the hoſtile army was almoſt entirely deſtroyed, thoſe who eſcaped the ſword having been taken, and then incorporated with

Pizarro enters Cuzco.

with the other troops. Besides, a road was now opened to the heart of the empire; a happy turn was given to the spirits of his people, and he had a wide field opened, not only for recruiting his army, but amassing prodigious treasures. He now advanced to Cuzco, and made his triumphal entry into that city; detachments were sent upon different expeditions; the king's treasures, to an immense value, were seized at La Plata; while the unfortunate Centeno was making the best of his way to Lima, over rugged mountains and barren deserts, attended only by a priest, who had faithfully shared in his calamities, and now assisted in his escape.

The president goes in quest of Pizarro.

The president was encamped with his army in the valley of Sauta, rejoicing at the advices sent him by Centeno, when intelligence arrived of this sudden turn of fortune, and cast a gloom upon the festivity and mirth of the royalists, though, from their great superiority of numbers, it could not throw them into despair. A few days before this event, most of the officers were of opinion that Gasca had no occasion to increase his forces, since those under Centeno were quite sufficient to bring matters to a happy issue; fortunately, however, for the royal party, this opinion was not embraced, the president thinking it advisable to provide against all possible accidents. Some went even so far as to advise him to disband the army; but Gasca always replied, that the point in dispute was of too much consequence to leave any doubt upon the mind with respect to the issue, only to save the court a little money, and himself and friends some trouble. The event shewed how justly he had determined. Had this army been disbanded, it would have been impossible to raise another with the requisite dispatch; the people would have embraced the prosperous side, and then Pizarro would have poured down from Cuzco upon the lower settlements with an irresistible torrent. Gasca now exerted all his powers to animate the drooping spirits of his people: he told them, that Centeno's defeat was the mere fortune of war, and a ray of prosperity darted upon the usurper's affairs, only to render his adversity more insupportable. He exhorted both officers and soldiers to the punctual discharge of their duty, and, with a kind of prophetic spirit, gave them the strongest assurances of speedy victory. Next he called in his detachments, prepared a fine train of artillery, and then began his march to Cuzco, at the head of nineteen hundred men, on the 29th day of December. On his march he was joined by great numbers of officers and soldiers, among whom was Valdivia, whose actions in Chili we have already related. The appearance

of

of this officer diffused univerſal ſatisfaction. His valour was acknowleged, and now the royaliſts doubted not but they had a captain whom they might ſafely oppoſe to Carvajal. Many difficulties occured on the march, which were conquered by the courage of the ſoldiers, and the good conduct and perſeverance of Gaſca, who diſplayed great genius in different contrivances for croſſing rivers. The paſſage of the river Amancay was the moſt celebrated, as here the enemy oppoſed him, and he had to combat not only with the natural difficulty of the attempt, but to diſconcert all the ſchemes that were formed to diſappoint him by the celebrated Carvajal.

Pizarro's infatuated conduct.

In the mean time Pizarro remained with the main army at Cuzco, felicitating himſelf on his late victory, and ſeeming to regard it as a deciſive blow. Carvajal perceived the bad effects which his ſecurity would neceſſarily produce, and laboured with all his influence to prevail upon him to ſeize on the ſtrong poſts in the enemy's way, evacuate Cuzco, and take the field with ſpirit and activity. When advices arrived of the preſident's approach, he redoubled his inſtances; but the infatuated Pizarro was wrapped in a fatal ſecurity, and rejected almoſt every propoſal that was made to him by this prudent and diſcerning officer. However, he permitted Carvajal with a detachment to attempt the defence of the river, and then triumphed in his diſappointment, as if it were a proof of the rectitude of his own opinion. Carvajal ſtill inſiſted upon his taking the field, upon his diſmiſſing the priſoners he had incorporated in his army, and relying rather upon a handful of certain friends than a number of doubtful followers, upon diſtreſſing the enemy by marches and countermarches, dividing their forces, and then attacking them ſeparately, when no opportunitp offered of aſſiſting each other. This plan evinced the military knowlege of Carvajal; but it was rejected by Gonzalo, as injurious to his honour. He thought that avoiding battle with a defeated army would tarniſh the glory of his late victory, without reflecting that it was the iſſue of the operations that muſt eſtabliſh his character. He reſolved to come to an engagement, and for that purpoſe gave orders that the army ſhould be ready to march at beat of drum to the valley of Sacſahuanuah, about four leagues from the city. In vain Carvajal propoſed that, if he was determined to hazard a battle, he would wait at Orcas, on the oppoſite ſide of the city, for the enemy, in order to fatigue them the more, or at leaſt introduce confuſion in their army as they paſſed through Cuzco. When he quitted this city, his army amounted to nine hundred men, a third of whom were perſons

The armies meet in the valley of Sacſahuanuah.

ſons on whoſe fidelity Carvajal had no reliance. When he reached the valley, Pizarro occupied a poſt of difficult acceſs in front, and altogether inacceſſible in flank and rear. In three days the royaliſts appeared. The three following days paſſed in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, until their main body had occupied the proper poſts, when they faced about, and offered an engagement. It was now only that Pizarro began to diſtruſt his ſoldiers; the vicinity of the danger made him inſpect their conduct more narrowly: but it was too late; deſertion had already begun; ſeveral being ſeized in the attempt to eſcape, were put to death, and their puniſhment appeared to have no other effect than to alienate the minds of the ſurvivors.

In this ſituation was Pizarro, when it was determined in a council of war held by the preſident, to give battle next day, on account of the ſcarcity of water that prevailed, and the incommodiouſneſs of the ſituation. Different reaſons prevailed on Pizarro to come to the ſame reſolution, after he had firſt ſent to the preſident to demand a ſight of his commiſſion, and the powers whereby he inſiſted upon his reſigning the government, declaring that his refuſal would be regarded as a ſignal for hoſtilities, and that he muſt be anſwerable for all the conſequences. Two prieſts had been ſent with this commiſſion, and inſtructions to try all in their power to alienate the minds of Gaſca's ſoldiers; which being diſcovered, the preſident ordered them to be ſeized, then publiſhed the general pardon granted to all who ſhould now quit the intereſt of Pizarro, and having brought over the two prieſts to his intereſt, ſent them back to cheriſh the ſeeds of diſaffection in the uſurper's army.

Pizarro had given orders to Acoſta to alarm the enemy's camp in the night; and he was preparing to execute his inſtructions, when the deſertion of a ſoldier ruined the deſign, by carrying intelligence to the preſident; however it was attended with this advantage, that the royal army ſtood upon their arms the whole night, and ſuffered ſo much from the cold as almoſt rendered them unfit for action the next day, when they were drawn out in the
A.D.1548. plain in order of battle. To Capeda was entruſted the care of ranging the troops, Carvajal being ſo much offended that
April 9. his advice had been rejected upon ſo many occaſions, as to refuſe taking any concern, proteſting that he gave all up for loſt. As the armies were fronting each other, Garcilaſſo, father to the hiſtorian, deſerted, and was received with open arms by the preſident. His example was followed by Capeda, the very officer in whoſe fidelity Pizarro repoſed his chief confidence. Under pretence of examining a more

Pizarro deſerted by his troops.

a more convenient ground for drawing up the army, he put ſpurs to his horſe, and joined the enemy, after he had been purſued and wounded by another of the rebel officers, who ſuſpected his deſign. The example of two perſons ſo conſiderable was followed by a great number. The royal camp was crowded with Pizarro's ſoldiers, all of whom declared they had ſeized the firſt opportunity of eſcaping and teſtifying their loyalty. The whole left wing of muſqueteers, pretending to more fidelity than the reſt, deſired to be poſted in ſuch a manner as to obſtruct the deſerters, and embraced that opportunity of going over to the preſident. So uncommon a deſertion rendered fighting unneceſſary; the preſident therefore laid aſide the deſign of giving battle, either becauſe he had no great confidence in troops, who had already betrayed their general; that he expected all Pizarro's forces to come over; or that he did not chuſe to riſk a battle with a handful of men now driven to deſpair, whoſe reſiſtance might at leaſt occaſion conſiderable effuſion of blood.

With Pizarro there now only remained the pike-men, who had likewiſe given ſymptoms of wavering. Carvajal ſeeing the deſperate ſtate of the uſurper's affairs, exerted his utmoſt diligence to retrieve them, but in vain; all the ſoldiers deſerted, and left him almoſt alone with his general. The pike-men finding there was no poſſibility of eluding Carvajal's vigilance, threw down their arms, declared their reſolution not to fight againſt the king, and then made off for the royal camp; upon which Pizarro reſolved to ſurrender himſelf. He went up to Pedro Villavicencio, who commanded one of the enemy's out-poſts, and told him his name and intention, at the ſame delivering his ſword as a mark of his ſubmiſſion. Pedro rejoiced at the importance of his priſoner, returned Gonzalo thanks for the honour he did him, returned his ſword, and offered to conduct him to the preſident's quarters; on their way thither Pizarro was met by Centeno, who, condoling with him on his change of fortune, was anſwered by the priſoner, "Captain Centeno, to-day there is nothing to be ſaid upon this ſubject; but to-morrow you and the reſt who have occaſioned my fate will have reaſon to repent of your conduct." Even in his adverſity he maintained his ſpirit and dignity. When brought into Gaſca's preſence, he vindicated his meaſures with becoming boldneſs, claimed all that he aſpired to as his undoubted right, hinted at the ingratitude of the court to his family; but never dropped a diſreſpectful expreſſion

He ſurrenders.

Carvajal is taken prisoner.

pression of his imperial majesty. His freedom, however, highly offended Gasca, who ordered him to be removed and taken into custody. At the same time Carvajal was taken prisoner, as he was endeavouring, at the age of eighty-four, to make his escape by the swiftness of his horse, and used with great insolence and cruelty by the soldiers, who ought to have respected his advanced age, and extraordinary talents. They applied lighted matches to his neck, threw squibs in his face, and were severely punished for insulting the unfortunate, by the generous Centeno, the prisoner's bitterest enemy, who, upon this occasion, displayed the greatest magnanimity. He conducted him in person to Gasca's presence, where Carvajal maintained a contemptuous silence, and then brought him back to his own tent, where he treated this old warrior with the most profound respect and humanity. Nothing could be more extraordinary than the whole carriage of this hoary soldier, from the time of his imprisonment to his execution. He was visited by all degrees of people; some came from motives of curiosity, others to demand restitution of what they alleged his soldiers had plundered them of; while others visited him merely to turn him into derision, and insult his misfortunes: but Carvajal was superior to their dastardly triumph; he beheld them with scorn, and, by the severity of his replies, dismissed them in admiration of his wit and fortitude [f].

Next day Gonzalo Pizarro, Carvajal, and other captains, were formally tried and condemned to be executed as traitors to their king and country. The sentence passed on the former was, that he should be beheaded, his head fixed in the most public place in the empire, his house demolished, the ground strewed with salt, and a pillar erected with the following inscription, "This was the dwelling of the traiterous Pizarro." He was carried by a mule to the place of execution; where he spoke to the soldiers and other spectators in these terms, "Gentlemen, you are no strangers to the services performed by our family. My brothers and myself were the conquerors of this country. Many of you are possessed of estates and lands confirmed to you by the marquis and myself. Many of you likewise owe me pecuniary and other obligations, which I need not specify. For my part, I die poor and destitute; even the cloaths I wear are not mine, they

[f] Garcilasso, lib. v. cap. 39.

are

are the perquiſite of the executioner for this bloody ſervice, and his reward for depriving me of life: I beſeech you therefore, gentlemen, that you will ſhew the gratitude you owe me to the Almighty, the author of all good things, that you will pray for my ſoul, and ſhew that mercy to the ſpirit which is denied to the fleſh. I have ſtrong aſſurances, that, through the mediation of my Redeemer, and the interceſſion of your prayers, my ſins ſhall be forgiven, and that I ſhall be made a partaker in that felicity in heaven, which I could never obtain on earth." So ſaying, he laid his head with great compoſure on the block, and the executioner ſevered it with one ſtroke from his body. His faults were forgot, and his virtues recited, when popularity could do him no farther ſervice; and compaſſion ſoon turned the ſtream of violent hatred to reſpect and admiration of him and his family, who were conſidered only as the conquerors of Peru, and the authors of thoſe immenſe riches which flowed in upon the Spaniards. As to Carvajal, he was executed in the ſame manner, and to the laſt gaſp ſuſtained that intrepidity which had diſtinguiſhed his whole life [z].

Both are executed.

[z] Garcilaſſo, lib. v. cap. 39. Herrera, dec. v. lib. iv. cap. 2.

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